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For Kapila
with deep affection,

[illegible]

6/8/..

Passed on to dear

Urmila who is the

Sarpparva of this work.

With love and blessings

Kapila.

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Caitanya Caritāmṛta
of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja

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Caitanya Caritāmṛta of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja

A Translation and Commentary

by

Edward C. Dimock, Jr.

With an Introduction by

Edward C. Dimock, Jr. and Tony K. Stewart

Edited by

Tony K. Stewart

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Gertrude Caffray Dimock

who loved books

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Caitanya Caritāmṛta
of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja

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Translator's Preface

Research for this book was begun in 1955-57, when I was teaching at the Deccan College in Pune (then Poona) and doing research on the Bengali language in Calcutta, under a program supported by the Rockefeller Foundation; research and writing have continued sporadically ever since. Two of the intervening years, however, 1963-64 and 1969-70, during which I was relieved of teaching and other responsibilities in order to do full-time research, helped me immeasurably toward completion of my portion of the book. The first of these years was made possible by the American Institute of Indian Studies, when I was its Senior Fellow in Calcutta (a post that has since been abolished), and by The Committee on Southern Asian Studies at The University of Chicago. The Committee, which was at that time under the Chairmanship of the late Milton B. Singer, the Paul Klapper Professor of Anthropology and the Social Sciences at The University of Chicago, has been of help in many ways over the years, as will be noted again toward the end of this Preface. The second research year was taken at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences in Stanford, California; despite the fact that there was, that year, a serious fire that damaged or destroyed years of the work of many scholars, the time was greatly productive. And the discipline and grace with which these men and women set about rebuilding what they had lost was inspirational. Despite the disaster, the atmosphere of the Center was both peaceful and congenial, and easily five years of work in a more normal setting were rolled into one. To these institutions and to the individuals who make them up I am deeply grateful.

I also owe deep gratitude to many friends, colleagues, and teachers who over the years have encouraged and stimulated my work on the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal. (Neither they nor I, in the mid-50's, had any idea that the Vaiṣṇavas, a small, geographically limited religious group would in two decades spread out through the western world with an extraordinary, and sometimes aggressive missionary zeal.) I must mention first the late Daniel H. H. Ingalls, Wales Professor of Sanskrit at Harvard, who from the beginning of my study of India has been both teacher and friend, and who first suggested, to my delight, that the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* might be an appropriate candidate for the Harvard Oriental Series and whose precise and creative scholarship has provided a model

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which I, however poorly, have tried to emulate. My old, respected, and deeply mourned friend and colleague J. A. B. van Buitenen, George V. Bobrinksoy Professor of Sanskrit at The University of Chicago, contributed much to my study, over many years, and specifically to this book, not only by discussion of points of doctrine but by going through the text with a careful eye to the translations from Sanskrit. The reader will soon realize, when he sees how much of the text is in Sanskrit, what an arduous chore this was. Two other great American Indologists, the late W. Norman Brown, Professor and Professor-emeritus of Sanskrit of the University of Pennsylvania and President-emeritus of the American Institute of Indian Studies, and Murray B. Emeneau, Professor and then Professor-emeritus of the University of California at Berkeley, on many occasions demonstrated confidence in me, and I hope I have been to some degree worthy of it. The penetrating insight and understanding of the religious and literary phenomena of India that were part of the make-up of my dear friend and colleague at the University of Chicago, the late A. K. Ramanujan, William E. Colvin Professor of South Asian Languages and Civilizations, have contributed in ways I can no longer even isolate to my own lesser understanding. And Professor Edwin M. Gerow, at one time of the University of Chicago and now of Reed College, with his profound learning in Sanskrit and western poetics, has been of immeasurable help.

It is sometimes said in India that a teacher's greatest achievement is when his student surpasses him. Many of my students have allowed me this. It is difficult to single out a few, for their opinions expressed in seminars and in discussion, and their own research, have contributed in many ways. Some have written on aspects of Bengali culture that have direct relevance to the matter of this book; such are Professors Ralph W. Nicholas and Ronald B. Inden, both now teaching at The University of Chicago. Professor Clinton B. Seely, also at The University of Chicago, focuses on more modern literature than this book represents, but his intimate knowledge of all aspects of Bengali culture has made him a constant source for me over the years.

Closer to the present, three names stand out. The first is that of Aditi Nath Sarkar, currently of Calcutta; he read through the whole text, making many substantial suggestions, and preparing the basic Index, on which the Indices included in this book are based. Neal Delmonico and I read together over several years various Vaiṣṇava texts, some of them abstruse, and his insight and wisdom informed our discussions, and thus some of the interpretations that lie within this book. His particular concern is with the esthetic theory of Rūpa Gosvāmin, and it is in this area that my indebtedness to him is greatest.

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But it is to Professor Tony K. Stewart, now of the North Carolina State University, that I owe the most. His direct involvement with this book began with the elaborate mapping of the *avatāra*-theory that appears in the chart at the end of the Introduction; it ends with his becoming the Editor of the whole work, co-author of the Introduction (by the time it had reached a final draft, it no longer made sense to try to keep our contributions separate), provider of about half of the Glossary definitions, and the large number of interpretive notes that will appear in the Commentary with his initials. His modest Editor's Preface will explain to the reader his responsibilities, but it will describe neither the willingness nor the enthusiasm with which he assumed the editorial work, at my request, following my serious illness, nor will it suggest the time, care, and patience involved in checking the translations against the original, cross-referencing the vast number of citations, suggesting changes, regularizing spellings, and in general performing with meticulous precision all the tasks involved in careful editing. The Indices too, now in their considerably expanded and therefore more useful form, are in large part due to his efforts.

Scholars in India, too, have helped me in many ways, with advice, direction, and books, and have with great generosity given me of their precious time and great learning. Such scholars are too numerous to mention, but if I were to single out three, they would be the late Professor Sushil Kumar De, whose work on Vaiṣṇavism as well as other areas of history, philosophy, and literature remains after many years definitive; the late Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji, whose enthusiasm for life and learning infected all who knew him, right up until his death; and the late Professor Sukumar Sen, successor to his teacher Professor Chatterji in the Khaira Chair of Linguistics at the University of Calcutta. I had wanted very much to be able to put a copy of this book into Dr. Sen's hands before he died, for over many years he dispensed wisdom and rare texts and sometimes esoteric knowledge whenever I needed it; his door was always open to me, as was his heart. It was not to be.

Parts of the Introduction were prepared originally as lectures or papers given at various meetings of the Association for Asian Studies and at seminars at the University of Washington in Seattle, and at the University of California at Berkeley. To Professors Rachel van Meter Baumer, Edwin Gerow, and J. F. Staal I owe thanks for the opportunity of presenting some of these ideas and of receiving suggestions and criticisms which have been helpful. To the participants in those meetings too I owe thanks.

My wife Loraine has given me continued support and has allowed me selfishly to put my study ahead of her own many interests. And a special acknowledgment is due to Judith H. Aronson, who assisted me in many ways at The University of

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Chicago between 1960 and 1976; in innumerable unselfish ways she helped my work in its research, teaching, and especially administrative aspects.

When the Editor of this book and I first began to work with the Harvard Oriental Series on the actual production of this book, Professor Gary Tubb, then Assistant Professor of Sanskrit at Harvard and editor *pro tem* of the Series, was of immense and vital help to us. He and Tony Stewart worked closely together on various technical problems of computer production, they both being very skilled in the matter, and on other, more unusual, editing questions. We are most grateful to Professor Tubb for that help.

I should like to make a special acknowledgement of the wonderful work that the book's editor, Tony Stewart, and its designer, Carol Majors, have done in its presentation. The two of them, working closely together and with talented eye to matters both esthetic and practical, have produced a text that is beautiful to look at, and in all a book that I have a good deal of pride in being associated with.

Our thanks also go to Professor Michael Witzel of Harvard, Professor of Sanskrit, for his General Editorship of this Series. But, finally, the book has seen the light of day because of two generous grants, one from the Committee on Southern Asian Studies of the University of Chicago, and one from the North Carolina Center for South Asia Studies of the Triangle South Asia Consortium and North Carolina State University. These have allowed the Harvard Oriental Series to produce a book as handsome in its design as, we hope, it is useful in its presentation and content. The Editor and I are very grateful to these agencies for their timely help.

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Editor's Preface

Edward C. Dimock initiated me into the text of the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* during the first years of my graduate training at The University of Chicago starting in the late 1970s. In many of those classes I was his sole student and I greedily monopolized his attention in the unrelenting way that graduate students do. The reward was the rarest of life's commodities—an intimate education. Much of that education is bound to the text of the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, for many of the issues presented by Kṛṣṇadāsa would provoke discussions that would lead us from analyzing the niceties of a still-unwritten sixteenth century Bengali grammar to the furthest reaches of basic human emotion and the passions that drive us. There was nothing we could not discuss, and these many years later that conversation continues. During one of those early classes I prepared a schematic diagram of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava *avatāra* theory proposed by Kṛṣṇadāsa, and that diagram was to become my first substantive contribution to this translation (Figure 1). Over the decade of my graduate work, especially as I prepared my dissertation on the biographies of Caitanya, my stray notes of curiosities grew to a rather formidable list of possible revisions and additions; some of those have found their way into the book you are about to read. But the way that involvement expanded was through an event I wish had never happened. Late one morning, with freezing zephyrs off Chicago's lakefront rattling my ill-fitted study windows, the skies refracting that special steely grey that only the midwest seems to endure in the dead of winter, Cam quietly asked me to assume responsibility for the book as he prepared for an especially risky surgery for cancer. Such honor never carried such pain. After a self-imposed delay, I reluctantly yet eagerly accepted, and I did so with all the trepidation and exhilaration shared by every student who has been asked to complete a teacher's work. Fortunately, in the best possible outcome, my fears were unfounded and rather than inheriting his work, I have become his collaborator.

Knowing something intellectually and realizing it are, of course, very different; I discovered how delicate the beginnings of collaboration could be, and how resilient true collaboration becomes. A cantankerous and stubborn resistance to some of my early changes, especially when he was battling medical treatments, unmasked how much this work was a living part of my teacher; when he accepted my sugges-

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tions, I learned how this portion of his intellectual life had claimed a piece of me. In the end, the translation remains his, for he has examined and approved every emendation—including the reconstruction of several missing chapters from fragmented notes. I have edited the translation, checking it against the Bengali and Sanskrit original, my role being the standard one for editors, to spot the occasional awkward phrase or alert the translator to alternate interpretations. To the commentary I have added notes, with additions of substance clearly initialed. The cross-referencing in the commentary is a joint venture; and wherever possible I have checked and standardized citations (see "A Note on Citations"). I was originally asked to add a section to the Introduction, but over the years our engagement produced much new writing and now, as Dimock has indicated in his own preface, it bears a nearly complete joint authorship—save the final section on theology (Section VII) to which I could add little. The indices, which were begun by Aditi Nath Sarkar and the translator, I have expanded on the model provided by and in direct consultation with those of the editor of the Bengali text, Rādhāgovinda Nātha; they now more resemble a concordance than an index. The bibliography, which is for reference, but hardly exhaustive, is largely my own, while the glossaries are the combined efforts of the translator and the editor.

There are a number of institutions and people who aided me during the years of my involvement with this project, and I would like to single out several for special appreciation. North Carolina State University seminar students who eagerly read a draft of the Introduction and text provided much-needed feedback, and among them was one who was actively involved in the production of the book: Ann P. Rives. Ann was hired to retype the manually-edited typescript to computerized files—which she did with extreme precision and dedication—and ended by becoming a much-valued colleague and friend. In addition to the typing, North Carolina State University's College of Humanities and Social Sciences supported some of the editing work for this book, as did the National Endowment for the Humanities (London 1991), and for both I hope their investment proves sound. In connection with the latter's support for a trip to London, and several other visits there, Dipali Ghosh, Bengali Bibliographer of the Oriental and India Office Collection of the British Library, personally retrieved mis- and uncataloged nineteenth century editions of the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* from the closed stacks of that amazing collection, a seemingly small kindness that now looms large in the printing history detailed in the Introduction. Robin Rinehart of Lafayette College offered many useful suggestions during the final editing and preproduction, for which I am grateful. Wendy Doniger and Sheldon Pollock, both of The University of Chicago, offered much encouragement and behind-the-scenes support during the final stages of this book's

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production, and to both of them I am personally indebted. In the final production, the Triangle South Asia Consortium provided material support, while book designer and proprietor Carol Majors of Publications Unlimited worked quickly and efficiently to turn the thousands of pages of typescript into the handsome format you now see. A special thanks goes to the I. D. Blumenthal Foundation, which granted me several weeks of solitude in the writer's cabin at Wildacres in the mountains of western North Carolina, where I corrected the final page proofs. And finally, I would like to thank Julie H. Stewart, who for years listened actively to what must have seemed an endless monologue about the book-that-would-not-go-away; her gift for literary interpretation and lessons in good writing have not, I hope, been lost on me.

While much of the above may seem a trifle too personal, I can only counter that my work in the academy has always been of that sort, and for that I would like to dedicate my current contributions, however limited and deficient, to my mother, Jean D. Stewart, who from my earliest memories quietly imparted her dogged devotion to learning and to those who foster it.

TKS
RALEIGH, NC

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Abbreviations

BhG	*Bhagavad Gītā* of Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana Vyāsa
BhP	*Bhāgavata Purāṇa* of Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana Vyāsa
BhR	*Bhaktiratnākara* of Narahari Cakravartī
BhRS	*Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* of Rūpa Gosvāmin
BIKC	"The Biographical Images of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya: A Study in the Perception of Divinity," by Tony K. Stewart
Bhū	Introductory essays of Rādhāgovinda Nātha edition of *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* (vol. 1)
BSI	*Bāṃlā Sāhityera Itibṛtta,* by Asita Kumāra Bandyopādhyāya
CBh	*Caitanya Bhāgavata* of Vṛndāvana Dāsa
CC	*Caitanya Caritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja
CCN	*Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka* of Kavikarṇapūra
CCU	*Caitanya Caritera Upādāna,* by Biman Bihari Majumdar
GDK	*Kaḍacā* of Govinda Dāsa
GGUD	*Gauragaṇoddeśadīpikā* of Kavikarṇapūra
HBhV	*Haribhaktivilāsa* of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin
IPK	*In Praise of Krishna: Songs from the Bengali,* translated by Edward C. Dimock and Denise Levertov
ISC	*Itihāser Śrīcaitanya,* by Amūlyacandra Sena
JCM	*Caitanya Maṅgala* of Jayānanda Miśra
KCC	*Kṛṣṇacaitanyacaritāmṛta* of Murāri Gupta
KCCM	*Kṛṣṇacaitanyacaritāmṛta Mahākāvya* of Kavikarṇapūra
KMRA	*Krishna: Myths, Rites and Attitudes,* edited by Milton Singer
LCM	*Caitanya Maṅgala* of Locana Dāsa
MRBC	*Marriage and Rank in Bengali Culture,* by Ronald B. Inden
PHM	*The Place of the Hidden Moon: Erotic Mysticism in the Vaiṣṇava-Sahajiyā Cult of Bengal,* by Edward C. Dimock
PV	*Prema Vilāsa* of Nityānanda Dāsa
SDK	*Kaḍacā* of Svarūpa Dāmodara
UNM	*Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* of Rūpa Gosvāmin
VFM	*Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal,* by Sushil Kumar De

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Illustrations

Avatāra Theory of *Kṛṣṇa-svarūpa* 142-43

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A Note on Translations

There are at least two peculiarities of the translation itself that might be noted. The first is that there has been little attempt to put Kṛṣṇadāsa's Bengali verse into English poetry. If occasionally the translation is poetic, that is the intrinsic character of the Bengali showing through. For the rest, our effort has been to emulate the structure of the original as closely as comprehensibility will allow. We have tried to keep distortions to a minimum, but some will inevitably have crept in as payment for our attempt to give the reader the feel of a Bengali text of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

The second peculiarity comes about as a result of a dilemma that all translators of such texts face: to what extent should one preserve the technical terminology at the expense of cluttering the translation with words that require much thought and reference to previous pages, in an attempt to fit a sometimes difficult concept into a new environment? The alternative is to water down the force of an idea or the subtlety of a complex insight. We have chosen to reject the alternative, which we might not have done were we concerned only with the text's literary qualities. Kṛṣṇadāsa's text however is a text of often considerable complexity; if there were a way to ease the burden of getting used to rather a substantial number of Bengali and Sanskrit terms, we would have done so. We can only hope that the reader will find the effort of adding increasing amounts of new vocabulary and information will prove worthwhile. For key terms and concepts that appear with some regularity in the translation the reader is encouraged to refer to the glossary for help; on more technical vocabulary, especially that appearing only irregularly, the reader should look to the commentary on the passage in question and refer to the index.

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A Note on Transliteration

Standard English transliteration for Sanskritic alphabets has been adopted for use with both Sanskrit and Bengali words. For the sake of consistency, the vernacular apocope has been avoided in favor of transliterating the final inherent vowel. Although the choice to follow orthography will not accurately reflect the sound of spoken Bengali, it has the decided advantage of making otherwise unintelligible words comprehensible to a broader audience familiar with other Indic languages, e.g., the immediately recognizable *yoga* instead of *jog*. This choice will also necessitate the occasional construction of a word which to the modern vernacular speaker is undoubtedly an abomination, e.g., *tulasī* rather than *tulsī*, and especially noticeable in the genitive constructions, e.g., *caritera upādāna*, rather than *cariter upādān*. Hyphens have been used primarily to ease the burden of the non-specialist reader, especially when technical vocabulary is used and the item should be read as a unit, e.g., *hlādinī-śakti*; although care has been taken to avoid breaking *sandhi*. We have preferred to transliterate every Sanskrit and Bengali word because the Anglicized equivalents frequently carry their own semantic overtones, e.g., guru, etc., and to avoid possible confusions, hence *brāhmaṇa* (m) rather than the familiar Brahmin or Brahman to designate the social distinction (but "brahmanhood" and "brahmanical"); *brahma* and *brahman* interchangeably for the neuter principle of cosmic unity, often additionally marked with a parenthetic designation (n) where confusions might otherwise arise; and Brahmā for the creator god. The sole exception to this decision is the Anglicized "ghat," which carries precisely the same meaning in Bengali and Sanskrit, and which becomes difficult to recognize in full transliteration, e.g., *ghāṭa*. Diacritics have been left on anglicized words if needed, e.g., Vaiṣṇavism. Place names will generally follow the fully transliterated form, e.g., Kaṭaka rather than Cuttack, Vārāṇasī instead of Benares, Gaṅgā in place of Ganges, and so forth. Titles of texts have generally been capitalized and italicized; classes of texts are italicized but remain in lower case; while the Veda has been treated with the same conventions as the Bible or Qur'ān, i.e., capitalized without italics. The reader will also note that the Sanskrit nominative case ending for -ī final words, will often be used interchangeably with the

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uninflected form more common in Bengali, e.g., Gosvāmī and Gosvāmin; we have made no effort to standardize that use but generally defer to the form in the printed edition of the text. Similarly, the reader may notice what appear to be inconsistencies in the handling of *anusvara* (*ṃ*) but in Bengali that is often assimilated to the following consonant; we have given priority to the Sanskritic spelling, but both forms may be used for a single word.

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A Note on Citations

Śloka references in the body of the translation are cited by author, if any, title of text, and section, chapter, and verse, where applicable. Occasionally the appropriate section of a work is noted by title only; where there are discrepencies in the versification of various editions of an often-quoted text, the citation will include bracketed locators. In those few instances where we could not locate the exact citation, we have followed the lead of Rādhāgovinda Nātha in identifying the source. Brackets are also used to note when the cited text is itself quoting another source. A similar style has been adopted for the commentary. The commentary will contain additional cross-references, including duplicate *ślokas* within the translation. Cross-referencing to other Caitanya biographies in the commentary has been limited to those texts known to and acknowledged by Kṛṣṇadāsa himself specifically Murāri Gupta's *KCC*, Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *CBh*, and Kavikarṇapūra's *KCCM* and *CCN*.

In all cases, the edition of a "standard text" was chosen for its scholarly merit, complete and consistent versification, and general availability to the public, when known. Many of the texts are relatively consistent in their numbering, so no special edition was preferred, e.g., *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, *Bhagavad Gītā*, etc. The preferred edition of often-quoted texts are: Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* and *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* (Haridāsa Dāsa ed.); Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* (De ed.); Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin's *Haribhaktivilāsa* (Pāṭhabāḍī Āśrama ed.); Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala's *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* (Wilson ed.); Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* (Miller ed.); and the *Brahma Saṃhitā* (Siddhānta Sarasvatī ed.). The *Caitanya Bhāgavata* of Vṛndāvana Dāsa posed a special problem in that two editions—those of the Gauḍīya Maṭha and Rādhāgovinda Nātha—proved of equivalent scholarly merit and popularity, but divergent in chapter division; the solution was to cite the Rādhāgovinda Nātha edition first, with the corresponding Gauḍīya Maṭha citation in brackets, if different.

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A Note on Dating Systems

Four separate dating systems are used by the texts to which there will be reference; the fifth, the commonly used western system, is sometimes also used by modern Bengali critical studies.

- AD, the traditional western system (sometimes abbreviated CE);
- *bāṅgālā śaka* (BS), derived by subtracting 593 from the western date; and
- *gaurābda* or *gaurāṅgābda* (GA), a aystem that begins its dating with Caitanya's birth in 1486 AD.
- *śaka*, the dates of which can be approximately derived by subtracting 78 from the western date;
- *saṃvat*, add 57 to the western date.

When used, many of the Gregorian equivalents actually straddle two years, so we have followed the standard developed at the South Asia Section of The University of Chicago Libraries, "South Asian Calenders" (typescript, February 1988).

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PART ONE

Introduction: An Overview of the Text

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I. SETTING THE BIOGRAPHY: CAITANYA AND KṚṢṆA

The *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja[1] is a biography of the great Bengali Vaiṣṇava leader Caitanya (AD 1486-1533). But it is far more than a simple biography; it is a compendium of historical fact, religious legend, and abstruse theology so complete and blended in such proportions that it is the definitive work of the religious group called Vaiṣṇava, since the time of Caitanya the most significant single religious group in all of eastern India. It is a complex work, a proper representative of a highly complex religious system. It is a clear text, and for the most part it will speak for itself. But it is also of a time and place far removed from most western readers, and the scene should be set in a general way.

When Caitanya was born in the town of Navadvīpa, in Nadiyā district, a place about seventy-five miles north of present day Calcutta in West Bengal, Vaiṣṇavism—literally the worship of the god Viṣṇu or one of his incarnations, as the term *avatāra*, "descent," is usually translated—seems to have been at a low ebb. Navadvīpa itself was a great center of learning, especially of the *navya-nyāya*, a school of extremely abstract logical philosophy, and to it students came from all over India. *Brāhmaṇa*s, aloof and intellectual, were domi-

[1] The edition used for the translation is *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, ed. with the commentary *Gaurakṛpataraṅgiṇī ṭīkā* by Rādhāgovinda Nātha, 3rd ed., 6 vols. (Calcutta: Sādhanā Prakāśanī, 1355-59 BS); hereafter cited as *CC*. The textual reference will be to section (*līlā*), chapter (*pariccheda*), and verse(s). See below, Section V.3, for an analysis of this edition. The more easily available 4th ed. (1369-70 BS) is identical; since that time parts of the text continue to be reproduced piecemeal.

It should be noted that four separate dating systems are used by the texts to which there will be reference, and followed by us: AD, the traditional western system; *śaka*, the dates of which can be approximately derived by subtracting 78 from the western date; *bāṅgālā śaka* (BS), derived by subtracting 593 from the western date; and *gaurābda* or *gaurāṅgābda* (GA), a system that begins its dating with Caitanya's birth in 1486 AD. When used, many of the Gregorian equivalents actually straddle two years, so we have followed the standard developed at the South Asia Section of the University of Chicago Libraries, "South Asian Calendars" (typescript, February 1988).

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nant in the place, socially, and in their exclusive possession of the vedic tradition which set the tone of the religious life. In the countryside, if we are to believe the early texts, people largely worshiped the goddess in one or another of her many forms:

> The whole world was devoid of Kṛṣṇa-Rāma *bhakti* . . . the people sang the various praises of Caṇḍī far into the night, and made offerings in *pūjā* to Vāsulī; with wine and flesh they worshiped the *yakṣas*. In the uproar . . . no one heard the name of Kṛṣṇa (*CBh* 1.2.82-84).[2]

The government of Bengal was in the hands of the Muslims, and although there were many semi-independent Hindu local rulers, their territory was part of a vast judicial and administrative system designed for feudatory control. Furthermore, if the testimony of Jayānanda in his *Caitanya Maṅgala*[3] is to be believed, the period into which Caitanya was born was one of considerable unrest:

> Suddenly fear of the king possessed Navadvīpa; the king seized *brāhmaṇas*, taking their lives or their caste. In whose house in Navadvīpa the sound of the conch was heard, his wealth and life were taken, or caste destroyed. On whose forehead the *tilaka* was seen, or on whose shoulder a sacrificial thread, his door was broken and his house looted, and he was bound with bonds of iron. Temples and shrines were destroyed, and *tulasī* plants uprooted, and the inhabitants of Navadvīpa trembled, in fear for their lives. Bathing in the Gaṅgā was forbidden, as were the markets and the ghats, and hundreds of peepul and jackfruit trees were cut down (*JCM* 2.4.17-21).

[2] *Caitanya Bhāgavata* of Vṛndāvana Dāsa, ed. with the commentary *Nitāikaruṇakallolinī ṭīkā* by Rādhāgovinda Nātha, 6 vols. (Calcutta: Sādhanā Prakāśanī, 1373 BS); hereafter cited as *CBh*. The textual reference will be to section (*khaṇḍa*), chapter (*adhyāya*), and verse(s).

There are major differences of form, but not in substance in the numbering and breaking of chapters, etc., between the cited edition and the other most popular scholarly edition of the text by Gauḍīya Maṭha (ed. with the commentary *Gauḍīya-bhāṣya* by Bhakti Siddhānta Sarasvatī Gosvāmī, 3d ed. [Calcutta: Bhaktikevala Auḍulomi of Gauḍīya Mission at Bāgabājāra Gauḍīya Maṭha, 475 GA]). References, if different in this edition, will be noted with the abbreviation GM ed.; here [= 1.2.86-88 GM ed.].

[3] *Caitanya Maṅgala* of Jayānanda Miśra, ed. Bimenbehari Majumdar and Sukhamay Mukhopadhyay (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1971); hereafter cited as *JCM*. Textual reference will be to section (*khaṇḍa*), chapter, and verse(s).

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It seems likely that, if there is any truth in this ugly description, the king mentioned is Muzaffar Shāh, an African usurper whom Sir Wolseley Haig calls "this blood-thirsty monster,"[4] or one of his minions; Muzaffar ruled from 1489-1493. There seems to be little hard evidence that Husain Shāh (1493-1518), though he extended the power of his kingdom to the south and the east, had a policy of this kind of persecution. In any case, it was into this complicated scene that Caitanya, three years before Muzaffar's usurpation, had come.

In the centuries immediately preceding his birth, a wave of devotionalism had swept across northern India, from Maharashtra through the Hindi-speaking areas of northern India down to Bengal in the Gangetic delta. This devotionalism, *bhakti*, as it is called (from the root *-bhaj*, "to take part in"), found its primary expression in the poems and songs of devotees, *bhaktas*, written not in Sanskrit, the language of the high culture, but in the regional languages. This surge of activity may have been in reaction to the aloof brahmanism, or to Islam; but it spoke to people of the non-high culture, as well as to those participants in the Sanskrit culture who for their own reasons were no longer satisfied with the rigid and highly formalistic religious system represented by brahmanism. The ethos of the new *bhakti* was immediacy.

Actually, the movement had found its way to Bengal long before Caitanya appeared on the scene. Writers of the twelfth century and earlier had treated the theme of love between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, which became the religious and poetic theme par excellence of the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal. The movement had in fact taken shape many centuries before, in southern India, with the Āḻvārs, poet-saints of the ninth and tenth centuries also writing on the theme of divine love and religious devotion;[5] and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the great text of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, also came from that place and that time.[6]

How the *BhP* came to be the central text, and why it is so prominent in Bengal is a matter for later speculation. The fact is that the charming stories

[4] *Cambridge History of India*, vol. 3: *Turks and Afghans*, ed. Sir Wolseley Haig (Delhi: S. Chand and Co., 1958), 270-71.

[5] For a discussion of the Āḻvār poets, and beautiful translations from the work of one of them, see A. K. Ramanujan, trans., *Hymns for the Drowning: Poems for Viṣṇu by Nammāḻvār* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

[6] This is the suggestion of J. N. Farquhar in his *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, 1st ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1920), 232, and accepted by such recent scholars as Sushil Kumar De in his *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal*, 2d ed. (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1961), 6; hereafter cited as *VFM*. For a well-considered opinion on the problems of origins and dating, see J. A. B. van Buitenen, "On the Archaism of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*" in *Krishna: Myths, Rites and Attitudes*, ed. Milton B. Singer, with an Introduction by Daniel H. H. Ingalls (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1966); hereafter cited as *KMRA*. See also Friedhelm

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of the tenth book of that long work did take root in the soil of Bengal, and the love of the *gopīs*, the cowherd girls of Vṛndāvana, for the dark youth Kṛṣṇa, became the basic allegory. In the hands of the Vaiṣṇava poets the *gopīs* took on personality, and ultimately became epitomized in the person of Rādhā. Rādhā is not mentioned by name in the *BhP* text. There is, in the tenth book, a special *gopī*, whom Kṛṣṇa "took to a lonely place" (10.30.24); it is perhaps this girl who takes on poetic flesh and who in connection with whom the adjective, *ārādhita*, "longed-for, propitiated, or worshiped," is applied becomes a name.[7] In any case, to later poets she, like the other *gopīs*, is summoned by the unbearably sweet sound of Kṛṣṇa's flute as he plays in the night in the flower-groves on the bank of the river Yamunā, and she goes to a tryst with him there. She leaves her husband—for it is significant that she has been given a husband—and she leaves the comforts of her home and all the ease which the respect of society brings, and she goes to Kṛṣṇa. She undergoes the scorn and contempt of her husband's family, and all her elder relatives, a pain which is not eased by her lover's fickleness and frequent indifference, for the sake of her love.

A wicked woman—fouler than the foulest poison
So his mother's cruelty, like fire
burning in me.
My tyrant husband: the whetted
edge of a razor. And all around me,
reproachful dutiful women.
My love, what shall I tell you?
Whatever their calumnies, you
are my life itself.

Hardy, *Viraha-Bhakti: The Early History of Kṛṣṇa Devotion in South India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983).

The standard edition of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa, is that edited with Bengali translation by Rāmanārāyaṇa Vidyāratna, with the commentaries *Bhāvārthadīpikā ṭīkā* of Śrīdhara Svāmin, *Krama-sandarbha* of Jīva Gosvāmin, and *Sārārthadarśinī ṭīkā* of Viśvanātha Cakravartin, 5 vols. (Murshidabad: Rādhāramaṇa Press of Baharamapura, 1300-1305 BS); hereafter cited as *BhP*. Many other editions will correspond in chapter division, with only minor differences in versification.

[7] Rādhā is also the name of a constellation, and the name of Karṇa's foster mother in the *Mahābhārata*. The text in *BhP* 10.30.28 reads:

anayārādhito nūnam bhagavān harirīśvaraṃ /
yanno vihāya govindaṃ prīto yāmunayadrahaṃ //

The Lord Hari is certainly propitiated by this woman;
therefore, Govinda, being loved, leaves us behind and brings her to a secret place.

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My body
bears your brand—they know it.
For shame I cannot raise my head
before chaste women,
I cannot bear the cruelty, the knife-thrust
of seeing my fellow women make mocking signs to me.
I have weighed it all.
Yet I have chosen
to endure abuse for your sake.
So Balarāma-dāsa says.[8]

This is true love. And although these poems are late amplifications of the *BhP* stories, there is that in the stories themselves which provides rich soil for the allegories. A favorite episode, and one which Kṛṣṇadāsa will cite frequently, is that of the *rāsa līlā*. All the *gopīs* had joined Kṛṣṇa in the forest, and they danced there in a circle. By his magical power, Kṛṣṇa danced between each two *gopīs*, and in the center of the circle as well, playing his flute. When each of the *gopīs* saw Kṛṣṇa beside her, she began to think: "He is mine; he favors me most." As soon as they began to think that, Kṛṣṇa disappeared and returned only when the thoughts of the *gopīs* had turned away from themselves, away from their selfish satisfaction and pride of possession, toward genuine concern for him and for that which was other than themselves. It is an ingenuous story, and defines true love: when there is no thought of self, when all is aimed at the satisfaction of the beloved one. This true love is called *prema*. And it is characteristic of the love of man as *bhakta* for Kṛṣṇa as God.

The scheme, however, turns out to be far more than simple allegory; it is in fact religious truth. For to the Vaiṣṇavas the *BhP* is revelation. What that *purāṇa* describes as having happened in Vṛndāvana or Vraja, the place where the love between the *gopīs* and Kṛṣṇa happened, did literally happen, and is still happening. The text describes the *rāsa līlā* and all the other events as taking place in time; but they are in capsule form what is taking place eternally in the heavenly Vṛndāvana. Kṛṣṇa, with all the *gopīs*, and with his friends and foster-parents and cows and bowers and rivers all come to the earth in a kind of micro-time. What the *BhP* describes is therefore both finite and infinite; one is not a reflection of the other, for both are real. And each moment of the earthly Vṛndāvana-*līlā* is also eternal. This is not idle speculation. For in his worship the *bhakta* concentrates himself

[8] Edward C. Dimock, Jr. and Denise Levertov, *In Praise of Krishna: Songs from the Bengali* (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1967), 33; hereafter cited as *IPK*.

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totally on one or another of the characters of the *BhP* story, preferably a *gopī* or one of her helping companions. And when by various means he has realized himself as that character, he participates in the eternal *līlā*, he is himself eternal. Emulation, if long enough and strong enough, brings about identity.[9] There will be much more on these most important issues below.

This however was not the doctrine preached by Caitanya; this was the interpretation of Caitanya's life by later followers. Caitanya was not essentially a teacher. He was an ardent devotee, and he demonstrated in his life and personality what people saw as the characteristics of Rādhā. He was golden in complexion, as she was. He was passionate in his love for Kṛṣṇa, despondent in separation from him and ecstatic at the prospect of reunion. He would fall fainting at the sight of the neck of a peacock, the color of his beloved Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana. Caitanya was not acting this out, for his own nature was that of Rādhā. But less fortunate *bhaktas*, less holy people, must strive to attain ecstasy.

Not only was Caitanya Rādhā, he was at the same time Kṛṣṇa, come to save the earth from its burden, as the *Bhagavad Gītā* (4.7-8)[10] said he would. He had come to demonstrate the worship proper for this Kali age, this age of degradation: the joyous singing of the name of Kṛṣṇa, with the intoxication that it brings. He was Kṛṣṇa, the unitary and high god, and had as one of his characteristics *ānanda*, pure abstract joy; by his power of *ānanda* he gives joy to his *bhaktas*, and he receives joy from his *bhaktas* in the form of *prema*, pure, devoted love. But how can love be manifest unless there are two elements, male and female? So Kṛṣṇa separated himself into two, into Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa; it is their love which the *BhP* expounds, and which is fully expanded by later writers. But even that was not wholly satisfying, for Kṛṣṇa could not fully experience what Rādhā felt in loving him. So again he became two in one, separate but the same, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, in Caitanya.[11]

This unusual teaching, with its obvious intimacy and immediacy, is what sets the Vaiṣṇavism of Bengal off from the Vaiṣṇavism of the rest of India. And it is what makes the true biography of Caitanya difficult to ascertain, for it is understandable that given this belief his biographers would be constrained to find parallels in Caitanya's life to that of Kṛṣṇa as it is reported in the *BhP*. It is also what

[9] See David L. Haberman, *Acting as a Way of Salvation: A Study of the Rāgānugā Bhakti Sādhana* (New York and Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988), for a good introduction to one prominent but advanced meditational strategy by which this can be effected.

[10] The *Bhagavad Gītā* has been sufficiently standardized so that no particular version will be cited; the text is hereafter cited as *BhG*.

[11] For the theological argument behind this androgynous image, see below, Sect. VI.

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gave the sect the power to absorb a good deal of northern and eastern India in the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. Kṛṣṇa as Caitanya had walked that very soil, and had shown the possibility of a blissful eternity in joyful and loving worship. It is a belief which is still far from dead. Monasteries and *āśramas* abound. *Kīrtana*, group worship with dancing and singing of the names and praises of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā and Caitanya, goes on in every village of Bengal, and in Calcutta itself. And even the creative stream, which gave such beautiful and inspired songs to the literature of the world, has not dried up, despite the scholasticism which now has such a grip on Caitanya's followers; its course has only changed, flowing now through simpler tribal peoples, who find much the same inspiration in the divine love affair as did Caitanya's own companions, four centuries ago.[12]

[12] See Surajit Sinha, "Vaiṣṇava Influence on a Tribal Culture" in *KMRA*.

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II. A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT AS BACKGROUND TO THE *CAITANYA CARITĀMṚTA*

Although Caitanya was not the founder of the Vaiṣṇava movement in Bengal, he was its revivalist. Evidence that the movement existed well before his time is ample, as has been suggested. The lyrics of such poets as Caṇḍīdāsa and Vidyāpati, it is said in the *CC*, were "read with pleasure" by Caitanya. Although there is a good deal of controversy centering around the actual persons of these poets, there is no doubt that poets by those two names lived well before Caitanya's time.[13] The *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva, court poet to Lakṣmaṇa Sena of Bengal in the late twelfth century, celebrates the love affair between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, and there is still earlier evidence in the poetry of Ḍimboka and others of the currency of the story.[14] What is less certain is the extent and power of the *bhakti* movement in Bengal before Caitanya appeared on the scene. The texts, as we have seen, would have us believe that there was little Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*, and this is in fact given as the reason for the coming of Caitanya. But it is certain that there were some *bhaktas* around. There is no reason to doubt the statement that Caitanya's own family was Vaiṣṇava (*CC* 1.13.71), and it seems likely that Śrīvāsa and others among his early followers were already persuaded people when Caitanya took over leadership. On the other hand, certain forms of Tāntrism and Śāktism were evidently in vogue. Brahmanical forms of Hinduism and of social stricture do seem to have been rigid. Possibly this was in reaction to the advent of Islam, especially Sufi Islam with its highly emotional and humanistic orientation. The point is that the land of Bengal was

[13] Edward C. Dimock, Jr., *The Place of the Hidden Moon: Erotic Mysticism in the Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyā Cult of Bengal* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 56-66; hereafter cited as *PHM*. This book has been reissued with a revised introduction in a paperback edition by the University of Chicago Press, 1989.

[14] See Daniel H. H. Ingalls, *An Anthology of Sanskrit Court Poetry* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), 287; see also Sukumar Sen, A *History of Bengali Literature* (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1960), 17.

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not wholly unprepared for the advent of the man who was perhaps its greatest religious leader, though to what extent the preparation was negative and to what extent positive is largely a matter of speculation.

Caitanya was born on the night of an eclipse of the full moon of the month of Phālguna in AD 1486 in the city of Navadvīpa. His father was Jagannātha Miśra, a learned and pious Vaiṣṇava *brāhmaṇa* whose family had migrated to Nadīyā from a village in Sylhet district in the east; his mother was named Śacī. Despite protestations from many of his biographers, very little is known about Caitanya's early life; incidents are so mingled with stories of the child Kṛṣṇa as told in the *BhP* that it is hard to separate fact from fancy. Some deductions can be made. It seems for example that the boy studied Sanskrit grammar at the *ṭola*, the traditional school, run by Gaṅgādāsa, and this would not have been unusual for a *brāhmaṇa* boy of the time. His biographers are understandably anxious to make him out to be a great philosopher, rhetorician, and poet, but there is no reliable evidence to suggest that he was any of these things, or that he had any significant amount of education in them. There are many stories, including some in Kṛṣṇadāsa's text, of how with his learning, skill, and power in argument, together with his vast understanding of the human kind, he vanquished the greatest scholars of the day, including Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, a logician famed all over India. It is significant that most such claims come from the later biographers; legend had had time to grow and learning, then as now in India, is a characteristic which great men cannot be without. The fact is that Caitanya has left us almost no writing. There are eight *ślokas*, called the *śikṣāṣṭaka*, which Kṛṣṇadāsa, quoting them from the *Padyāvalī* of Rūpa Gosvāmin, gives in the last chapter of his work (*CC* 3.20.7-38, *śl.*3-10). But Amūlyacandra Sena, in his iconoclastic but often thought-provoking *Itihāsera śrīcaitanya*, calls the authenticity even of these into question.[15] He asks when the verses might have been written; they could not have been composed during the last years of Caitanya's life, for in those years he was totally absorbed by the madness of his separation from Kṛṣṇa, and the verses are careful Sanskrit. Madness, says Dr. Sena, who is a trained physician, is not a condition appropriate to the composition of Sanskrit verse; further he adds acerbically, there is no suggestion anywhere that he could compose Sanskrit verse even when lucid. In any case, it is true that nothing is really known of Caitanya's intellectual power; even if the *śikṣāṣṭaka* verses are his, they are verses of devotion, not of logic or learning.

All of the biographers, especially Vṛndāvana Dāsa in his *Caitanya Bhāgavata*, are clear on the fact that Caitanya, whether or not intellectually precocious, was a

[15] Amūlyacandra Sena, *Itihāsera śrīcaitanya* (Calcutta: Kiraṇa Kumāra Rāya through Sārasvata Lāibrerī, 1965), 195-96; hereafter cited as *ISC*.

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boy full of fun and mischief; he was constantly playing pranks on groups of his peers, and sometimes, perhaps a little cruelly, making fun of others and mocking their peculiarities of speech (*CBh* 1.10.160-61 [= 1.14.166-67 GM ed.]). It also seems that he had a temper. Murāri Gupta's *Kṛṣṇacaitanyacaritāmṛta*[16] records an incident, left out by the other biographers, of Caitanya's throwing a brick at his mother in his rage (*KCC* 1.6.11-31). And there are stories of how he took after fellow students (*CC* 1.17.248-50), and even his young wife,[17] to beat them.

In any case, the young Caitanya was sent to school, though with some trepidation on his parents' part, for they feared that education would lead him to the ascetic life. In his childhood his elder and only brother Viśvarūpa had become an ascetic, taking on the occasion of his *saṃnyāsa* the name Śaṃkarāraṇya. It was an incident which broke their mother Śacī's heart, and one which was to have a great deal of bearing on Caitanya's later life and on the history of the movement. While Caitanya was still a student, his father died, and the burden of the support of his mother fell upon the boy. It was about this time also that he married a girl named Lakṣmīpriyā, the daughter of one Vallabhācārya (not the founder of the Vaiṣṇava sect by that name), with whom he had fallen in love when they first met by the riverbank.

Caitanya's (or Viśvambhara's, for he was not at this time yet known by the name Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, which he took on entering *saṃnyāsa*) youthful relations with other women and girls of the town are also of some significance for what comes later. Although some writers such as Narahari Sarakāra and his disciple Locana Dāsa were to paint Caitanya as a real Kṛṣṇa in his erotic attractiveness to women, none of the earlier biographers suggests that even before his *saṃnyāsa* he was anything but chaste. He seems to have been a very attractive youth both physically and because his nature had a gentle, perhaps even feminine side;[18] and he became skilled in dance and song, women's arts which he must have learned through association with them. But in his adolescence and maturity he seems to have turned away from women, and in fact to have been embarrassed and troubled by them. The fact that Caitanya had no children is not relevant, for Lakṣmīpriyā was probably very young when she died, and he took *saṃnyāsa* very soon after his second marriage.

Because of his family responsibilities, Caitanya opened at about this time a *ṭola*, a Sanskrit school of his own, and while accounts of the vastness of the numbers of his students are probably exaggerated, it would seem that he had a living. Perhaps

[16] *Kṛṣṇacaitanyacaritāmṛta* of Murāri Gupta, ed. Mṛṇālakānti Ghoṣa, with Bengali trans. by Haridāsa Dāsa, 4th ed. (Calcutta: by the editor, 459 GA); hereafter cited as *KCC*. Citation will be to book (*prakrama*), chapter (*sarga*), and verse(s). This point is also noted by Sena, *ISC*, 46.

[17] Sena, *ISC*, 64.

[18] *Ibid.*, 200.

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it was not enough of a living, however, for also about this time he took a trip to his father's ancestral village in the east, Murāri tells us for the purpose of raising money, perhaps from relatives (*KCC* 1.11.5).[19] While he was away on that trip, his young wife died of snakebite (*CC* 1.16.18-19).[20] And shortly after his return to Navadvīpa, he married a second time, this time a girl named Viṣṇupriyā, the daughter of a local pandit named Sanātana Miśra. Surprisingly little is known about this girl, especially considering that she occupied a place of special reverence in the later phases of the movement.[21]

When Viśvambhara was twenty-two, he went to the city of Gayā to perform *śrāddha*, funeral obsequies for his father, in that place. What happened there is a mystery. Even Caitanya himself does not enlighten us, for every time the name of the place is mentioned he breaks down into tears. It is certain that he met there one Īśvara Purī, whom S. K. De calls "that emotional ascetic,"[22] who initiated him and gave him the Kṛṣṇa-*mantra*, the formula with the name of Kṛṣṇa which he would repeat and on which he would meditate throughout his religious life. He returned to Navadvīpa God-maddened, and proceeded to have *kīrtana*, with dancing and singing of the names and praises of Kṛṣṇa, every night in the courtyard of his friend and neighbor Śrīvāsa.[23] From an arrogant young householder-pandit he had suddenly been transformed into a devotee, and from that time even his teaching of grammar was shot through with Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*. It was also at this time that Nityānanda, a Tāntric *avadhūta* who had early left his home and wandered the countryside, came into his life.[24] Nityānanda was some years older than Caitanya, but was a kindred

[19] See also *Caitanya Maṅgala* of Locana Dāsa, ed. Mṛṇālakānti Ghoṣa, with the *padas* of Locana Dāsa (Calcutta: Amṛtabājāra Patrikā Office, 1354 BS), 2.27.2-5 (p. 78); hereafter cited as *LCM*. Citation will be to section (*khaṇḍa*), chapter, and page number of the printed text (due to lack of verse numbers).

Jayānanda makes a similar observation (*JCM* 2.56.11-12). As De points out (*VFM*, 74, n. 2), records of the trip are scanty, and it is the relatively late *Prema Vilāsa* which records the tradition that he went to his ancestral home in Sylhet. See *Prema Vilāsa* of Nityānanda Dāsa, ed. Yaśodālāla Tālukdāra (Calcutta: by the editor, 1320 BS), *vilāsa* 24; hereafter cited as *PV*. For more on this edition of the text, see below, Sect. III.1, esp. n. 68-69.

[20] It is unclear whether the snakebite is to be taken literally because Kṛṣṇadāsa writes somewhat ambiguously that she was bitten by the serpent-of-separation (*viraha sarpa*).

[21] Dimock, *PHM*, 99. For publications by and about the cult that has grown up around Viṣṇupriyā, see Tony K. Stewart, "The Biographical Images of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya: A Study in the Perception of Divinity" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1985), 348, n. 1; hereafter cited as *BIKC*.

[22] De, *VFM*, 76.

[23] Sometimes Śrīvāsa is called Śrīnivāsa, and is not to be confused with the important Vaiṣṇava of the same name who became prominent over a half century later.

[24] Dimock, *PHM*, 46-52.

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spirit, and was so like his departed brother Viśvarūpa that Śacī took him into her home and treated him as her own son.

The *kīrtana* seems to have started out as a small and private affair. But very soon it grew in popularity and in size; it came out of the courtyard and into the street, taking the form of a *nagara kīrtana*, a street procession. The rapid growth of the movement, of which this is an indication, seems to have aroused various kinds of hostilities. *Brāhmaṇa*s were afraid of its strength, for the emotionalism of it all seemed to them antagonistic to orthodox brahmanical Hinduism;[25] the Śāktas were also opposed, as has been seen, and the Muslim government seems to have feared what they saw to be the political implications of so many people beyond normal social control.[26] Jayānanda describes the situation this way:

> For many ages there had been controversy between the *brāhmaṇa*s and the Muslims [*yavana*]. Near Navadvīpa there was a village of hostile Piralyā *brāhmaṇa*s, and they gave false evidence in the presence of the king of Gauḍa: "The *brāhmaṇa*s of Navadvīpa will cause you danger, for they believe that there will be a *brāhmaṇa* king of Gauḍa. Do not stay here without care, for danger is nigh. A *brāhmaṇa* will certainly be king in Navadvīpa; it is written by the Gandharvas that the king will be skilled with the bow." These false words stuck in the mind of the king, and he gave the order: "Destroy Nadīyā . . ." (*JCM* 2.4.22-27).

But the fierce goddess Kālī appeared to him in a dream, with her bloodied sword and necklace of severed heads; the king relented, and Hindu life went on as before in Nadīyā (*JCM* 2.4.31-50). It is of interest that Nīlambara Cakravartī, Caitanya's maternal grandfather, when he saw the infant Caitanya, remarked that "he will become the *brāhmaṇa* king in Gauḍa" (*CBh* 1.2.241 [= 1.3.11 GM ed.]).

It was perhaps because of such opposition that Caitanya's decision to enter the ascetic life was formed, for Kṛṣṇadāsa has him argue to himself that if people see him as a *saṃnyāsin* they will appreciate the seriousness of his purpose. The real reason, S. K. De suggests, was undoubtedly deeper, for the passionate devotionalism which had been aroused in him at Gayā was almost certainly not as abrupt as it might appear, and he had probably been toying for at least two years with the idea of dedicating himself completely to his deity and to the religious life.

[25] *Infra., Sect. VII.1.*
[26] *Dimock, PHM, 113-14.*

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Regardless of the apparent precipitiousness, he was soon initiated by one Keśava Bhāratī, a *saṃnyāsin* of Kāṭoyā on the other side of the river from Navadvīpa, and he became, nominally at least, a member of the Bhāratī *sampradāya* of the *daśanāmi* order of Śaṃkara-*advaitin saṃnyāsin*s, taking the religious name Kṛṣṇa Caitanya. He was in name and in appearance a follower of the monistic philosophy, for Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya, the great *advaitin* or follower of the monistic school, recognized him when they first met as an *advaitin saṃnyāsin*. This did not at all hinder his intense devotionalism, and throughout his life he was taken to task for being a "sentimentalist" (*bhāvaka*) rather than the philosopher more appropriate to his nominal persuasion.

After he had taken his orders he returned to Śāntipura, near Navadvīpa, to the house of Advaitācārya, an old friend and confidant, where he met his mother; for having taken *saṃnyāsa*, he could not return to his own home for twelve years. Śacī, having lost her second son, was disconsolate. Caitanya wanted very much to go to Vṛndāvana in northern India, the place of his beloved Kṛṣṇa; but his mother's pleas made him change his mind and decide to go to live in Puri in Orissa, the place of the great temple of Jagannātha and a pilgrimage place for the Bengali Vaiṣṇavas of the time. There may have been another reason for this decision, for Kṛṣṇadāsa and other biographers hint that Caitanya's elder brother Viśvarūpa may also have gone to Puri to live. A search for his brother is also suggested as a possible reason for his long pilgrimage to the south and west after he had gone to Puri. In any case, Puri was accessible to Bengali Vaiṣṇavas, who were to go there every year for the annual Car Festival; and in this way Caitanya's link with the *bhaktas* of Bengal, and with his mother and wife, was maintained.

According to the biographer Kavikarṇapūra,[27] Caitanya remained in Puri on this first trip only eighteen days (*KCCM* 12.94). At the end of that time he left to go on a long pilgrimage to the south and west of the sub-continent. Why he stayed in this first instance so short a time is a matter for speculation. A. C. Sena suggests reasonably that at this time Orissa was in an extremely dangerous situation, with Muslim invasions imminent from the north and a war with the Vijayanagara empire going on in the south. He even suggests that perhaps the image of Jagannātha had been removed to some secret place, in fear of the Muslims, and that if this was so, there was little point in Caitanya staying in Puri.[28] But even in such a short time, Caitanya's presence had its impact, for it is said that during this stay both the

[27] *Kṛṣṇacaitanyacaritāmṛta Mahākāvya* of Kavikarṇapūra (Paramānanda Sena), ed. with intro. and Bengali trans. by Prāṇakiśora Gosvāmī (Calcutta: by the editor, n.d. [1377 BS]); hereafter cited as *KCCM*. Textual reference will be to chapter (*sarga*) and verse(s).

[28] Sena, *ISC*, 90, 101; see the section "*Śrīcaitanya yugera uḍisyā*," 98-107.

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great scholar Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya and the king Pratāparudra came under his influence.

Sārvabhauma was a famous scholar of *vedānta* and *nyāya*, who had written several books on these subjects, including a commentary on Lakṣmīdhara's *Advaita-makaranda* and one on the *Tattva-cintāmaṇi* of Gaṅgeśa, though De questions the latter ascription.[29] He had lived for a long time at Navadvīpa and had known Caitanya's family, but had moved to Puri, perhaps because that place was under a Hindu king, and was a teacher of *advaita* in the city. A. C. Sena,[30] casting doubt on the historicity of Sārvabhauma's conversion, points out that there are verses of devotional *bhakti* included in Rūpa's collection *Padyāvalī* which are ascribed to Sārvabhauma.[31] He says accurately that it is impossible to date those verses, and it may well be that Sārvabhauma had had leanings toward *bhakti* even before his meeting with Caitanya; and indeed it was possible in the context to be both philosopher and devotee, as Śaṃkara himself seems to have been. S. K. De does not doubt the conversion, but argues that it did not take place during Caitanya's first residence in Puri:

> . . . at the time when Sārvabhauma wrote his commentary on *Advaita-makaranda*, which is distinctly Advaita-vedāntic, he could not have accepted Caitanya's dualistic faith. In this work he refers to the vanquishing of Kṛṣṇarāya of Karṇāṭa by his patron Gajapati Pratāparudra of Orissa; but Kṛṣṇarāya did not come to the throne until 1510 AD, and his expedition against Orissa did not begin until 1513, so that work could not have been composed before this date.[32]

Caitanya arrived in Puri, according to calculations based on the biographies, in 1510. Neither argument of course suggests that Sārvabhauma did not in one way or another or at one time or another come under the influence of Caitanya's immensely powerful personality.

The conversion of Pratāparudra (r. 1597-1540 AD) is similarly questioned,[33] though the ancient intimate relationship between the family of the Mahārājā of Puri and the temple of Jagannātha might suggest grounds for mutual respect and interaction between Pratāparudra and Caitanya in much the way in which it is described by Kṛṣṇadāsa. Whether or not the Mahārājā was already a Vaiṣṇava when he met

[29] De, *VFM*, 85.

[30] Sena, *ISC*, 90-97.

[31] For the verses in question see *Padyāvalī* compiled by Rūpa Gosvāmin, ed. Sushil Kumar De, Oriental Publications Series no. 3 (Dacca: University of Dacca, 1934), vv. 72, 73, 90, 91, 99, 100, 133; and possibly 132 (under the name of Kavi Sārvabhauma).

[32] De, *VFM*, 85, n. 1.

[33] Ibid., 90.

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Caitanya, or whether he was converted at that time, or whether neither of these is true, there is no reason to discount Kṛṣṇadāsa's statements that Pratāparudra and his deputies not only did not obstruct Caitanya's activities, but actively assisted them. There is also a story, not recorded in the standard sources but told by the family of the Mahārājā of Mayūrabhañja, that on his way from Bengal to Puri Caitanya converted that Mahārājā, whose family is related to that of Puri. There are supposed to be letters from Caitanya himself proving this; but these have not to our knowledge been seen by scholars of the subject.[34]

After this brief stay in Puri, Caitanya left on a pilgrimage which, legend has it, took him all the way to Cape Cormorin, up the west coast of India to Gujarat, and across central India back to Orissa. It is regrettable that the details of this trip must still be categorized as legend for they could tell us much not only about the influence of Caitanya on other schools of Vaiṣṇavism, but about ways in which the mobility of *saṃnyāsin*s might have affected exchange of religious ideas throughout the subcontinent. In fact, although it is unlikely that the early biographers would be mistaken about the trip itself, the true extent of it is unknown, for the list of sites seems heavily standardized and conforms with other such pilgrimages by famous *bhakta*s in the tradition.

The *Kaḍacā* of Govindadāsa,[35] the authenticity of which text has been called into question (see below), has Caitanya reaching Kanyākumāri, at the very southern tip of India, on the full moon (*pūrṇimā*) of Māgha, exactly one year after his *saṃnyāsa*, and then travelling all the way up the west coast to Dvāraka in Gujarat. As he neared Dvāraka, according to Govindadāsa, he met two Bengalis and became homesick (*GDK*, p. 63). The language which he spoke on his pilgrimage is also a matter of speculation. Govindadāsa says that "sometimes Gaurarāya spoke Tamil, sometimes Sanskrit" (*GDK*, p. 51); that he knew any Tamil is to be seriously doubted. Sanskrit however is a plausible medium, and if indeed Caitanya was only one of many *saṃnyāsin*s wandering over the sub-continent at the time, the forces working towards cultural unity may have been greater than is sometimes suspected. It is also of some interest that songs about Caitanya, and even some songs in the Bengali language, are still sung in the *bhajana* rituals of the Tamil country.[36]

[34] Personal communication to Dimock by the late Rajkumar of the house, H.H. Saroop Bhanjdeo.

[35] *Kaḍacā* of Govindadāsa, ed. Dineśacandra Sena and Banoyārīlāla Gosvāmī, new ed. (Calcutta: Calcutta University, 1926); hereafter cited as *GDK*. Due to lack of internal divisions, textual references will be to page number only.

[36] T. K. Venkateswaran, "Rādhā-Krishna *Bhajanas* of South India: A Phenomenological Study" in Singer, ed., *KMRA*, 165; and Milton Singer, "The Rādhā-Krishna *Bhajanas* of Madras City" in ibid., 105, 109.

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It would seem in any case that Caitanya was away from Puri for about two years, time enough for him to travel that great distance. But Caitanya, with that penchant for solitude which we shall see again and again, took only one companion on the pilgrimage, and there is even difference of opinion as to the identity of that one. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja claims it was one Kṛṣṇadāsa (*CC* 2.7.34-38), and in this he follows one of his usual sources, Kavikarṇapūra (*KCCM* 3.21-30). The "diary" or "notebook" (*kaḍacā*) mentioned above, however, is signed Govinda Karmakāra or Govindadāsa, who claims to be the companion of Caitanya on the southern trip. It is obviously, potentially an extremely valuable document; but doubt has been cast on its authenticity by the fact that it suddenly appeared, without manuscript basis, in print in 1895, and by the fact that in its printed form it is undoubtedly fairly modern, including as it does some loan words from Portuguese and even English.[37] There is, furthermore, a feel to the text which is quite different from that of most texts of the period. The following, a description of Caitanya visiting the southern coast, sounds almost like a Christian mystic poet:

> Huge waves crashed upon the shore in that place, and their song made one aware of the greatness of God. As one gazed, in that condition, the mind became full of joy and the body thrilled with the rising of emotion. The sand was piled up in monuments like mountains, as if witnessing the greatness of God. The sea called its incessant affirmation. What can I say more than this? Everything in that place was beautiful; there was nothing which was not radiant, and his mind was purified, who gazed upon that beauty. (*GDK*, p. 42)

S. K. De's considered opinion, which always carries weight, is that although the text has been modernized and contains many interpolations, the basis of it is very likely valid. He also feels that part of the antagonism of some scholars toward the text is due to the fact that it paints a rather unorthodox, human picture of Caitanya.[38] It is also difficult to overcome the nearly unquestioning faith most scholars have in Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, who is reckoned to be one of their own, that is, a trustworthy scholar of extraordinary talent. The *Kaḍacā* says it was written by Govindadāsa.

[37] S. K. De (*VFM*, 62, n. 1) cites the Portuguese *jānālā* ("window") and English *gelāś* ("glass"). The controversy over the *GDK*, which has been dormant for a number of years, has recently resurfaced by the publication of a very interesting work by Nirmala Nārāyaṇa Gupta, titled *Govinda karmakārera karacā: prāmāṇikatā vicāra*, with an introduction by Janārdana Cakravartī (Calcutta: Suvarṇarekhā, 1390 BS).

[38] De, *VFM*, 62.

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As Kṛṣṇadāsa disagrees, the veracity of it is seriously questioned. Until that controversy is settled, we are left in almost total ignorance of what happened to Caitanya on his long journey. We are even left in ignorance of his motive in going. A. C. Sena suggests two possible reasons: the imminent invasions mentioned before, and a further search for his lost brother, the latter proposed by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja himself (*CC* 2.7.10).[39]

The texts agree, however, on one significant event which took place at the beginning of the trip, and that is the meeting with Rāmānanda Rāya on the banks of the Godāvarī River, in what is now northern Andhra Pradesh. Rāmānanda was a high official, as were other members of his family, in the administration of the kingdom of the Mahārājā Pratāparudra (*CC* 1.10.129-32);[40] he was also a great *bhakta*, whose profound devotion had been praised by Sārvabhauma to Caitanya. As has been described elsewhere, certain of his practices as well as his reported conversations would seem to indicate that he was a Sahajiyā or Tāntric Vaiṣṇava, and his doctrinal position might well have influenced Caitanya's own attitudes.[41] The significance of the meeting lay not only in the fact that because of it Rāmānanda became one of Caitanya's most intimate followers, taking leave from the service of the Mahārājā in order to remain with Caitanya until the end of the latter's life, but in the fact that it was Rāmānanda who revealed Caitanya's own Rādhā-*bhāva*, his personality as Rādhā, to Caitanya himself (*CC* 2.8). He saw Caitanya as both Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa: and from that time Rādhā manifested herself more and more in Caitanya's person, until in the anguish of his pain of separation from Kṛṣṇa she took him over completely, and he became irrevocably withdrawn from the world of ordinary men—mad, as it seemed to worldly human sight.

After two years he returned to Puri, and his followers from Bengal began a series of annual excursions to visit him at the Car Festival of Jagannātha.

[39] Sena, *ISC*, 108, 124-26.

[40] He is called *rājā* or *rājya adhikāri*, suggesting that he was a deputy of Pratāparudra himself. His ancestral home was near the town of Ālālanātha. His father was Bhavānanda and his brothers were named Gopīnātha, Kalānidhi, Sudhānidhi, and Vāṇīnātha. That he was a *bhakta* before meeting Caitanya is also indicated by the fact that he had written the Sanskrit devotional drama *Jagannātha-vallabha nāṭaka* before that time.

[41] Dimock, *PHM*, 52-55. It should be pointed out that Joseph O'Connell has challenged this assertion in several articles and public lectures, but we clearly interpret the same evidence differently. See Joseph T. O'Connell, "Were Caitanya's Vaiṣṇavas Really Sahajiyā: The Case of Rāmānanda Rāya," in *Shaping Bengali Worlds, Public and Private*, ed. Tony K. Stewart (East Lansing: Asian Studies Center, Michigan State University, 1989), pp. 11-22; and the expanded version of that article, "Rāmānanda Rāya: A Sahajiyā or a Rāgānugā Bhakta?" *Journal of Vaiṣṇava Studies* 1, no. 3 (Spring 1993): 36-58. This was also a major topic in his lectures at the Asiatic Society in Calcutta in 1992.

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This was a pattern which was broken only twice in the rest of his life, once when Caitanya was on another pilgrimage, and once when he sent word to his followers that he would that year visit them in Bengal. Caitanya had long cherished the idea of a pilgrimage to Vṛndāvana, the place of his beloved Kṛṣṇa, and about two years after his return from the south and west he set out for that place, choosing to go through Bengal, both because the way was better and because it would give him the opportunity to see old friends. According to the version of Kṛṣṇadāsa, it was on this trip that he first met Rūpa and Sanātana, two of the six Gosvāmins, those scholars and devotees who were to be credited by members of the community with "reclaiming" Vṛndāvana and who wrote the texts which were to give the enthusiastic devotionalism of Caitanya a theological and orthodox shape. The history of the family of Rūpa and Sanātana will be discussed below; but it is certain that at the time when they first met Caitanya they were high officials in the court of the Muslim Nawāb of Bengal, Husain Shāh (r. 1493-1518 AD). They were so passionately drawn to Caitanya that they left their high positions to become his disciples. Caitanya dispatched these two to join Lokanātha, whom he had sent earlier, in Vṛndāvana,[42] to rescue the temple and pilgrimage sites which, according to the Bengali writers at least, had fallen into disuse. A. C. Sena questions the idea that the Bengalis were pioneers in rehabilitating these sites, saying that "for a long time Nimbārka, and before Rūpa and Sanātana, Vallabha, had established *āśramas* there, with many pupils."[43] This seems to be partially at least borne out by the fact that Rūpa and Sanātana did encounter stiff opposition from members of the Vallabha-*sampradāya*, who seemed to resent what they felt to be the intrusion of the Bengalis on their territory.[44]

This first attempt of Caitanya to go to Vṛndāvana was abortive. While he was in Bengal, many people were constantly with him, and many obviously had the

[42] Lokanātha had gone to Caitanya while the latter was in Navadvīpa; it was then, according to the *Bhaktiratnākara* that he was deputed to go to Vṛndāvana (*Bhaktiratnākara* of Narahari Cakravartī, ed. Bhaktisiddhānta Sarasvatī [Calcutta: Gauḍīya Mission of the Bāgabājāra Gauḍīya Maṭha, 474 GA], 1.299-300; hereafter cited as *BhR*). While Lokanātha was not a great theologian, he was important to the Vṛndāvana school, especially as the *guru* of the great Vaiṣṇava Narottama (*Narottama Vilāsa* of Narahari Cakravartī, ed. Rāmanārāyaṇa Vidyāratna [Murshidabad: Rādhāramaṇa Press of Baharamapura, 1300 BS], pp. 2-9; and *Anurāgavallī* of Manohara Dāsa, ed. Mṛṇālakānti Ghoṣa, 3d ed. [Calcutta: by the editor, 445 GA], pp. 27-29).

[43] Sena, *ISC*, 148.

[44] Richard Barz has noted in personal communication that on several occasions members of the Vallabhācārya *sampradāya* contested the restoration of sites and especially the management of temples by Bengalis. In one of the most celebrated cases, Vallabhācārya had originally assigned the

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intention of accompanying him on his pilgrimage. It was, interestingly, his new follower Sanātana who suggested to him that it was inappropriate for a *saṃnyāsin* to go on a pilgrimage with great crowds of people in his retinue. So Caitanya, seeing the reason in that argument, retraced his steps to Puri. After a short time he again set out for Vṛndāvana, this time in relative secret and accompanied only by a *brāhmaṇa* and that *brāhmaṇa*'s servant. While he was in Vṛndāvana he was in constant ecstasy, and this so frightened his companions that they escorted him away from the place before, in his frenzy, an accident occurred. So they started back for Puri by way of Prayāga (Allahabad), in which place he was joined by Rūpa and Rūpa's younger brother Anupama or Vallabha. The latter, a devotee of Rāma, is important to the movement not so much because of his own contribution—he died young, in fact very shortly after this meeting—but for the fact that he was the father of the youngest and the greatest philosopher of the six Gosvāmins, Jīva by name. Caitanya then left for Vārāṇasī, where he met Sanātana and instructed him; it was here that he purportedly performed another conversion, this time the convert being the scholar Prakāśānanda. There is less reason to believe in the historicity of this conversion than of the others. The biographies by Murāri, Vṛndāvana Dāsa,

official *sevā* of the Govārdhannāthaji (more popularly Śrīnāthaji) temple to some Bengalis, but after his death, members of the Vallabha *sampradāya* began to complain that the Bengalis were offering food to an image of the goddess in the same chamber with Govārdhannāthaji and that they were improperly passing on the *prasāda* to their *gurus*—Rūpa and Sanātana—in Vṛndāvana. The *adhikārī* of the temple at this time was one Kṛṣṇadāsa, who was eventually convinced that the Bengalis had to be removed when a very prominent *sevaka* of the region, Avadhūtadāsa, revealed to him that Govārdhannāthaji had instructed him privately of the complaint and demanded their removal. Kṛṣṇadāsa then journeyed to Aḍel (Vallabhācārya's primary family residence near Allāhābād), where he met with the leader of the *sampradāya*, who concurred with the decision and wrote letters to Rāja Todaramalla and Rāja Bīrabala of emperor Akbar's court. They promised to support the move to oust the Bengalis, which Kṛṣṇadāsa quickly set about to do. He returned to the Govārdhannāthaji temple area and had fires set in the Bengalis' houses. When the Bengali *sevakas* saw the fires, they stopped their *pūjā* and ran to put out the fires, during which time Kṛṣṇadāsa placed his own *sevakas* in the temple to complete the worship. The Bengalis tried to reenter, but were stopped by force. Eventually the Bengalis were left with the temples repeatedly honored by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* (Madanamohana, Govindadeva, and Gopīnātha). For the complete story, see the second *prasaṅga* (chapter) of the translation of the *Vārtā* of Kṛṣṇadāsa from Gokulanātha's *Caurāsī Vaiṣṇavan kī Vārtā*, see Richard Barz, *The Bhakti Sect of Vallabhācārya*, Oriental Monograph Series no. 18 (Faridabad: Thomson Press [India], Ltd., 1976), 215-222.

David Haberman has also commented on the role of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, a sixteenth century South Indian *brāhmaṇa* in Vraja associated with Sanātana, in determining the sites of the various *yātrās*, which are followed even today by Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas and members of Vallabha's *puṣṭi-mārga*; see David L. Haberman, *Journey Through the Twelve Forests: An Encounter with Krishna* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 57ff; see also 119-20 for the story of Śrīnāthaji related by Barz.

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Kavikarṇapūra, Jayānanda, and Locana Dāsa do not mention the incident at all, and even Kṛṣṇadāsa is unusually vague on the matter. As De points out, Kṛṣṇadāsa is far from amiable toward Prakāśānanda, despite the fact that he always has good words for converts to the faith.[45]

Finally returning to Puri, Caitanya settled down, at about the age of thirty, to a life of devotion, in fact ecstasy, which was to last until his death eighteen years later. Attacked increasingly by his divine madness, for the last twelve years of his life he was almost entirely out of touch with the everyday world, and was on several occasions rescued from death only by the watchfulness and care of his two most intimate companions, Svarūpa Dāmodara and servant Govinda. Where he stayed during the last years is not known. A. C. Sena points out that it must have been in a large, brick-built house, for it is said that he stayed in a *gambhīrā*, the Oriya word for an inner chamber of such a large structure. Sena in fact feels that it is likely that the house was the present-day monastery known as the Rādhākānta Maṭha, near the main gate of the temple[46] and where, it is true, the visitor is shown the room in which Caitanya lived and, it is said, died.[47] Kavikarṇapūra and Jayānanda feel that Caitanya stayed in the garden (*ṭoṭā*) of Kāśīśvara Miśra. Significantly, the great Vaiṣṇava scholar, Haridāsa Dāsa, perhaps conflating sacred geography, locates the *gambhīrā* in Kāśīśvara Miśra's compound as well.[48]

The manner of Caitanya's death is a mystery. Murāri (*KCC* 1.2.14) mentions it only in passing, giving no details. Kṛṣṇadāsa (*CC* 1.13.7-8) says only that he died in 1455 *śaka* (1533 AD). Locana Dāsa records what is probably the popular legend, that Caitanya was absorbed into the great image of Jagannātha, since the two were identical, and simply disappeared (*LCM* 4.15; pp. 210-11). Jayānanda records the least orthodox, least acceptable, and probably the most accurate, in this case, account: that near the end of the Car Festival Caitanya injured his left foot while dancing, and after being in great pain for six days, died from an infection of the wound (*JCM* 9.119-56). A. C. Sena of course agrees with this, and adds that the chances would be very good that such a wound would become septic, the ground being covered with the droppings of cows and goats.[49] There are other, conflicting accounts. Melville Kennedy, for example, records another tradition, that Caitanya drowned,[50] a tradition which persists among certain Bāul musicians

[45] De, *VFM*, 100, n. 1.

[46] Sena, *ISC*, 155.

[47] This is personal experience—ECD.

[48] Haridāsa Dāsa, *Śrīśrī gauḍīya vaiṣṇava abhidhāna*, 2 vols. (Navadvīpa: by the editor at Haribola Kuṭīra, 471 GA), 2:1858.

[49] Sena, *ISC*, 196-99.

[50] Melville T. Kennedy, *The Caitanya Movement: A Study of the Vaishṇavism of Bengal*, The

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today.[51] But this story is probably based on the incident reported by Kṛṣṇadāsa, in which Caitanya is rescued from drowning by a fisherman (*CC* 3.18.24-79), and in all, the Jayānanda account seems most reasonable. The tales show a remarkable structural unity in their narratives, which remains consistent with basic philosophical principles regarding the nature of devotion and the devotee's place in this world.[52] Explaining Caitanya's death was not easy, but on the time of the death, there is a general agreement: both Jayānanda (*JCM* 9.147-48) and Locana Dāsa (*LCM* 4.15; p. 210) report that it was on the twenty-first of Āśāṛha, 1533 AD.

The problem does not quite end there, for the question arises: what happened to the body? It was probably buried, as was the body of Haridāsa, on the seashore (*CC* 3.11.65), and as the bodies of perfected *bhaktas* usually are. But everyone is silent about it, which probably accounts for the stories of his simple disappearance. One popular story attributed to the eighteenth century Oriya *Prematarangiṇī* of Sadānanda purports that the grave was "in the *ṭoṭā* of Gopīnātha," but there is some uncertainty as to what that means. How could it have been kept so quiet? For all the *bhaktas* of Bengal were in Puri for the Car Festival, as was the Mahārāja, Caitanya's devotee.

If we cut away like this all the stories of Caitanya's life which are told to bolster the idea of Caitanya's identity with Kṛṣṇa, and all the miracles and all the hyperbole, and all the lengthy argument and instruction so lovingly presented by Kṛṣṇadāsa, we are left with really very little to tell us about Caitanya the man. It is clear that he was an ascetic and withdrawn individual, having at the same time an extraordinary personal magnetism. He was almost certainly, especially in the later stages of his life, mad, whether this be interpreted as the divine madness of the holy fool, the random madness of the irresponsible child, or, as A. C. Sena prefers, epilepsy.[53] And he seems, when lucid, to have been a gentle man, though not above sustained and bitter anger, as when he drove poor Choṭa Haridāsa to suicide for a minor offence (*CC* 3.2.100-170). There was one thing he was not: he was no theologian, and this fact had profound effect on the movement after his death. After Caitanya's *saṃnyāsa* and departure for Puri, the devotees of Bengal were left without a leader on the immediate scene to whom they could give unqualified loyalty. It was true that there was yearly contact between him and his Bengali followers, and the fact that they made the long and

Religious Life of India Series, ed. J. N. Farquhar and Nicol Macnicol (Calcutta: Association Press, 1925), 51.

[51] Tony K. Stewart, "When Biographical Narratives Disagree: The Death of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya," *Numen* 38, no. 2 (1991): 242. This and the other stories have been translated in this essay.

[52] Ibid., 249-55.

[53] For a discussion of the very intriguing connection between Caitanya's ecstastic experience and epilepsy, see the commentary to *CC* 2.18.174.

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arduous journey every year is proof enough of the profound devotion that they had toward him, and of the primacy of his role in the initiation of the movement. Nevertheless, when he was no longer there, the movement began to splinter. We hear of followers of Advaitācārya, and followers of Nityānanda, and Gadādhara, and others and it seems almost as if these were separate schools. Indeed, perhaps they were.[54] Advaita, growing old, seems at least for a time to have turned away from the path of *bhakti* and to have taken again to the monistic *advaita* (which, his name suggests, he had followed once before); always the orthodox *brāhmaṇa*, his group seems to have been more concerned with the tradition than with the social and religious implications of the devotional enthusiasm preached by Caitanya.[55] Nityānanda, on the other hand, seems to have been deeply concerned with the lower social orders. He himself was a casteless *avadhūta*, and began a popular phase of the movement, perhaps one involved with the Tāntric or Sahajiyā beliefs, which found itself in opposition to that which Advaitācārya led. The splintering was not only on social, but on doctrinal lines; and it was not only in Bengal, for far away in Vṛndāvana were the six Gosvāmins and others whom Caitanya had sent, so involved with the writing of their texts and rarified thinking that they were cut off in many ways from the vigorous devotion which was characteristic of the Vaiṣṇavism of their native Bengal. Caitanya became to them, five of whom had known him well, a foundation for theological argument. They were less concerned with Caitanya the man who had walked among them than they were with the Kṛṣṇa of Vṛndāvana, and when they thought about Caitanya, it was in those terms.

Rūpa and Sanātana, and their nephew Jīva, were brilliant men, learned in the *śāstras* and every conceivable category of learning from esthetics to grammar. Jīva was perhaps the most brilliant of all, and he has more than twenty Sanskrit works, covering grammar, poetry, poetics, ritual, theology, and philosophy to his credit, including the monumental *Ṣaṭ-saṃdarbha*, which is the first full treatment of the theology of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism. The social situation of these three men is somewhat in doubt. It seems that their family was originally a *brāhmaṇa* one from the Carnatic region of southern India, settled in Bengal.[56] But Rūpa and Sanātana

[54] De, *VFM*, 109.

[55] A recent dissertation by Rebecca J. Manring, titled "Sacred Biography in the Formation of Religious Community: Advaitācārya and the Genesis of Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism" (PhD Dissertation, University of Washington, 1995), surveys the corpus of literature devoted to Advaita and specifically addresses the question of his affiliation.

[56] Sanātana, commenting on the third *śloka* of his *Bṛhadbhagavatāmṛta* (ed. Praṇodagopāla Bhaktiśāstri [Calcutta: by the editor, 469 GA]), describes his family as "famous in the Karṇāṭa country" (*karṇāṭādeśavikhyāta*), "a *brāhmaṇa* family" (*viprakūla*), which is settled in Bengal (*gauḍadeśi*).

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had worked for the Muslims, and as they had done so they had lost their *brāhmaṇa* status; it was likely that Jīva, being of their family though not himself personally responsible, had done so also. In the *CC* text, Sanātana is always protesting his "low caste, low companions, and low work," whenever Caitanya seeks to place him on a level with the other *bhaktas*. Kṛṣṇadāsa says nothing of Jīva's attitude on this, since Jīva, a much younger man, had probably never met Caitanya and is therefore not a direct actor in the *CC* story. These three were then non-*brāhmaṇas*, and that is significant not only for the social attitudes of the Vṛndāvana school,[57] but because Kṛṣṇadāsa was himself a *vaidya*, and these were among his *gurus*.

Another of the six Gosvāmins, another of the *gurus* of Kṛṣṇadāsa, and another non-*brāhmaṇa*, was Raghunātha Dāsa. He was born the son of a wealthy landowner, *kāyastha* by caste, to whom Caitanya was deeply attracted because of the young Raghunātha's deep devotion to Kṛṣṇa. He stayed with Caitanya in Puri for a long time, taking training at the hands of Svarūpa Dāmodara, and went to Vṛndāvana only after Caitanya's death. Of all the Gosvāmins, Raghunātha probably knew Caitanya best. It was from him that Kṛṣṇadāsa knew most of the stories of the life of Caitanya, as it was from Jīva and Rūpa that he learned most about how to interpret them.

The other two Gosvāmins, to whom Kṛṣṇadāsa seems less indebted, were *brāhmaṇas*. One was the great ritual specialist Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, and the other Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa, of the family of Tapana Miśra, with whom Caitanya stayed in Vārāṇasī. Raghunātha also knew Caitanya well, and had spent some time with him in Puri. But it would seem that Kṛṣṇadāsa himself had less to do with these two than with the four others. Despite the protestations of the meaninglessness of caste in the context of *bhakti*, it seems that there were some differences of opinion in the Bengali community of Vṛndāvana as to whether *gurus* could initiate people of higher castes. The *brāhmaṇa* Gopāla Bhaṭṭa was a true *brāhmaṇa*, and made no bones about his feeling that a man of lower caste cannot give initiation to a man of a higher one.[58] Yet even the strict Gopāla Bhaṭṭa was affected enough by the asocial attitude of *bhakti* to be "liberal enough to permit persons other than *brāhmaṇas* to act as preceptors to men of their own or lower castes."[59] In any case, it was into this intellectual and devout gathering that Kṛṣṇadāsa came.

[57] Dimock, *PHM*, 71-81.

[58] *Haribhaktivilāsa* of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, with the commentary *Digdarśinī-ṭīkā* of Sanātana Gosvāmin, 2 vols. (Barahanagara: Pāṭhabāḍī Āśrāma, n.d.), 1:1.36; hereafter cited as *HBhV*.

[59] De, *VFM*, 452. In the first generation of students to study with the Gosvāmins, Narottama Dāsa, a star pupil of both Jīva and Kṛṣṇadāsa, did initiate *brāhmaṇas*, with the approval of the community when he returned to Bengal, although he was not himself a *brāhmaṇa*. See Narahari Cakravartī's *Narottama Vilāsa* and *Bhaktiratnākara*.

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III. KṚṢṆADĀSA KAVIRĀJA AS AUTHOR

1. *Historical Observations about Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja*

Unlike many of the authors of books of this period, Kṛṣṇdāsa does not supply us with a great deal of information about himself. Perhaps this was because of his great humility, with examples of which his text is full; and perhaps it was because he thought of the subject matter of his book as holy, a book not of the acts (*carita*) but of the nectar of the acts (*caritāmṛta*), in which personalities would be out of place.[60] To be sure, writers of other religious books consider that their writing is not their own, but is inspired by the deity whom they celebrate. But many of them still see fit to include an *ātma kāhinī*, a biographical sketch. Mukundarāma was inspired by the goddess Caṇḍī to write her *maṅgala* poem, but his *ātma kāhinī* supplies us not only with knowledge of his life, but with a deft and biting picture of sixteenth century Bengal. And it should not be forgotten that Kṛṣṇadāsa was over eighty years old when he finished his great work. To intrude himself would possibly have been unthinkable for an old and pious man.

Yet not even Kṛṣṇadāsa was entirely free from the *ātma kāhinī* custom of writers of the time, and there are hints, such as those in *CC* 1.8, which do allow us to form a rough picture of his life. The picture is rough indeed, and those scholars who have attempted to fill it out have often relied on late texts, a dangerous practice at best. Dinesh Chandra Sen, in his *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, without citing sources, gives us the following:

Kṛṣṇadāsa was born in 1517 AD, of a *vaidya* family, in the village of Jhāmaṭapura in Burdwan district. His father's name was Bhagīratha, and his mother was named

[60] For more on this idea see Edward C. Dimock, Jr., "The 'Nectar of the Acts' of Caitanya" in *The Biographical Process: Studies in the History and Psychology of Religion*, ed. Frank E. Reynolds and Donald Capps (The Hague: Mouton, 1976), 109-17.

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Sunandā. They were a poor family, and Bhagīratha supported them with his practice as a *kavirāja*, a physician of Āyurvedic medicine. Bhagīratha died when Kṛṣṇadāsa was about six years old, and Sunandā, his widow, had great trouble supporting Kṛṣṇadāsa and his brother Śyāmadāsa, who was two years younger than he. So great indeed was her burden that she died only a few months after her husband, and the responsibility for the support of the children fell upon relatives.[61]

Some of this information Kṛṣṇadāsa himself gives us. But much of the rest of it, as Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out in the essay "*Śrīkṛṣṇadāsa kavirāja gosvāmī*" in the *bhūmikā* volume of his edition of the *CC*, can be shown to be wrong.[62] For example, if the poet had been born in 1517 AD, he would have been sixteen years old when Caitanya died. At the same time, we know from the *CC* text itself (1.5.153-55) that a servant of Nityānanda called Mīnaketana Rāmadāsa came to the house of Kṛṣṇadāsa while a *kīrtana* was taking place there, and fell into an argument with Kṛṣṇadāsa's brother because the latter did not have the proper reverence for Nityānanda. From the upset way in which Kṛṣṇadāsa describes this scene, it seems that Kṛṣṇadāsa himself had great reverence for both Caitanya and Nityānanda. This, plus the fact that a *kīrtana* was going on at his house, suggest that at this time Kṛṣṇadāsa was a convinced Vaiṣṇava, and a respected one at that. D. C. Sen says that this occurred when Kṛṣṇadāsa was sixteen years old; and this in turn would mean that Mīnaketana Rāmadāsa was in a bitter argument with a fourteen year old boy. More important, if Kṛṣṇadāsa was sixteen when Caitanya died, he would almost certainly have met either Nityānanda or Advaitācārya, both of whom survived Caitanya by many years. But the only suggestion of such a meeting occurs when Nityānanda appears before Kṛṣṇadāsa in a dream. Had he actually met them, it is hard to believe that he would have missed the opportunity to pay these great leaders the proper reverence. From such arguments as these, which seem convincing, Rādhagovinda Nātha reasons that Kṛṣṇadāsa was probably born about 1450 *śaka*, or 1528 AD, five years before Caitanya's death.

Kṛṣṇadāsa tells us that after the argument between Rāmadāsa and his brother, he was instructed in a dream to go to Vṛndāvana. "Near Naihāṭī there is a village called Jhāmaṭapura; there Nityānanda Rāma appeared in a dream to me" (*CC* 1.5.159). ". . . then Prabhu [Nityānanda], smiling, spoke to me: 'Ah, Kṛṣṇadāsa, do not be afraid. Go to Vṛndāvana, where all things can be attained'" (*CC* 1.5.172-73). It would seem that he was well received there by the Gosvāmins, as there are

[61] Dinesh Chandra Sen, *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, 2d ed. (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1954), 411-12.

[62] Rādhāgovinda Nātha, "*Śrīkṛṣṇadāsa kavirāja gosvāmī*" in *CC*, vol. 1, *bhūmikā*: 1-5. This first volume of introductory essays will hereafter be cited as *Bhū*.

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frequent *bandanās* or homage to all of them throughout his book. Rūpa and Raghunātha, however, are mentioned in the signature lines (*bhaṇitā*) at the end of every chapter through the work, and it would seem that it was to these two that he owed the most. It is true that he never specifies Raghunātha Dāsa, and that there were two Raghunāthas among the Gosvāmins. Rādhāgovinda Nātha, in the essay cited above, in fact feels that Kṛṣṇadāsa may be speaking of Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa. The fact that Svarūpa Damodāra figures so prominently in Kṛṣṇadāsa's theological explanations, would however suggest that Raghunātha Dāsa was his mentor, for Raghunātha Dāsa was handed over to the explicit care of Svarūpa upon his first arrival in Puri and studied with him (*CC* 1.10.90-91; 2.1.270; 2.2.73; 3.6.140, 199-204; 3.20.104). The evidence is not utterly conclusive, but on the basis of the fact that he frequently mentions Raghunātha Dāsa in other contexts, it is more probable that it is Raghunātha Dāsa to whom he refers.

Kṛṣṇadāsa passed his time in Vṛndāvana as did all the others there, in study, in celebration of Kṛṣṇa, and in writing. In addition to the *CC*, several works are attributed to him, among them the Sanskrit *Govinda-līlāmṛta*, and a Sanskrit commentary on the *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta*. The *CC* however is certainly his masterwork. He tells us in the eighth chapter of the opening section (*CC* 1.8.45-79) how he came to write the book. He first lists a number of Vaiṣṇavas then living in Vṛndāvana and their *gurus*, and then he says: "They all, being merciful, gave me an order, and at the command of all of them I write, without reticence" (1.8.67). Kṛṣṇadāsa then goes on to relate how he was anxious about his ability to write the book, but that he got a sign while he was praying at the temple of Madanagopāla (a form of Kṛṣṇa and one of the three primary images served by the Bengalis in Vṛndāvana): a garland fell from the neck of the image, and was placed by the *pūjārī*, the temple priest, around Kṛṣṇadāsa's own neck. ". . . at that moment, " says Kṛṣṇadāsa, "I began to write this book. Madanamohana causes me to write this book; my writing is but the speech of a parrot" (1.8.72-73). The last statement is standard for Vaiṣṇava authors, though perhaps Kṛṣṇadāsa, devout man that he was, meant it profoundly.

He was instructed to write the book because, although there were numerous other biographies of Caitanya even then in existence,[63] none of them treated in adequate detail the last years of Caitanya's life. Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *CBh* (or *Caitanya Maṅgala*, as Kṛṣṇadāsa calls it) had gone into great detail on the early life and the early residence in Puri of Caitanya; and other texts such as Murāri Gupta's *KCC* and Kavikarṇapūra's *KCCM* and *Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka*[64] also dealt with various phases of Caitanya's early life. Kṛṣṇadāsa, like the scholar he was, knew these

[63] Infra, Sect. VI.1.

[64] *Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka* of Kavikarṇapūra, edited with commentary and Bengali trans-

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texts well, and employed them in his own account. In many places in his *CC*, he says something like "Vṛndāvana Dāsa has described this elaborately, so I shall suggest it only in brief." He makes it clear that his own work is intended to supplement the earlier biographies. In fact it goes far beyond them in many ways in interpretation of the facts of Caitanya's life. But for the facts he was dependent upon the first-hand stories of Raghunātha Dāsa, and on the earlier texts; for they had been written much closer in time to the events, by and for those who knew Caitanya well. Murāri, of course, was Caitanya's senior in Navadvīpa, and wrote from his own observations, while others worked under the tutelage of Caitanya's close companions: Vṛndāvana Dāsa wrote at the behest of Nityānanda and the larger Bengali community which had participated in the activities being described, while Locana Dasa composed at the prompting of Narahari Sarakāra, and others in Bengal did likewise. Kṛṣṇadāsa himself was writing decades after Caitanya's death, and in Vṛndāvana, nearly eight hundred miles from the worlds of Navadvīpa and Puri, and in this sense developed a perspective that only distance could bring, for the events were to him remote in time and space, however inspired he was.

Exactly when Kṛṣṇadāsa did write the *CC* is a matter of some dispute. He himself says that he was an old man. Near the end of the last chapter of the book he writes: "I am old and worn out, and deaf and blind; my hand trembles, and my mind is not steady. I am devoured by disease; I can neither sit nor move, and day and night I suffer the pains of the five diseases" (3.20.84-85). And it is clear that he is writing about what was to him long past, at least in chronological time: "Even now," he says, "the servants of Prabhu (i.e., Caitanya) sing of the dance of the *parimuṇḍā*"[65] (3.10.99). This did not matter for his purposes, which were to present the basic ideas of Bengali Vaiṣṇavism in terms of Caitanya's life, and not to give a historically accurate account of the life itself.[66]

Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out in the introductory essay cited above that several of the MSS which he has seen say in the colophon: "completed 1537 *śaka* (i.e., 1615 AD), on Sunday the fifth day of the dark lunar fortnight (*kṛṣṇa pañcamī*) of Jyaiṣṭha, in Vṛndāvana."[67] This date would seem to fit the other evidence, especially

lation by Maṇīndranātha Guha (Pānihāṭī, 24 Paraganas: Sāvitrī Guha, 1378 BS); hereafter cited as *CCN*. Textual references will be to act (*aṅka*) and verse(s).

[65] *Parimuṇḍā* is an Oriya word (meaning "the waving of lights, incense, etc., before the image", i.e., *ārāti*), which in this context refers to a verse (*CC* 3.10.*śl*.3) which Caitanya had Svarūpa chant as he and the other devotees danced in an extraordinary display of the power of devotion (3.10.55-76).

[66] For a detailed study of how Kṛṣṇadāsa's interpretation compared with the other biographers' and some of the implications of these differences, see Stewart, *BIKC*, ch. 5-6.

[67] Rādhāgovinda Nātha, "*Śrīśrī caitanya caritāmṛtera samāptikāla*" in *Bhū*, 6; vide Sect. V. 4, n.

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Kṛṣṇadāsa's own regarding his age and infirmity, for this date would make him eighty-seven years old when he finished his work. The date would go unchallenged were it not for the evidence of a later, eighteenth century text, the *Prema Vilāsa* of Nityānanda Dāsa, which tells us that the *CC* was completed in the year 1503 *śaka* (1581 AD). This earlier date is of course accepted by those scholars to whom age and authenticity are one; but Rādhāgovinda Nātha suggests several reasons why the earlier date is impossible to accept. In the first place, internal textual criticism makes the last several sections of the *PV*, which include the statement about the date of the *CC*, suspect.[68] In the second, several of the oldest MSS, including the authoritative Śiuṛi MS found in Birbhum, include *ślokas* with the 1537 *śaka* date. On the other hand, no MS which has a date gives that date as 1503 *śaka*, as attested by the *PV*. Third, 1503 *śaka* is unacceptable because in the *CC* text itself the *Gopālacampū* of Jīva Gosvāmin is mentioned, and the dates of composition of that text are well attested as 1510-14 *śaka* (1588-92 AD). And finally, as if more evidence were needed, Rādhāgovinda Nātha turns to the *pañjikās*, those almanacs so carefully kept in India and so valuable for work of this kind. The question is in which year did the *kṛṣṇa pañcamī* (the fifth day of the dark fortnight of the lunar month) fall on a Sunday. The *pañjikās* say 1537 *śaka*.

The obvious question is: if the original MS, Kṛṣṇadāsa's own, had given 1537 *śaka* as the date of its completion, why does it not appear in later copies? The answer is in terms of that fact of Indian literary history so vexing to historical scholars: the loose-leaf MS. The leaf containing the dating *śloka*, being on the bottom of the pile, could easily have been lost as is often the case. Copies of the MS which contain the date would then be copies of an earlier form of the MS; copies without the date would be copies of the later mutilated form. And in practice, some scribes choose not to include a date either of original composition or copy.

The final question is that of the date of Kṛṣṇadāsa's death, which, if the above calculations which make him eighty-seven at the time of the completion of the *CC* are correct, is not too critical. He could not have lived much beyond that time. There is however a slightly misleading contention, propounded again by the *PV*

141 below, where this is corroborated. At the time of his research, the extraordinary list of MSS provided by Jatindra Mohana Bhatterjee in his *Catalogus Catalogorum of Bengali Mansucripts* (vol. 1 [Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1978]) was not available. There are in this catalog numerous MSS previously unreported, although few of the age in question.

[68] The date for the *CC* appears in the closing verses of chapter (*vilāsa*) twenty-four of the Tālukdāra edition of the *PV*. The other primary edition of the text does not even include the controversial last four and one-half *vilāsas*: *PV* of Nityānanda Dāsa, ed. Rāmanārāyaṇa Vidyāratna (Murshidabad: Rādhāramaṇa Press of Baharamapura for Haribhaktipradāyinī Sabhā, 1298 BS).

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and taken up by such later writers as D. C. Sen. The *PV* describes the well-known incident in which the three great Vaiṣṇavas Śrīnivāsa, Śyāmānanda, and Narottama Dāsa were transporting various books and manuscripts from Vṛndāvana to Bengal. As they were passing through the forests of Viṣṇupura, they were set upon and robbed by minions of the *rājā* of that place. At this point Śrīnivāsa sent a letter to Jīva Gosvāmin in Vṛndāvana, telling of the loss of all the books and manuscripts, and when he received it,

> Śrī Jīva fell down, understanding the meaning of the letter, and he told it to Lokanātha Gosvāmin and others. Śrī Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin heard it all, and weeping he repeated it with great pain. Raghunātha and [Kṛṣṇadāsa] Kavirāja , these two, when they heard it, also wept and rolled about on the ground. The Kavirāja said, "Prabhu, I do not understand the cause of this. What have I done? What have I done?" Because of his age the Kavirāja was not able to walk, and he died (lit. disappeared) from the grief of it.[69]

From this it is possible to conclude that among the MSS lost was Kṛṣṇadāsa's own *CC*, and that Kṛṣṇadāsa could not bear the loss of a book into which he had put so many years of his old age. Thus, according to this argument, in order to find the date of Kṛṣṇadāsa's death, it is only necessary to calculate the date of the robbery, add to it the few weeks it would take a letter to get from Viṣṇupura to Vṛndāvana, and assume that the shock of the news killed Kṛṣṇadāsa immediately.

Rādhāgovinda Nātha's essay has six pages of closely reasoned argument on the subject,[70] and those interested in this type of historical detective work can easily turn to them. Suffice it to say that on the evidence of various non-Vaiṣṇava texts such as the *ʿĀin-i-akbarī* of Abū'l Fazl it can be established that the *rājā* ruling in Viṣṇupura at the time was Vīrahāmvīra. Documents of the reign of this king point to 1599-1600 AD as the date of the robbery. If this is so, it is obvious that the *CC*, which was probably not finished until 1615, could not have been among the stolen works.

[69] *PV* of Nityānanda Dāsa, Rāmanārāyaṇa Vidyāratna ed., *vilāsa* 13, p. 167. The loss of the books is a well-known story among writers of the second and third generation of Caitanya's followers. The most complete account can be found in the *BhR* of Narahari Cakravartī, 7.14-239. The story is also mentioned in the *Anurāgavallī* of Manohara Dāsa, *mañjarī* 6, pp. 33-41; and *Karṇānanda* of Yadunandana Dāsa, ch. 7, in Śantilatā Rāya, *Vaiṣṇava sāhitya o yadunandana* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1976), 516-17, the latter account simply referring back to the *PV*.

[70] Nātha, *Bhū*, 14-19.

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Thus we are left with the speculation that Kṛṣṇadāsa did not live long after he had finished writing, and that he died between 1615 and 1620 AD. And this, unfortunately, is all we know of the man who has defined for us as well as anyone the complex doctrines of Bengali or Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism, and who provided Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal with the text which became the focal point for their beliefs. A few of the characteristics of his personality do, however, come through the text itself, and let us turn to a discussion of the text from that point of view.

2. *The Personality of Kṛṣṇadāsa from the Text*

That Kṛṣṇadāsa was a deeply learned man is perfectly clear. In the course of the CC he quotes from sixty-five identifiable Sanskrit works; and though he sometimes does not quote them, he gives evidence that he was well read in and understood the six systems of philosophy and the Vedic-Upaniṣadic tradition; and in addition he liberally sprinkles his narrative with unidentified Sanskrit *ślokas*, either composed by himself or taken down as they fell from the lips of his *gurus*. Nor are the texts he quotes limited to religious works such as the *BhP* and the *BhG*, although, as might be imagined, these come in for their share; he ranges from *mahākāvya* to Pāṇini to the Tantras. This is not terribly surprising, for the six Gosvāmins, as has been pointed out, were learned men in many fields, and wrote plays as well as theology, poetry as well as philosophy. And apart from what all these people might have carried in their heads, there must have been a substantial library at Vṛndāvana. Caitanya's instructions to the Gosvāmins included an injunction to collect *śāstras* there, and Kṛṣṇadāsa himself affirms that they had brought many MSS to the place.

With such Sanskrit learning, and with the Sanskrit orientation of his *gurus*, it is curious that he chose to write in Bengali. If, as has been suggested, he departed Bengal for Vṛndāvana at a relatively early age, he would for the greater part of his life have had little to do with the enthusiastic developments of the movement as they were taking place in Bengal. He would have met an occasional pilgrim-*bhakta* from the place. And some question can even be raised about his use of the language as a medium of social intercourse. Vṛndāvana was not populated exclusively by Bengalis, but by people from various parts of India, and a large part of daily life, religious and otherwise, must have been carried on in Sanskrit, probably the only common language. Why then did he choose to write his masterwork in Bengali? Or was he instructed to do so? And if he was instructed to do so, why

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did his instructors choose him and not another of the Bengali scholars resident in Vṛndāvana?

There is not a great deal of evidence to guide us in answering any of these questions. There is an interesting suggestion in the Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyā text *Vivarta vilāsa*, which is in fact a kind of Sahajiyā commentary on the *CC*, that Jīva Gosvāmin at least had serious objections to Kṛṣṇadāsa's writing in Bengali. So angry was he, in fact, that we are told that he threw the MS into the river. Fortunately, the text was so holy that it floated unharmed back to the shore, providing a sign that even Jīva could not ignore, and which he reluctantly acknowledged.[71] The reason given for Jīva's anger is that the *CC* reveals some of the inner meaning of the Caitanya-*līlā*, and that the revelation through the common everyday language would reach inappropriate people: secrets and truths should be limited to those initiated in the high culture of Sanskrit. It is nicely ironic that the *CC* is one of the few Bengali texts on which a Sanskrit commentary has been written, that of Viśvanātha Cakravartin in the eighteenth century.

If there is any truth in the story at all, it would seem that writing in Bengali was a decision which Kṛṣṇadāsa made on his own. As to why, it would be reasonable to assume that at some point there was recognition of the fact that the doctrines which the Gosvāmins were developing and putting down in Sanskrit, were not particularly accessible to the people of Bengal, where, after all, the whole thing started. This was not only because of language, for certainly there were many Sanskrit-educated devotees in Bengal, but because of distance, both psychological and spatial. As has been suggested, in some ways the Bengal branch of the movement was becoming more divergent from the theological "orthodoxy" which the Gosvāmins were trying to establish. In the matter of the relation of the *gopīs* to Kṛṣṇa, for example, the Gosvāmins were explaining that they were intrinsic to him, parts of him (*svakīya*), and that the *BhP*'s statements that they belonged to others (*parakīya*) should not be taken literally; the *bhaktas* of Bengal, on the other hand, were clinging to the notion of the religious importance of the *parakīya* idea, holding that transgression of social norms is a necessary part of true love.[72] So it is likely that Kṛṣṇadāsa chose to write in Bengali not only to reach non-Sanskrit-reading people, but to reach people who were deviating from the Gosvāmins' doctrine, to bring them back, so to speak, to the fold. The essential thought of the movement had gone from emotionalism and immediacy to rational and dogmatic state-

[71] *Vivarta Vilāsa* of Ākiñcana Dāsa, ed. Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭācārya (Calcutta: Tārācānda Dāsa and Sons, 1354 BS), *vilāsa* 2, pp. 21-22.

[72] Dimock, *PHM*, 200-215.

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ments as to the meaning of that; it was necessary to bring that thought back down from the rarified atmosphere of scholasticism to the fertile earth of Bengal.

But why Kṛṣṇadāsa? Certainly, he was a scholar who understood deeply the thought of the Gosvāmins; and he was at the same time an ardent devotee. What better man could be found to bridge the gap between the schoolmen of Vṛndāvana and the *bhaktas* of Bengal? Appropriately enough, the text is composed, as will be seen, in a language that would be accessible to a wide audience of *bhaktas*, whether they spoke Bengali, Oriya, or some mix of Brajabhāṣā. Stylistically, his extremely long text is written in the usual and rather monotonous *payāra* meter, couplets of fourteen syllable lines with caesura after the first eight, and rhymed aa, bb, cc, etc. Several times in the course of the text he breaks into the more elaborate *tripadi*, "three-footed," variation of this meter, the two lines of the couplet being broken into three parts each, with a variety of possible rhyme schemes (e.g., aab, ccb; abc, abc; etc.). These *tripadi* sections are the lyric sections, in which Caitanya reflects on one or another of the Kṛṣṇa-*līlās* or expands a verse from the *BhP*. They are often charming and witty, and occasionally quite beautiful, but rarely do they meet the standards set by such great poets as Govinda Dāsa or Vidyāpati.[73] It would seem that with his Sanskrit learning he could have taken advantage of the great variety of Sanskrit meters available to him; unlike his later countryman Bhāratacandra, who uses Sanskrit metrics in Bengali poetry with consummate skill, he does not choose to do so.

Rādhāgovinda Nātha calls Kṛṣṇadāsa's work "an unprecedented and special jewel even in the wealth of Bengali literature; I do not know that there is anywhere a combination so beautiful and sensitive of philosophical discussion and poetry."[74] He also calls it "most cherished by Bengali Vaiṣṇavas," and says that it can be read again and again, and that with each reading "new depths of devotion are discovered." One must agree that the book is an inexhaustible mine of religious devotion. Kṛṣṇadāsa's work in some places, can be compared to the poetry of the English metaphysical poets, Donne and others: wit and technical skill, as in the use of *alaṃkāra* (ornamentation), are there, and seem in their formality sometimes incompatible with the obvious profound devotion which they express. At Kṛṣṇadāsa's very best, there is a hint of the perception, grace, and controlled passion, blended with clever alliteration and other complex prosodic features, and involved metaphor, that are characteristic of the great Vaiṣṇava lyric poets. But then, it is one thing to write a verse of twelve lines which contains all this, and quite another to sustain it over 23,000.

[73] For some translations, see Dimock and Levertov, *IPK*.
[74] Nātha, *Bhū*, 4.

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Kṛṣṇadāsa was not a historian. He often confuses sequences of events, and as the irreverent A. C. Sena points out, he puts quotations from the *Brahma Saṃhitā* into the mouth of Rāmānanda Rāya during that worthy's first meeting with Caitanya, before the latter had gone on his southern pilgrimage (2.8.*śl*.29, *śl*.39).[75] Yet it does not bother Kṛṣṇadāsa to inform us that Caitanya brought that text back with him from southern India, and that it was not known in the north until he did (2.1.111; 2.9.295-97; 2.11.127-29). There are many examples of this kind of thing, and some of them will be pointed out in the commentary. It is tiresome, and irrelevant, to catalogue all these impossibilities and ahistoricities. Perhaps the reason for them is that Kṛṣṇadāsa was very old and, as he himself tells us, became confused. Equally likely is the possibility that historical sequence and such mundane things were not important to him. He was writing a hagiography, not a history; it was the meaning of the Caitanya-*līlā* that was important to him, not the historical facts. And indeed, as will be pointed out again, there is a timeless quality about his book: one is frequently unsure where one is in time, and that is in keeping with Kṛṣṇadāsa's purpose. Caitanya and his *bhaktas* "remember" (*smaraṇa*) their former *līlā*, the *līlā* of Vṛndāvana. The *bhaktas* serve Caitanya and Kṛṣṇa "in their minds" (*mānasa*). One is never entirely sure, due to Kṛṣṇadāsa's intention and to lack of gender in the pronoun and suffixal forms of the language, whether Rādhā is being spoken of, or Caitanya, or both at the same time. Vṛndāvana and Puri, Caitanya and Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, *gopa*, *gopī* and *bhakta* are all superimposed upon one another. People move back and forth between the human and divine, the finite and the infinite, with breathtaking ease, and as this is a characteristic of the faith as a whole, so it is a characteristic of this book, and historical fact loses its significance. For many devotees, of course, historical and other differentiations are not only insignificant but totally irrelevant, for when they hear the name Caitanya they automatically hear those of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

Which is not of course to say that Kṛṣṇadāsa was writing fantasy. Although he wrote close to eighty years after Caitanya's death, and although that is a long enough time for legends to grow and historical facts to seem to change, some details had been written down by others, and Kṛṣṇadāsa himself, in earlier years, had known some of the people close to Caitanya. The book is not useless for historians. The story of Gopīnātha, who was saved from a summary execution to which he had been sentenced for having, with provocation, insulted the king's son, is an interesting though not surprising historical sidelight (2.1.251; 3.9.12-57). Caitanya's encounter with Muslim freebooters tells us something about the countryside at the time (2.18.145-

[75] Sena, *ISC*, 119.

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203). And when Pratāparudra says that "I made Rāmānanda Rāya the *rājā* of Rājamahindā; of what he absorbed, and of what he gave me, there was no accounting made" (3.9.120), we are told a good deal about Pratāparudra, and about Rāmānanda, and perhaps about the rules of government of the day. On a topic dear to anyone who loves old books, Kṛṣṇadāsa depicts Caitanya preferring an old, worn palm-leaf manuscript page to a newly copied one, explicitly because the older version carried more authority and would be believed (2.9.193-95).[76] Despite his age, and despite his devotional purpose, Kṛṣṇadāsa had a good eye, and he tells us much.

Due to these peculiarities of the book, there are places in which it is difficult to know whether or not social or historical inferences can be drawn at all, or whether inferences drawn from Kṛṣṇadāsa's observations should be applied to him personally or more generally. Food plays a substantial part in Kṛṣṇadāsa's society. In the *antya līlā* and in fact throughout the book, time and time again great feasts are described, with long lists of the types of food prepared and long descriptions of the ways in which these were eaten. This might be interpreted in a number of ways. It might be a reflection of a natural anxiety about food in a place where, at least today, food is not always plentiful. Or it might reflect a concern with food as it relates to health, also not unknown in modern India. But either of these would be somewhat odd for a religious group which is essentially ascetic. Caitanya himself recognizes this contradiction, and when he is criticized for gluttony by Rāmacandra, he cuts his daily food in half (*CC* 2.1.252; 3.8.passim; 3.10.15). There are hints that through the food exchanges and communal feasts subtle ranking distinctions are sometimes being made within the group of *bhaktas*, although often in the opposite fashion of what is considered the norm in ordinary society, a possibility which would seem to correspond to recent anthropological theories.[77] Perhaps, then, this concern for the transformative power of food might be construed as a reflection of the ancient Hindu religious view of man as food and the eater of food; as R. C. Zaehner, commenting on the strange passage in *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* (3.10.6), puts it: "The process of eating and being eaten constitutes the unity underlying the diversity of physical existence, it is the unchanging law underlying the ever-changing phenom-

[76] This is in contrast to the often traditional practice of destroying old MSS after they had been copied. As I have on occasion been chagrined to witness, this is often done by committing them to sacred rivers, much as a the cremated enter those same waters—TKS.

[77] For specifically Bengali examples, see Ronald B. Inden and Ralph W. Nicholas, *Kinship in Bengali Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1977), passim; and Ronald B. Inden, *Marriage and Rank in Bengali Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976). The sections addressing food-exchange in both of these works owe much to the work of McKim Marriott.

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ena: it is *brahman*, and to realize oneself as food and the eater of food is very bliss."[78] Although the Vaiṣṇavas might not have put it quite that way, it is true that to them food is *prasāda*, a term which means both food which has first been offered to the deity, and "grace," in almost the Christian sense of that word. One offers one's life, one's food, and in return absorbs true life, life blessed by the deity, when one takes back that food and eats. For the deity has partaken of the offering, and what remains on the plate is a part of him. That the food does not disappear is not a matter for concern, for the qualities, the *guṇa*s, of the godhead are not the same as the *guṇa*s which define material nature; the god subsists on the essence of the offering, infused as it is with *bhakti*. What remains is nourishment for those of us still entrapped in material nature; the leavings are literally the remains of Kṛṣṇa's food.[79]

It is not necessary to belabor this interesting, though somewhat minor, point. The questions that it raises, and leaves unanswered, are clear and general enough: are such phenomena, as they are presented by this text, peculiar to this one man's particular religious belief, or are they phenomena which can be tied to larger characteristics of the society? Or are they merely the patient and engrossing concerns of an old man, very near to death? The text raises many such questions, and the reader will have to answer them for himself.

[78] R. C. Zaehner, *Hindu and Muslim Mysticism* (London: The University of London, Athlone Press, 1960), 29-30.

[79] For more on the *prasāda* and its relation to grace (*dayā*), mercy (*kṛpā*), and compassion (*karuṇā*), see the introduction to Tony K. Stewart, trans., "The Rescue of Two Drunkards," in *The Religions of India in Practice*, ed. Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 375-88, esp. 375-77.

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IV. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TEXT

1. *General Features and Organization*

On the largest scale, the book is arranged in three parts, according to the accepted divisions of the life of Caitanya. The first part, the *ādi līlā*, is divided into seventeen chapters (*pariccheda*), and concerns itself with the meaning of the early life of Caitanya, up to and including his *saṃnyāsa*. The second part, *madhya līlā*, by far the longest of the three, is divided into twenty-five chapters treating the life of Caitanya at Puri, and his pilgrimages to the south and to Vṛndāvana. The *madhya līlā* includes most of the theological portions of the book, and the very important discussions with Rāmānanda. The *antya līlā*, of twenty chapters, deals with the later life of Caitanya at Puri, his increasingly frequent attacks of madness and delirium, up to his death.[80]

It may be a matter of some confusion to some people who are not used to dealing with this type of text that, according to literary custom, Kṛṣṇadāsa will state at the beginning of the book in *sūtra* or condensed form, the matter with which he plans to concern himself throughout. Not being satisfied with this, he will also state at the beginning of each of the *līlā*s the concerns of the *līlā*, and summarize them at the end; and he will do the same at the beginning of each chapter, and sometimes at the beginning of a series of episodes within a chapter. And he will preface each chapter with a Sanskrit *śloka* which will state the matter to be treated in that chapter. The result sometimes is an impression of circles within circles, and one's head may swim slightly with a sense of

[80] As has already been noted, these three sections (*līlā*) of the book, i.e., *ādi*, *madhya*, *antya*, are indicated in citation by the numerals 1, 2, and 3 respectively, followed by chapter and, when appropriate, verse(s).

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disorientation and *déja-vu*; but as will become apparent later, these reiterations serve an important function in preserving the integrity of the text.

It is difficult not to suspect that this practice of stating what is to come, then giving the story, and then a résumé of the story, comes from the oral tradition. And it is true that at the time at which Kṛṣṇadāsa was writing, the oral *maṅgala kāvya* was perhaps the most popular vehicle for religious literature, although, when it was recorded and written down, the style quite naturally changed.[81] The simple couplet *payāra* meter, ideal for memorization, often became more complicated. The "formulas," as Lord calls them in *The Singer of Tales*,[82] used as filler or ties between two sections of the story or sometimes as memory aids, or to give the singer or teller of the tale time to collect his wits, would have become more complex or dropped altogether. But many of these oral characteristics, in their simplest form, remain in the *CC*.

This is certainly not to imply that the *CC* was oral literature, indeed it is far from it. The reasoning is too complex, the narrative itself too involved, the concern too didactic in some places and scholastic in others, to allow that possibility. Kṛṣṇadāsa's model was the Sanskrit philosophical text, and that is a written literature if there ever was one. It takes time to mull the meanings of the subtle statements and nice distinctions of Indian philosophy, and time is the characteristic of the written word, as Marshall McLuhan and others have shown.[83] Yet Kṛṣṇadāsa was writing for the people of Bengal, and so emulated the form which would, for this kind of content, have been familiar to them. It was mentioned before that his metric range is, in this text, limited; from the present point of view one might suspect that the reason was less that Sanskrit meter in all its complex variety was foreign to or difficult for him, than that the simple *payāra* was second nature to his readers.

The similarity of Kṛṣṇadāsa's poetic style to that of the oral *maṅgalas* can be seen on other levels than that of meter. One of these will unfortunately not come through in the translation, despite attempts to stick as closely to Kṛṣṇadāsa's Bengali as readable English will allow. It is usual in oral poetry for the semantic units to

[81] Edward C. Dimock, Jr., "The Goddess of Snakes in Medieval Bengal," *History of Religions* 1, no. 2 (Winter 1962): 308-309.

[82] Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (New York: Atheneum, 1965), ch. 3, "The Formula." See also Ruth Finnegan, *Oral Poetry: Its Nature, Significance and Social Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), and Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London and New York: Routledge, 1982).

[83] See esp. Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962); and his *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1964).

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be coterminous with the metric units, as Lord points out.[84] Kṛṣṇadāsa's verse shows this almost throughout. Two couplets, picked at random, show it (2.5.87-88):

brahmaṇyadeva tumi baḍa dayāmaya /
Brahmaṇyadeva! You are most full of mercy;
dui viprera dharma rākha haiyā sadaya //
being kind, preserve the *dharma* of two *brāhmaṇas*.
kanyā pāba mane mora nāhi ei sukha /
That I gain your daughter—this joy was not in my mind;
brahmaṇera pratijñā yāya ei baḍa duḥkha //
but that the promise of a *brāhmaṇa* is broken, this is very bad.

Such verses clearly have mnemonic qualities; but for Kṛṣṇadāsa to employ them is mere convention. Passages in which the semantic unit extends over several couplets can easily be found. Apart from series, as when Kṛṣṇadāsa lists the names of followers of Caitanya or the foods to be found at a feast, such passages occur most frequently in the doctrinal sections, where the complexity of the thought is such that it simply cannot be tightly bound grammatically. An example is in *madhya līlā* (2.18.112-13):

strī bāla vṛddha āra caṇḍāla yavana /
Women, children, old men, even *caṇḍālas*, and Muslims—
yei tomāra ekabāra pāya darśana //
whoever once gains a sight of you
kṛṣṇanāma laye nāce haiye unmatta /
takes the name of Kṛṣṇa, dances as if mad,
ācārya haila sei tārila jagata //
and becomes a teacher and saves the world.

Other characteristics of the text also suggest the older oral base for Kṛṣṇadāsa's style. The story of Haridāsa and the prostitute (3.3.91-135) appears again, slightly transformed, in the same chapter (3.3.214-47). And although they are clearly no more than remnants of the more elaborate oral usage, the text is filled with formulas of one kind or another; they are occasionally, in fact, almost monotonous in their frequency. At the end of almost all narrative passages, for example, Kṛṣṇadāsa will make a remark like "He who listens to this with faith, his ears are soothed and

[84] Lord, *Singer of Tales*, 41ff.

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he gains the feet of Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana." With these, however, there is more than a literary transformation at work, for such formulas become, in this religious context, *mantras*. They are no longer merely stylistic devices; they have religious efficacy in themselves.

2. *The Language of the Text*

Since he was oriented toward Sanskrit literature and the religious idiom in that language, it is no particular surprise to find Kṛṣṇadāsa using a highly Sanskritized form of Bengali when, indeed, he is not using Sanskrit itself. When he wrote his *CC*, he had been long away from Bengal and probably from constant Bengali conversation, for Bengalis were not the only people in Vṛndāvana. Kṛṣṇadāsa's Bengali, when put beside, for example, that of Vṛndāvana Dāsa, who lived in Bengal, seems self-conscious and even stilted.

There is no need of writing a grammar of the Bengali which he used. Suffice it to single out a few characteristics which bear directly on the translation of his text into English, partly in apology for a certain awkwardness; for occasionally what might be more graceful English has been sacrified in order to try to remain close to Kṛṣṇadāsa's linguistic structure.

His language is Sanskritic not only in vocabulary, for of necessity he uses the technical Sanskrit terms employed by his *gurus* the Gosvāmins in their definition of the theology; and there are many passages which discuss philosophy, poetics, and other technical matters. It is Sanskritic too in its structure. Kṛṣṇadāsa's verb forms, for example, as is true of other Middle Bengali texts, are typically non-finite: participles of various kinds and infinitives abound, and the result is that the verse has a static, heavy quality appropriate, it must be admitted, to his subject matter. Sometimes, when non-finite forms occur, there is ambiguity, for four different participial suffixes are used: *-i*, *-iyā*, *-ñā*, and *-ñi*, and the first of these is homophonous with the first person singular present. Potential confusion here is usually eliminated by syntax; but syntax does not help in occasional difficulty with the simple past and simple future. In the future, both second and third persons have *-bā* and *-ibā*, and in the past both have *-lā* and *-ilā*. This can lead, and does, especially in situations of indirect discourse, to problems of who is speaking to whom, and there may be an occasional misinterpretation. The first person, fortunately, is always clear, having *-ba* or *-iba* in the future, with an occasional *-u* form, and *-lu* in the past. Compound forms are never used, and present and past continuative and perfect are rare.

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It would seem that the complex verb system of modern Bengali had not developed fully by Kṛṣṇadāsa's time, or perhaps he simply preferred non-finite usage; either way, it did not hinder him in expression of involved thought.

The case suffixal system also seems rudimentary when compared with either Sanskrit or modern Bengali, except in the use of the instrumental, which is much more frequent in Kṛṣṇadāsa than in the modern language. Objective or accusative suffixes are frequently omitted, often it would seem due to the demands of the meter rather than grammatical simplicity, for they are found. But the fact that they could be omitted suggests that the rules of usage were lax and that syntax could shoulder some of the burden, although that, too, is very fluid. There is frequent compounding, sometimes very complex, again reminding one of Sanskrit. The pronominal system seems much the same as in the modern literary language, the *sādhu bhāṣā*, and this takes on particular importance in texts like the *CC*, for it is often the pronoun which denotes number; the verb system, then as now, made no number distinction. Nor is there more than a trace of gender in the language; where it occurs it is natural, not grammatical, or is borrowed from Sanskrit. This is important both for the poetry and the doctrinal literature of the Vaiṣṇavas. Feminines can be signified by Sanskrit borrowings, but need not be, which means that if the writer chooses to be ambiguous, he can be so without distorting the language. Poetry and doctrine both describe the passage back and forth between male and female condition in the *bhāva* of a *gopī*, for example; and one is not always sure whether Kṛṣṇadāsa is speaking of Caitanya or Rādhā, or of the *bhakta* or the *gopī*. And as the teaching is that Caitanya is Rādhā, and the *bhakta*, in his final condition, is the *gopī*, this ambiguity is often desirable. This unfortunately cannot be reproduced in English, and the reader will be belabored with footnotes on passages which in Bengali are remarkably simple and poetically effective.

For the rest, Kṛṣṇadāsa's language is difficult, but not deliberately obscure. He will use an occasional Hindi or Oriya expression. But for the most part, his obscurities are obscurities only to our time and place, and Kṛṣṇadāsa had no reason to believe that his work would one day be translated into a language of which he had never heard.

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3. *A Sample of Grammatical Forms Found in the Text*[85]

VERBAL FORMS

Person Suffixes. The person suffixes of the simple present tense are as in present-day Bengali, with a few variations, remnants of older or dialectical forms. As in the modern language, there are some differences between suffixes for consonant-final and those for vowel-final stems. There is no number distinction in the verb forms: where number is specified, it is through pronominal forms. In the following paradigms, parentheses indicate that the form is potential only; it has not been found in the text.

PERSON	STEM FORM -CVC-	ENGLISH
1st	*kari*	I/we do
2d ordinary	*kara/karo*	you do
2d familiar	(*karis*)	you do
2d honorific	*karen*	you do
3d ordinary	*kare*	he/she/it does/they do
3d honorific	*karen*	he/she/it does/they do

PERSON	STEM FORM -CV-	ENGLISH
1st	*yāi/yāṅ*	I/we go
2d ordinary	*yāa/yāo*	you go
2d familiar	(*yās*)	you go
2d honorific	*yān*	you go
3d ordinary	*yāy*	he/she/it goes/they go
3d honorific	*yān*	he/she/it goes/they go

The verb "come," which is also irregular in the modern language, occurs with alternate stems *ās-*, *āis-*, and *āi-*.

Past. There are three distinguishable past tenses; they are, however, less clear in their usage than in the contemporary language. The simple past (*-il-/-in-*) is by

[85] To highlight the differences in forms and to approximate more the sound of the language, the inherent vowel in consonant-final words will not be transliterated in this section unless it is preserved in the spoken language.

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far the most frequent, and is not limited to immediately past action; it is rather a generalized past tense. The present perfect (*-ach-* appended to one of the several participial stems) is used as in the present-day language, to denote past action which has results continuing into the present, e.g., *kariyāchi*, "I have done." There is also an infrequent usage of what is in form the present-day past habitual or conditional, though it too is more of a general past tense; it occurs, in the sample of Kṛṣṇadāsa's text which has been examined for grammar, only in the first person, and with the velar nasal personal suffix, e.g., *yāitāṅ*, "I went" or "I used to go."

Various stem changes also occur in the simple past. Vowel-final stems add *-h-* before the addition of the *-il-* suffix: the stem *ra-*, "remain," has the form *rahilāṅ*, "I remained"; the stem *ka-*, "speak," has the form *kahilen*, "he (hon.) spoke." The common stem *kar-*, "do," becomes *ka-* before the suffix, e.g., *tumi kaile*, "you did."

PERSON	STEM FORM -CVC-	ENGLISH
1st	*dekhilāṅ/dekhilu/*	I saw
	dekhinu	I saw
2d ordinary	*dekhile*	you saw
2d familiar	*dekhili*	you saw
2d honorific	*dekhilen*	you saw
3d ordinary	*dekhila/dekhilā*	he/she/it saw
3d honorific	(*dekhilen*)	he/she/it saw

PERSON	STEM FORM -VC-	ENGLISH
1st	*āilāṅ/āilum/(āinu)*	I came
2d ordinary	*āile*	you came
2d familiar	(*āili*)	you came
2d honorific	*āilen*	you came
3d ordinary	*āila/āilā*	he/she/it came
3d honorific	(*āilen*)	he/she/it came

The present perfect is formed on the base of the active participle, and participial forms are various. Participial suffixes are *-i*, *-e*, *-iyā*, *-iye*, and for vowel-stems, *-ñā*. Personal endings however are regular.

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PERSON	STEM FORM -CVC-	ENGLISH
1st	*kariyāchi/kariyachõ*	I have done
2d ordinary	*kariyācha*	you have done
2d familiar	(*kairyāchis*)	you have done
2d honorific	*kariyāchen*	you have done
3d ordinary	*kariyāche*	he/she/it has done
3d honorific	(*kariyāchen*)	he/she/it has done

Future. The future tense is also relatively regular; there is one questionable occurrence of the form *pārõ*, "I shall be able" (?) in the sample, and the occasional variant *haibek*, "he/she/it will become," also occurs. The latter form, it might be noted, is present in modern Bengali as a dialectical form in some western districts. There is no distinction between consonant and vowel stems.

PERSON	STEM FORM -CVC-	ENGLISH
1st	*kariba/karõ*	I shall do
2d ordinary	*karibā*	you will do
2d familiar	(*karibi*)	you will do
2d honorific	(*kariben*)	you will do
3d ordinary	*kariba/karibe/karibek*	he/she/it will do
3d honorific	*kariben*	he/she/it will do

Participles. Both active and passive participial forms are frequently used. The active participle taking the endings *-i*, *-e*, *-iyā*, and *-ñā*. These suffixes seem to be completely free variants, with usage depending on meter or other types of stylistic choice. The suffix *-iye* occurs with the causative participle. Passive participles regularly take the suffix *-ita*, a suffix also used for the formation of adjectives from nominal stems, e.g., *bala*, "speak" becomes *balita*, "spoken."

Imperative. The most usual form of the present imperative ordinary is *-a* or *-aha* added to the stem, as in the modern literary language: *kara/karaha*, "do"; the variant *-iya* however occurs occasionally: *kahiya*, "speak." There were no examples of present honorific imperative in the sample, but the future honorific imperative, identical in form with the simple future, does occur. There is one example of what seems to be the future ordinary imperative, although there is some ambiguity about its interpretation: *karõ*, "you will do."

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Conditional. The conditional is formed in two ways, as in the modern language: *yadi . . . tā haile . . .*, "If . . . then . . .," with verb forms in the simple present, past, or future. It is also formed by the use of the participle *-ile* with the appropriate finite form of the verb in the non-conditional clause: *śunile kariba*, "if he hears, he will do (it)."

Infinitive. The infinitive is also regular, with stem plus *-te* or *-ite*, e.g., *karite*, *dite*, etc. The usages of the inifinitives are also as in the modern language, including single or reduplicate infinitive to signify "while doing something," e.g., *yāite*, "while going." Infinitive plus the stem *de-*, "give" means "to allow something to happen."

Verbal Noun. The verbal noun is regular, formed by stem plus *-iba-*, taking regular substantive case endings, e.g., *tāhār chāḍibār man*, "he had a mind to go."

Negatives. Negatives are formed by verb plus *nāhi*: the verb *ha-*, "be, become," has however an optional variant *na-* in the negative simple present and past, and the verb *pār-*, "be able," has the variant *nār-* in the negative of those tenses.

Causatives. The text contains a full set of causative forms, the causative stem being formed by stem plus *-ā-*, and acting like other vowel stems, e.g., *dekhāy*, "he causes to see"; *nacāo*, "you cause to dance"; *karāiben*, "he will cause to be done." The causative imperative adds *-o* to the causative stem, e.g., *piyāo*, "cause to drink."

PRONOMINAL FORMS

Personal pronouns, like other nominals, fall into four cases and two numbers. There are no distinctions of gender. The most marked difference in usage from the modern language is the frequently found instrumental, e.g., *āmāte*, "by me." Nominative, genitive, and accusative forms function as expected; the dative falls together with the accusative, there being no distinction of suffix.

NOMINATIVE	
1st	*mui/mũi*
2d ordinary	*tumi*
2d familiar	*tũi/(tui)*
2d honorific	*(āpani)*
3d ordinary	*sei/tēho/(se)/iha*
3d honorific	*īhā/(tini)*

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GENITIVE

1st	*mor*
2d ordinary	*tomār*
2d familiar	(*tor*)
2d honorific	(*āpanār*)
3d ordinary	*tār/tāhār/ihār*
3d honorific	*tăr/tăhār/īhār*

ACCUSATIVE

1st	*āmāke/āmāre/more/(moke)*
2d ordinary	*tomāke/tomāre*
2d familiar	(*toke*)/(*tore*)
2d honorific	(*āpanāke*)
3d ordinary	*tāhāke/tāhāre/ihāke*
3d honorific	*tăhāke/tăhāre/tăre/īhāke/īhāre/(tăke)*

INSTRUMENTAL/LOCATIVE

1st	*āmāte*
2d ordinary	(*tomāte*)
2d familiar	(*tote*)
2d honorific	(*āpanāte*)
3d ordinary	*tāhāte/tăhe*[86]*/ihāte*
3d honorific	(*tăhāte*)/(*tăhe*)/*īhāte*

Reflexive. The reflexive pronoun *āpana* is declined as above, although the sample did not yield examples of all cases.

Plurals. Plurals are most often formed by the use of *-sabhā*, "collection," as a suffix, with case endings added to that: *tāsabhār icchāy*, "at the wish of (all of) them." There are however examples of forms closer to the modern language in the 1st and 2d personal nominative plural: *morā*, "we"; *tomarā*, "you" (plural ordinary). And there is a unique form in the 1st plural or dual accusative: *āmādōha*, "to us."

[86] The form *tăhe* was found with the third person ordinary verb ending, although it carries the nasal usually indicative of honorific forms.

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V. THE SCHOLARSHIP OF THE TEXT AND TRADITION

1. *Critically Editing the* Caitanya Caritāmṛta

Because the text is so important, both as text and indeed as votive object, and because it is so relatively recent, it does not present many of the problems of older Indic materials. Variant readings of real consequence are surprisingly few; and most variants are of the scribal error variety, sometimes confusing but usually making no real difference in the meaning. The few questionable readings in the printed text of Rādhāgovinda Nātha have been checked against two relatively old manuscripts, one from the collection of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, which bears the seal of the old Fort William College,[87] and the other from the collections of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad in Calcutta.[88]

[87] *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, MS no. 10 (Bengali Manuscript Collection, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta; n.d., complete in 260 folios). The handwritten cataloguing adjacent to the seal of the College of Fort William on the top folio indicates their MS no. 658; date of acquisition [?] 1825 AD. A complete description of the manuscript can be found in Praphulla Chandra Pal, comp., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Vernacular Manuscripts in the Collections of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. 9: *Bengali and Assamese Supplement* (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1941), 24.

[88] *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, MS no. 92 (Cittarañjana Dāsa Bengali Manuscript Collection, Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parisad, Calcutta; dtd. 1537 *śaka* [1022 BS]; complete in 370 folios). There is a second MS bearing the same date, but it is unfortunately incomplete: MS no. 2798 (General Bengali Manuscript Collection, Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parisad, Calcutta; dtd. 1537 *śaka* [1022 BS]). Among dated MSS these rank as two of the very oldest according to Jatindra Mohan Bhattacharjee in his *Catalogus Catalogorum of Bengali Manuscripts* (66-72). The oldest MS listed by Bhattacharjee is only two years older than the one consulted, but unfortunately was unavailable for copy: MS no. 448 (Bengali Dept. Manuscript Collection, Calcutta University, Calcutta; dtd. 1020 BS, complete). Bhattacharjee lists only one other MS bearing a date as early as the one consulted: MS no. 1380 (Ābdul Karim Sāhitya Viśārada Collection, Varendra Research Institute, Rajshahi, Bangladesh; dtd., 1022 BS [1537 *śaka*], complete).

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The colophon of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad MS is extremely faded and on the film print difficult to decipher. What can be read, however, is the verse:

śāke sinddhvāgnivāṇendau jyaiṣṭhe vṛndāvanāntare /
sūryāhe asitampañcamyāṃ granthohayaṃ pūrṇataṃ gataḥ //[89]

The chronogram is *sinddhvāgnivāṇendau*, and is, as is usual with Bengali texts of the period, to be read from right to left, thus: *indu* = one (the moon, or a point on the die); *vāṇa* = five (the arrows of Kāmadeva); *agni* = three (the sacrificial fires); *sinddhu* = seven (the seas).[90] The verse thus reads:

In the *śaka* year 1537 [i.e., 1615 AD], in the month of Jyaiṣṭha, on Sunday, the fifth day of the dark fortnight of the moon, in Vṛndāvana, this book has been finished.

The colophon of the Asiatic Society MS is, on the other hand, extremely clear, but does not include a date of copying. After the final *payāra* of the text, the *upasaṃhāra* (conclusion) of the MS reads:

Let this *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, offered to Caitanya, be a source of satisfaction to Śrīman Madanagopāla and Govinda. He who tastes the nectar of the acts (*caritāmṛta*), which destroys inauspiciousness and imparts the blessing of Śrīla Caitanya Viṣṇu, he is the black bee at the lotus of the stainless feet and tastes to the highest degree the *rasa* of the sweetness of pure love (*prema*). Thus is completed the *Śrī Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, offered to Śrī Caitanya. May Śrīśrī Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa be victorious.[91]

Perversely there have been certain problems not usually encountered by textual scholars, problems arising from the very condition that, as it turned out, made extensive MS work unnecessary. The text is not only so holy that copying has on the whole been very careful; it is so holy that some very old MSS were inaccessible. Dimock had heard, for example, of an old MS in the possession of a temple in a remote village of Burdwan district. It was purported to be Kṛṣṇadāsa's original, in fact. Whether or not that is true, a Bengali friend had photographed the colophon,

[89] *Antya līlā*, folio 104-A; folio 369 of the complete text.
[90] *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 2.4.
[91] *Antya līlā*, folio 69-B; folio 260 of the complete text. The *upasaṃhāra* of Rādhāgovinda Nātha's printed edition reads much the same way.

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on the basis of which that excellent scholar Sukumar Sen had verified that indeed the MS was very old. Dimock tried, unsuccessfully to film it, as did various friends.[92] In any case, those who were lucky enough to get close enough to the MS to see it reported that it is so smeared with vermilion from the fingers of the devout that large parts of it are not readable.

There was one other interesting and somewhat distressing experience in Dimock's search for materials, viz., in checking the records of the Jagannātha Temple in Puri to see to what extent Caitanya's long stay in that place had been noticed in those very complete documents. The Mahārāja of Puri, in whose possession there is always a duplicate set of records, very graciously consented to allow an examination of them for a particular year of Caitanya's residence. When he opened the tubular container in which the old palm leaves were kept, out poured bits and pieces of old leaf, and powder. Although these records are now beyond recovery, the records in the Jagannātha temple itself are beginning to be deciphered and translated, a work which might be expected to shed more light on the history of Caitanya and his movement.[93]

The other factor that made unnecessary a critical edition of the work was the very excellent edition of it by Rādhāgovinda Nātha, a massive six volume work, four of which are text, the remaining two containing extensive essays and introductory matter, accompanied by an excellent apparatus.[94] This fine scholar employed many MSS in making his edition, and although he unfortunately does not in any one place give details of those MSS, constant references in his commentary *Gaurakṛpataraṅgiṇī* such as "in the 178 year old MS at Śiuṛi" and careful critical work in his introductory material suggest that his comes close to a critical edition. Rādhāgovinda Nātha was himself a great *bhakta*, and ordinarily one would be inclined to suspect bias in the work of a man who was himself a devotee. But work with his commentary, while leaving no doubt as to where his sympathies lie, assures one of his essential fairness to his textual material. His readings are usually clear; and where there seems

[92] Among them, special thanks for their efforts are owed to Rachel van Meter Baumer, Tarun Mitra, Naresh Guha, and J. Saha.

[93] This work is, in large part, the result of the Orissa Research Project, a joint venture of Utkal University, Cuttack, various agencies in Orissa, and the South Asia Institute, University of Heidelberg. The *Mādalā Pañji* is the name of the major set of these early temple records, portions of which, e.g., the *Rāj Bhog* section, have already been translated (G. N. Dash, "*Mādalā Pañji: Rāj Bhog*" [typescript, n.d.; submitted to the Orissa Research Project as the First Interim Report]). For additional items pertaining to these valuable records, see Hermann Kulke, et al., *Orissa: A Comprehensive and Classified Bibliography*, Beiträge zur Südasienforschung, Südasien-Institut, Universität Heidelberg, no. 72 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1982), 159-60.

[94] This work is discussed at length below in section V.3.

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to be some confusion, that confusion is most often there also in the MSS and in the other printed texts at our disposal.

The critical situation, therefore, presents fewer difficulties than S. K. De found, writing before Rādhāgovinda Nātha's edition was widely available.[95] As will be obvious, Rādhāgovinda Nātha's commentary plays a major part, not only for identifications of people, many of whom are known through Vaiṣṇava traditions not ordinarily available to an outsider, but for interpretations of passages; in those few places where it seems that Rādhāgovinda Nātha's religious bias obscures history or the real intention of Kṛṣṇadāsa, there are notes to that effect. Other printed texts used, primarily for checking, are the popular Gauḍīya Maṭha edition of 1958,[96] and the edition of Vrajanātha Miśra, published in a late edition by Rādhāramaṇa Press in Murshidabad in 1927.[97]

2. *Standardizing the Text*

The consistency of the manuscripts and eventually the later printed editions of the *CC* is itself a function of the centrality of the text as a defining document within the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava community. The previously noted, possibly apocryphal, story of its loss and retrieval by the trio of Gosvāmin-trained scholar-devotees—Śrīnivāsa, Narottamadāsa, and Śyāmānanda[98]—would appear to justify a more important

[95] De, *VFM*, 51, n. 2.

[96] Ed., intro. and notes by Bhaktikevala Auḍulomi Mahārāja, with the commentary *Amṛtapravāha bhāṣya* of Saccidānanda Bhaktivinoda Ṭhākura, and the *Anubhāṣya* of Bārṣobhānavīdayita Dāsa (Calcutta: Gauḍīya Maṭha, 1364 BS). This edition is also discussed below, section V.3.

[97] Ed. Vrajanātha Miśra, with the commentary *Vaiṣṇavapriyā ṭīkā* of Jaganmohana Dāsa (Murshidabad: Rādhāramaṇa Press of Baharamapura, 1334 BS).

[98] The circumstances of the education and activities of this trio can be found in the *Bhaktiratnākara* and the *Narottama Vilāsa* of Narahari Cakravartī, Manohara Dāsa's *Anurāgavallī*, Priyanātha Rāya's *Śyāmānanda Prakāśa*, Yadunandana Dāsa's *Karṇānanda*, Gopījanavallabha Dāsa's *Rasika Maṅgala*, and in the earlier, less controversial sections of Nityānanda Dāsa's *Prema Vilāsa*. The stories are retold in several of the English works of D. C. Sen, but the three sustained historical studies that best describe this period are Nīrada Prasāda Nātha's *Narottama dāsa o tāhāra racanāvalī* (Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1975), Mihira Caudhurī Kāmilyā's *Narahari cakravartī: jīvanī o racanāvalī* (Burdwan: Bardhamāna Viṣvavidyālaya, 1981), Jīmūtavāhana Rāya's *Śrīnivāsa ācārya o ṣoḍaśa śatābdhira gauḍīya vaiṣṇava samāja* (Śantiniketana: Viśvabhāratī Gaveṣaṇā Prakāśana Samiti, 1984). More recently, Ramakanta Chakravarti has discussed the traditions in his English work, *Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal: 1486-1900* (Calcutta: Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, 1985). See also above, section III.1, n. 69. Dineschandra Sen tells the *Prema Vilāsa* version in close paraphrase in *The Vaiṣṇava Literature of Mediæval Bengal* (Calcutta: Calcutta University, 1917), 105-23.

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historical phenomenon: the way the text was repeatedly copied and circulated throughout Bengal, Orissa, and eventually back to Vraja after its ostensible recovery. Whether as the direct result of the text's near loss or simply through the proselytizing activities of these figures, the *CC* worked its way into every community of practicing Vaiṣṇavas in the region through a very systematic and concerted effort by well-placed individuals. Tradition has it that Śrīnivāsācārya quickly insinuated himself into the court of the local Malla king, Vīrahāṃvīra (who was, significantly, credited with confiscating the texts initially), both by his extraordinary adroitness as a scholar and devotee and through his marriages to locally prominent women. With this patronage, Śrīnivāsa was able to copy the text many times over. Narottama, too, had copies of the texts made through the efforts of the *mahārājas* in his family, while Śyāmānanda later established liaisons with ruling figures in Orissa, who helped to disseminate the text. The method of dissemination was ingenious, opportunistic, and very effective. A number of old Vaiṣṇava histories attest that this trio worked with the prominent members of the local community to convene the Vaiṣṇavas from all over Bengal for lengthy commemorative celebrations (*melā* or *mahotsava*) on the first anniversary of the passing of each of the devotees remaining from the original group around Caitanya. The *Bhaktiratnākara* lists seven of these, starting with a gathering in Kāṭoyā convened by Yadunānanda Cakravartī at the death of Gadādhara Dāsa, followed fairly quickly by Śrīnivāsa's *mahotsava* in Yājigrāma, and the Śrīkhaṇḍa *mahāmahotsava* convened by Raghunandana at the death of Narahari Sarakāra. Less prominent devotees, Gokulānanda and Śrīdāsa followed suit with a gathering in Kāñcanagaḍiyā to honor the death of Haridāsa Ācārya. The Kheturī festival, the fifth in this series, did not mark anyone's passing but resembled a *kīrtana* revival, and was the largest and longest. Convened by Narottama Dāsa, this gathering lasted several weeks and appears to have deliberately been used to consolidate the various groups into what we now clearly recognize as the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava community. Afterwards, Govinda Cakravartī convened a smaller group at Borākuli, while in Dhārendra, Śyāmānanda organized the last of these *utsavas* noted by the *Bhaktiratnākara*.[99] Each time they met, copies of the *CC* and other key works by the theologians in Vṛndāvana were distributed to the head of each of the major lineages present and to other prominent devotees. These gatherings continued in parts of Bengal nearly annually, thereby guarantee-

[99] *For more on this list, see Kāmilyā, Narahari cakravartī: jīvanī o racanāvalī,* 2:114-15.

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ing that texts would continue to circulate to help produce a more homogenous practicing community.[100]

The importance of the *CC* as a tool for organizing the community lies in the fact that it recognizes by name the major lineages central to the emerging group, identifies the biographies of Caitanya that were to be followed, provides synopses of the key Sanskrit works of Rūpa and Jīva Gosvāmin and others in the Vaiṣṇava community (texts that were likewise distributed in more limited numbers), and outlines the basis for all levels of ritual practice.[101] The extensive copying of the text from its earliest stages of circulation, coupled with its centrality as the charter document of the group, seems to have guaranteed a fidelity of transmission that has become a hallmark of Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas in the centuries since. They copied prolifically and circulated widely numerous titles of Bengali and Sanskrit works, ranging from the many biographies of Caitanya and his key followers to sophisticated theological treatises, ritual manuals, and of course numerous verse (*pada*) compositions for use in *kīrtana*. Due to their diligent industry and the fact that these documents were heavily used on a daily basis, the manuscript traditions of these texts prove to be amazingly uniform.[102] Among these many texts, the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* numbers first in quantity and breadth of distribution among surviving MSS; according to Jatindra Mohan Bhattacharjee's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, nearly 2000 MSS bear its name. Almost all of them are Kṛṣṇadāsa's work, albeit many are limited to a single section or chapter, or even a single episode within a chapter. A surprising number, however, are complete. This text is easily the most well preserved and, if the extant MSS today are any index, the most often copied of all the texts from the precolonial period. That it survived in a consistent form is due in

[100] The impulse to bring together members of the widely disparate populations of the Vaiṣṇava community by using mass-produced texts anticipates the use of the press for defining nationalist communities as argued by Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London and New York: Verso, 1991).

[101] For more on Kṛṣṇadāsa's rhetorical strategies to help define the group "orthodoxy" and to circumscribe the community, see Tony K. Stewart, "One Text from Many: The *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* as 'Classic' and 'Commentary'," in *According to Tradition: Hagiographical Writing in India*, edited by Winand M. Callewaert and Rupert Snell (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1994): 229-56.

[102] It should be noted that Tārāpada Mukhyopādhyāya stands nearly alone in his argument that the *CC* was originally a very short document, which expanded through use. We contend that what Tārāpada has uncovered is simply the outlining stages of the document that served to control the content (as noted below) and, at the same time, insured for an aging Kṛṣṇadāsa that should he die before its completion, the story would at least have been sketched according to his dictates. See Mukhyopādhyāya's "*Caritāmṛta'era racanākāla evaṃ vrajera gauḍīya vaiṣṇava sampradāya*," *Baṅgīya sāhitya pariṣat patrikā* 87, no. 1 (1387 BS): 16-39.

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no small part to the formal structures within the text itself as previously suggested, for it would appear that Kṛṣṇadāsa took extra steps to protect the integrity of his work.

The organization of the *CC* lends a symmetry to the narrative which makes it almost perfectly parallel to Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *Caitanya Bhāgavata*, while shifting the emphasis from Caitanya's early life to his life after renouncing the world. As already noted, the text is divided into three parts—*ādi, madhya, antya līlās*—that carry a size ratio of approximately 1 : 2 : 1. Each of these three parts has an internal table of contents which is imbedded in the text itself. At the end of each section is a summary of what was included (1.17.301-20; 2.25.195-215; 3.20.93-132). The opening of the *madhya līlā* has the additional redundancy of outlining the entirety of the *madhya līlā* (2.1.passim) and *antya līlā* (2.2.passim), that is, the remainder of the text. Internal to each chapter is a running marker that corresponds directly to the synopses in the various tables of contents, thereby assuring the reader that each episode is present. But this has the additional benefit of ensuring that no significant episode can be inserted into the body of the text without appearing to be superfluous. While this does not preclude the possibility of expanding or editing any individual episode, it does serve to control the overall contents, at least in a general limiting way. As a rule, Kṛṣṇadāsa routinely started new episodes or smaller diversions from the primary narrative by using conjunctions that ended one story with the first line of a *payāra* and began the next tale with the second line. For example, in *CC* 3.4:

> 129 Again and again he tried to prevent him, but still he embraced him, and when the pus touched his body, Sanātana was distressed. 130 And Prabhu and his *sevaka* both went home.
>
> The next day, Jagadānanda met Sanātana, 131 And the two sat together and talked of Kṛṣṇa. Sanātana, in misery, entreated the *paṇḍita*, 132 "I came here to see Prabhu and to break my misery, but Prabhu does not allow me to do that which I desire. 133 I forbid him, but still Prabhu embraces me, and the pus from my sores touches his body; this is a great offence, and there is no salvation from it. . . ."

This strategy of imbedding the ending and beginning of a story in a single strophe has the effect of ensuring that narrative sequence is followed, again limiting, but not eliminating, the possibility of interpolations. There are a few places where small asides will be found that do not correspond directly to the tables, but these seldom run beyond a few *payāras*, and likewise begin and end in the middle of the

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strophe. Kṛṣṇadāsa's formal controls seem to have guarded against wholesale changes in the text. And when those internal controls are combined with the way the text was effectively mass produced by scribes in the early phases of its dissemination, any glaring differences would be instantly recognized by the users of the text.

When we inspected closely the copies of the old MSS in our possession, as well as numerous samples MSS in the repositories of West Bengal, Bangladesh, and London, and then compared those to a wide range of printed editions, we discovered that Kṛṣṇadāsa had indeed been successful, for there simply were no signficant variations. That a significant number of the earliest MSS of the text were copied under the direction of Śrīnivāsa, combined with these internal structural controls to limit the deviations from the original. Each complete text contains seventeen chapters in the *ādi līlā*, twenty-five in the *madhya*, and twenty in the *antya*. Chapter length seldom deviates by more than a few *payāras*, although we did discover that two different strategies for numbering the *payāras* and *ślokas* in the printed editions can give the impression of difference; some texts, such as the widely used edition published by the Gauḍīya Mission, number the Sanskrit and Bengali strophes in sequence, while others, such as the Rādhāgovinda Nātha edition used for this translation (and whose numbering has been retained), number the Sanskrit *ślokas* separately from the Bengali *payāras* (both of these important editions are discussed below). The difference, however, proves only to be in the enumeration. As already noted, variations in readings are astonishingly few, and usually of scribal error or choice; for instance, a scribe might substitute metrically equivalent synonyms to update the text to a more contemporary idiom, a fairly common practice in the scribal trade (because a document was important only if it could be used, and texts that were used extensively would routinely metamorphose in this way). Because of the meticulous redundancy of the theological sections of the text, any significant changes there would be virtually impossible without a wholesale revision of the multiple cross-referenced passages.

The only truly significant change in the method of transcribing actually served to preserve the text more accurately as it was pressed into use by the community. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the MSS of the *CC* routinely, although not consistently, include lead-ins to the Sanskrit *ślokas* that cite the original Sanskrit work, often including chapter and verse. The work of generations of commentators and scribes to identify these references—older MSS occasionally showing their annotations as marginalia—came to be incorporated directly into the text in later copies. It is noteworthy, however, that the scribes routinely set apart those insertions from the rest of the text by keeping them out of metrical form. They

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generally take the more truncated and direct style of the academic citations they are, e.g., "*tathāhi bhāgavata purāṇa* 10.47.60"; or when several verses from the same text are cited, the equivalent of "ibid.," is employed, e.g., "*tathāhi bhaktirasāmṛta-sindhu* 1.12.12," followed by "*tathāhi tatraiva* 2.1.14." Often MSS will indicate simply the locative of the text, e.g., "*tathāhi bhaktirasāmṛtasindhau*" with the reference occasionally marked in the margin by the scribe or a commentator, then being inserted parenthetically in printed versions, eg., "*tathāhi bhaktirasāmṛtasindhau* (3.2.62)." The printed texts show the full range of these permutations. But the MSS go a step further. As part of this process of tightening the text through direct intertextual reference and consistent copying, a number of ancillary and highly specialized works were produced that are rightly deemed to be MSS of the *CC* or so closely associated that they cannot be separated from it. There are, for instance, MSS that list only the Sanskrit *ślokas* found in the body of the *CC*,[103] while others cite the *ślokas* and then provide Bengali translations.[104] These aids to interpretation often find their way into the printed commentaries (although generally not cited), while serving to make the text more accessible; by the same token, they severely limit the possibility for interpolations. The intertextual citations in fact only tighten the internal control of those dense theological sections that quote numerous Sanskrit sources, for Kṛṣṇadāsa tended to preface each Sanskrit *śloka* with one or more Bengali *payāras* leading in and then to recapitulate, if not translate, the passage after its quotation, e.g., *CC* 2.15.106-111:

> 106 Satyarāja said, "How shall we recognize Vaiṣṇavas? Tell us, who is a Vaiṣṇava, and who an ordinary man." 107 Prabhu said, "In whose mouth you hear once the name of Kṛṣṇa, he is to be worshiped as the best of all. 108 For by one name of Kṛṣṇa all *pāpa* is destroyed, and the nine kinds of *bhakti* are filled by the name. 109 It is not dependent on *dīkṣā*, or *puraścaryā*, or on the injunctions of the scriptures; at a touch of the tongue, everyone down to *caṇḍālas* is saved. 110 The result of it is the destruction of *saṃsāra*, and the mind being attracted by it, *prema* for Kṛṣṇa is aroused.

[103] For example, see the Dhaka Museum Collection's Bengali MS no. 8 and MS no. 13; Dhaka University Bengali MS no. 3056; and Medinīpura Sāhitya Pariṣat Bengali MS no. 156, which are lists of *ślokas*. The *Catalogus Catalogorum* also lists Tripura Mahārāja Collection Bengali MS no. 42, and Rāmamāla Granthāghara (Kumillā) Bengali MS no. 281.

[104] For example, see Medinīpura Sāhitya Pariṣat Bengali MS no. 60 and MS no. 133, which is a text by one Narottama Dāsa that matches the Sanskrit *ślokas* to Bengali glosses and translations.

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Śloka 2. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 29 [quoting Lakṣmīdhara]:
Attracting those who are pure of heart, driving away all *pāpa*, easy to attain by anyone down to *caṇḍāla*s, endowed with the power of *mukti*, this *mantra* of the name of Kṛṣṇa, not by *dīkṣā* and nor by meritorious conduct nor by *puraścaryā*, but by the merest touch of it on the tongue, fulfills.

111 Thus in whose mouth there is one Kṛṣṇa-name, he is a Vaiṣṇava; offer him greatest reverence."

Even though this strategy serves the important purpose of making the Sanskrit accessible to readers who do not know the language, it has the additional value of hindering any attempt to tamper with the narrative. The point is this: by the time the printing press became a factor in reproducing the text in the nineteenth century, the tradition had a very firm control over the precise content of the text, and that has led to an equally remarkable consistency in its printing, although the opportunities and limitations of that medium, too, had to be disciplined through the community's use.

3. *The* Caitanya Caritāmṛta *in Print*

By the early decades of the nineteenth century, the emergence of printing began to tell on the MSS produced in Bengal. The shape of the printed book with its vertical "portrait" page orientation began to appear sporadically in the MS, which in its traditional format was exclusively written lengthwise, on a long rectangle of "landscape" orientation. Occasionally, one of these vertically oriented MSS would be stitched along the left side in imitation of the printed text. Wealthier patrons would sometimes commission deluxe editions of texts that would use colored ink to distinguish Bengali *payāra*s from Sanskrit *śloka*s, and even use machine-trimmed one hundred-percent rag watermarked paper manufactured in Europe. As the MSS begin to show the familiarity of their scribes with western-style printed books, the early printing of Bengali texts show a correlative tendency to maintain continuity with the MS traditions by adopting the features and overall appearance of the handwritten work, a style of *imitatio punthi*. The shift to printing, which began in the early decades of the nineteenth century, did not become widespread until the second half of the century. Printing presses were at first difficult to obtain and once obtained, generally very tightly controlled by government censors. The bulk of early

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publishing was periodical, with novels and histories in the vernacular serialized in the daily, weekly, and monthly publications. But as soon as the strictures were eased and printing presses became more easily accessible, publishers moved very quickly to produce editions of Vaiṣṇava texts, including the *CC*. While not the first Vaiṣṇava book to be printed, it appears to be readied for mass consumption by as early as 1818, making it one of the earliest indigenous vernacular religious texts to be mechanically reproduced.[105] Some of the earliest religious texts were new compositions that were commissioned and financed by conservative Vaiṣṇava *zamindārs* of north Calcutta,[106] but within a very few years, printed editions of older texts, such as the *CC* were published alongside the newer books. The *CC* began to appear routinely in popular, relatively inexpensive forms no later than the 1840s. The production of such a text, however, was especially daunting for a publisher, for its length was staggering compared to most other books. A printer would have to invest heavily to produce the text in a single press run, thereby stretching his financial and physical resources (type fonts were not in unlimited supply, nor storage facilities), so as an alternative, many of the earliest texts were printed in fascicles. This of course placed the publisher at risk in other ways, for the total return could not be counted until all of the press runs were completed (and the bibliography shows that some of these editions were never finished), unless the book was printed by advance subscription, to which strategy many routinely resorted. The earliest printed text we have examined was produced in just this way. It was a Calcutta edition edited by Jñānacandra Siddhānta Bāgiśa and published by Prasannacandra Bhaṭṭācārya, with a printing date of 1843-44.[107] The last section of the text, the *antya līlā*, has an earlier imprint, which at least suggests that the text was in production earlier, with different parts brought out in sequence. It is not unusual to find texts printed out of sequence or with non-sequential fascicles sold or bound together to make a complete book. This has implications for the conception of the book as an assembly of parts, which makes Kṛṣṇadāsa's strategy of imbedding structure in the narrative a very prescient move. In this particular printing, the Bengali and Sanskrit are composed sequentially on the page in the manner of a traditional handwritten MS, with the endings marked by using the standard single

[105] Ramakanta Chakravarti cites the *Narottamavilāsa* and *Jagadīśacaritravijaya* editions in 1815. He also notes frequent advertisements for the *CC* in the popular periodical *Samācāradarpaṇa* between 1818 and 1829. See Ramakanta Chakravarti, *Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal*, 392f.

[106] See *ibid.*, esp. ch. 21, for some observations about this period and the use of printing by various groups.

[107] *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, edited by Jñānacandra Siddhānta Bāgiśa (Calcutta: Prasannacandra Bhaṭṭācārya at Jñānāñjana Yantra, [*ādi* and *madhya līlā*] 1252 BS [c. 1844]; [*antya līlā*] 1251 BS [c. 1843]).

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and double vertical lines (*daṇḍa*) for the two verses of the couplet; the print is on oblong, yellow-dyed paper likewise in imitation of a MS. The text has no commentary, no notes, and only the occasional citation imbedded prior to the *ślokas*.

By the 1850s, the *CC* entered a steady production with one edition edited by Rādhāmādhava Vidyāvigiśa from the publishing house of Veṇimādhava De in 1851,[108] who became the most prolific publisher of Vaiṣṇava texts in the nineteenth century. His company, which produced multiple lowcost editions known as "Battola" (*baṭatolā*), did on occasion publish the higher quality work for a more affluent audience, and it is in this latter category that his first edition of the *CC* appears. This text is composed of running Bengali *payāras*, but does set the Sanskrit *ślokas* somewhat apart with their citations often included; the print is clear and on very high quality low acid paper. Just three years later, the identical text reappears from the publishing house of Haridāsa Cūḍāmaṇī under licensed agreement with Veṇimādhava De.[109] The new publisher reset the type, reducing the volume of the text by approximately six percent. This inexpensive and unadorned edition was kept in print for a number of years.

After licensing his edition to another popular press, Veṇimādhava De commissioned a new edition that appeared in 1858 and that included, apparently for the first time in print, a verse commentary to explain the text. The text is virtually identical to that edited by Rādhāmādhava Vidyāvigīśa, although it is not so attributed; it adds the commentary *Ānandacandrika ṭippanī*, which is later credited to Utsavānanda, but whose name does not appear in the earliest edition that we examined.[110] The text is again printed horizontally on dyed yellow pages to resemble a *punthi*, including page numbers only on one side, the standard way to number the separate folios of MSS. The type is straight and clear; the commentary is in Sanskrit and printed at the bottom of the page. The overall production is of considerably higher quality than many of the shorter Vaiṣṇava, Sahajiyā, and Kartā Bhajā works that emanated from this active publishing house.

Less than a decade later another popular edition destined to be frequently reprinted appeared from the Sudhāsindhu Press of Rāmakānai Dāsa.[111] While the form of the text very much resembled the earlier edition published by Prasannacandra

108 Edited by Rādhāmādhava Vidyāvagīśa (Calcutta: Veṇimādhava De Co., 1773 *śaka* [c. 1851]).

109 (Calcutta: Haridāsa Cūḍāmaṇī [under licensed agreement with Veṇimādhava De], 1776 *śaka* [c. 1854]).

110 [*Ādimadhyāntalīlātmakaḥ*], with the commentary *Ānandacandrika ṭippanī* [of Utsavānanda] (Calcutta: Veṇimādhava Dera Vidyāratna Yantra, 1780 *śaka* [c. 1858]). This *ṭīkā* is not to be confused the commentary of the same name written by Viśvanātha Cakravartī on Rūpa's *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi*.

111 (Calcutta: Rāmakānai Dāsa at Sudhāsindhu Yantra, 1275 BS [1867]).

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Bhaṭṭācārya, this production included an extensive table of contents that stretched over eight pages and to which was appended Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya's *stavāṣṭaka* dedicated to Caitanya. The identical text appears a decade later with a different publisher, Akṣayakumāra Rāya at Harihara Press.[112] The pagination, typeface, and all other features of the text are identical with Rāmakānai's edition, giving the appearance of having been printed from the identical plates, although neither the title page nor any of the apparatus yields any such attribution or explanation. This version appears in multiple editions in the succeeding years. Another popular edition that appeared in the same year was produced by Vinodavihārī Śīla.[113] The *ślokas* are likewise set apart from the Bengali and include citations, although no commentary appears anywhere in the text. The presentation is somewhat more balanced with the print not quite so crowded onto the page, giving the appearance of a well conceived product. The edition produced by Vaneśvara Ghoṣa in the early 1880s includes the now commonly reproduced commentary *Ānandacandrika ṭipannī* of Utsavānanda, and not only provides citations to the Sanskrit *ślokas*, but includes some woodcuts at the end of the text.[114] Not surprisingly, illustrations, starting with woodcuts such as these, gave way to sepia-toned prints, but these in turn were eventually replaced by gray-scale and then three- and four-color separations that grace more contemporary editions.

By the mid 1880s, the style of printing begins to change in those texts we were able to examine, marking the transition to the format that is more commonly found today. One notable edition of 1886 was edited with a commentary and explanation of key words and phrases by Jagadīśvara Gupta and published by Deviprasanna Rāya Caudhurī.[115] The text is presented in a single column of *payāras* in the manner of traditional couplets, with each verse on a separate line. *Ślokas* are set in larger type and numbered, while the commentary is neatly placed at the bottom of the page in smaller type. Like several of its predecessors, this text proved to be sufficiently popular to be reprinted within three years, with subsequent later editions. Another significant development came with the edition of the *ādi līlā* by Nagendra-

112 (Calcutta: Akṣayakumāra Rāya and Co. at Harihara Press, 1285 BS [1877]).

113 *Śrīśrīcaitanyacaritāmṛta grantha: ādimadhyāntalīlātmakaḥ* (Calcutta: Vinodavihārī Śīla, 1285 BS [c. 1878]).

114 [*Ādi līlā*], with the commentary *Ānandacandrika ṭippanī* [of Utsavānanda] (Calcutta: Vaneśvara Ghoṣa, 1291 BS [c. 1884]). In the edition we examined, the *antya līlā* was published without date, while the *madhya līlā* was published by Nṛsiṃhakumāra Ghoṣa, also without a date.

115 Edited with *ṭīkā* and *vyākhyā* by Jagadīśvara Gupta (Calcutta: Deviprasanna Rāya Caudhurī, 1293 BS [c. 1886]).

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kumāra Rāya at the turn of the century,[116] for he includes Bengali translations of, not just comment on, the Sanskrit *ślokas*. The rest of the text apparently was never published (although he will later be responsible for publishing the first full length English translation of the text).

The earliest example of the modern style of printing and presentation, a style which has now held for nearly a century, is the edition edited by Mākhanalāla Dāsa Bhāgavatabhūṣaṇa.[117] The printing of this text is truly a work of art. The text is printed in large type in double columns at the top of the page, with the *ṭīkā* and translations of the Sanskrit *ślokas* at the bottom, clearly marked and divided from the text proper in smaller print. The author includes references to a Sanskrit commentary reputed to be that of Viśvanātha Cakravartī,[118] while his own commentary is quite extensive. It includes basic hermeneutical guides to the text, key words, cross references, and extended comment (e.g., when the text states simply thirty-two marks of the great man, the commentary will list the thirty-two and include textual references). It is at about this time that the individuals within the tradition (as opposed to editors hired by publishing houses) begin to edit the text and compose extensive commentary as a standard way to establish their authority within a lineage (and by the printing of the text, that of their group as well), much as the first generation of Caitanya's followers commissioned biographies of the master to articulate their particular theological and social positions. Many of the subsequent editions will be produced by those with just such a vested interest, while the text will remain a popular press item as well. Several new versions appeared in the next six years, one of which was, in the copy we examined, a sixth edition, indicating an

116 [*Ādi līlā*], edited by Nagendrakumāra Rāya (Ḍhākā: by the editor at Āṣutoṣa Press, 1312 BS [c. 1905]). The remainder of this text, which was not published until 1319 BS (c. 1912), shifts to prose summaries with the occasional *payāra* and *śloka* included directly. The *madhya līlā* was published by the same Āṣutoṣa Press, but the *antya līlā* bears the imprint of the East Bengal Printing and Publishing House.

117 Edited by Mākhanalāla Dāsa Bhāgavatabhūṣaṇa, with the *ṭīkā* of Viśvanātha Cakravartī and the editor's commentary *Sudhāsañcāriṇī vyākhyā*, 3 vols. (Calcutta: Candra and Co. and Oriental Printing Works, 1315 BS [c. 1908]).

118 Rādhāgovinda Nātha notes in the preface to the final volume of his third edition of the *CC* that, based on the MSS he has seen and used, the commentary found in Mākhanalāla's edition is probably not that of Viśvanātha Cakravartī. He laments the unfortunate distrust of any commentary that bears Viśvanātha's name caused by this and other false attributions, regardless of the reasons for them. It is not clear from the statement whether or not he had seen and used Mākhanalāla's edition prior to that point, but it is the only other edition of the *CC* he singles out by name in the prefaces to his editions.

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already long printing run.[119] Each picked a different audience, while adapting and experimenting with newer formats. One significant experiment among the texts we examined was found in that published by Śaraccandra Cakravartī; he imbedded the commentary directly into the text, but clearly marked it as "*ṭīkā*," while explaining the Sanskrit *ślokas* in Bengali and marking them with the expression "*asyārthaḥ*."[120] This form has been adopted in various ways by a number of publications since.

In 1917 Hariśacandra Majumdāra edited the text, which was produced by Yogīndranātha Bandyopādhyāya from Calcutta.[121] While the text is quite literally identical in content, apparatus, and physical format to the edition published by Śaraccandra Cakravartī four years earlier (although without attribution), it contains a very interesting "Gift Page" in the front. The text was obviously used for presentation at a significant social or religious event (e.g., rite of passage), with space on the page for the donor to fill in the name and address of the recipient, the date of the gift, and the name of the donor, reminiscent of similarly prepared Bibles. The use of the text in this way suggests just how basic the text had become to Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava conceptions of personal and communal identity. The text's popularity is again attested in 1924-25 with the release of at least two new editions and the second edition of another. The printing and pricing suggest that at least one is recycled from older type,[122] one is clearly aimed at an audience with limited resources,[123]

[119] In the version edited by Upendranātha Mukhopādhyāya (Calcutta: Vasumatī Kāryālaya, 423 GA [c. 1909]), the introduction includes the avowed attempt to "clean up the text" by consulting old *punthis*, hence it was six years in preparation; it should be noted, however, that as a popular edition it changed very little of the text as already presented. The fact that the editor saw this as a problem and explicitly addressed it, suggests that readers, at least, had some concern about the original text, sufficient that the question of establishing authoritative editions was begining to affect the way the text was edited and published. Another edition was edited by Śyāmalāla Gosvāmī, but with the final editing by Vinodavihāri Gosvāmī (Calcutta: by the editor at Vāṇī Press [*ādi* and *madhya līlās*], 423 GA [c. 1909]; [*antya līlā*], 425 GA [c. 1911]). The original editor of this text died before he could complete it. The second editor also included a prose summary of the entire text at the end of the work. See also the work edited by Prasannakumāra Gosvāmī and Vinodalāla Dāsagupta Kaviratna, which came out in its 6th ed. (Calcutta: Becārāma Bhaṭṭācārya, 1319 BS [c. 1912]).

[120] With the commentary *Ānandacandrikā ṭīkā* [of Utsavānanda], with additional notes and cross references (Calcutta: Śaraccandra Cakravartī at Kālikā Press, 1321 BS [c. 1914]).

[121] With the commentary *Ānandacandrikā ṭīkā* [of Utsavānanda], translations of the Sanskrit, and additional notes, edited by Hariśacandra Majumdāra (Calcutta: Yogīndranātha Bandyopādhyāya, 431 GA [c. 1917]).

[122] [*Ādi līlā*], edited by Pañcasāra Munsīgañja (Ḍhāka: Śaśibhūṣaṇa Bandyopādhyāya, 1332 BS [c. 1925]).

[123] Edited by Śyāmalāla Gosvāmī (Calcutta: Kānāilāla Śīla, 438 GA [c. 1924]).

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and one severely truncates the text by giving summaries of long passages,[124] a practice that has, for the most part, fallen into disuse, although one still finds abridgements available in the market.[125] In short, the audience for the text reached from village to city, and from the most humble to the financially well-endowed, while the text itself was intensively studied by scholars, used daily by devotees, and even became a commemorative object.

The *CC* had moved in succession from its status as a hagiography to that of religious icon, sufficient to be installed on an altar, to a more generally widespread cultural icon that denoted its owner's participation in and glorifying of indigenous religious and cultural values, marking a kind of religious nationalism commensurate to the times. With its obviously increasing popularity, the number of printings since 1925 is impressive. Excluding the multitude of Battola press versions, we have personally examined twenty-five other editions of the text from this period, many of which have seen multiple printings. In addition, many of the older texts, including some of the ones noted above, continued in print for decades, although new imprints were not always marked as such.[126] The reader may consult the bibliography for a good sample from this period, but at least five texts (several of which appear in related editions) are worth examining closely, for they are very germane to the translation at hand.

In the mid-twenties, several editions were popular among the scholars of the devotional communities, and these editions still set the standard for accuracy and interpretation. Since the last decades of the nineteenth century, the Haribhaktipradāyinī Sabhā produced a multitude of Vaiṣṇava texts at the Rādhāramaṇa Press in Baharampura, Murshidabad, which had been established exclusively for that purpose. The chief editor, Rāmanārāyaṇa Vidyāratna, had

[124] Edited by Śyāmacānda Vasāka, 2d ed. (Ḍhākā: by the editor at Śyāmacānda Printing Works, 1332 BS [c. 1925])

[125] See, for instance, *Caitanyacaritāmṛta: laghu saṃskarana*, edited with introduction, *tippani*, and glossary by Sukumāra Sena (New Delhi: Sāhitya Akademi, 1977).

[126] In 1982, I visited the Calcutta home of a man whose great-grandfather had been a prominent publisher in the late nineteenth century. Inquiring about several editions of religious texts that had been published nearly a century before, the gentleman agreed to provide copies at extremely low cost. When I acknowledged his generosity, he smiled knowingly and motioned to another part of his house. There, neatly packed in bins that towered a good twenty feet above, were the original plates for many of the major publications his great grandfather had edited and published. He explained that he had a stock of very old paper and whenever he needed some money, he would simply print off a few copies of one of the texts and sell them to antiquarian book dealers. The copies of the text in question had not been printed in 1885 as it noted on the title page, but only six weeks earlier, in the spring of 1982—TKS.

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edited and published at least sixty Vaiṣṇava works, including the specially commissioned edition of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* that had been underwritten by Rādhāramaṇa Ghoṣa Bhāgavatabhūṣaṇa, the private secretary of the King of Tripura State (and after whom the press had apparently been named).[127] Rāmadeva Miśra had eventually taken over the editorial and publishing responsibilities, but nearly all of the works produced during his tenure were reissues of Rāmanārāyaṇa's originals. Their later edition of the *CC*, however, does not bear the editing imprimatur of either Rāmanārāyaṇa or Rāmadeva, but that of Vrajanātha Miśra, who was responsible for printing other works for the Sabhā after Rāmadeva Miśra. This edition includes a commentary by the otherwise unremarked Jaganmohana Dāsa.[128] What is significant, regardless of who originally edited it, is that while nearly all of their other texts are considered to be superbly produced, indeed often regarded as the authoritative editions, the Rādhāramaṇa Press edition of the *CC* never seems to have carried that kind of scholastic standing, a state of affairs corroborated by S. K. De in his previously noted lamentation.[129] In some respects this edition represents the last of a style of fascicle publication of the *CC* that was at that time very much of a dying breed, reflecting more the nineteenth rather than twentieth century style publications. But we have consulted this text, perhaps the best representative of its style and period, to check for possible variations from the text as it is reproduced today. None of these newer publications reproduces Jaganmohana Dāsa's commentary, a tacit acknowledgement of its lack of popularity, if not authority. This suggests, then, that it fails to meet the needs of contemporary publishers most of whom, at least for the last half century, have been largely communal organizations of a newer corporate order and with very different goals. Starting in the early decades of the twentieth century, the Vaiṣṇava groups began to produce high volume publications as part of larger strategies to provide comprehensive social services to ever-widening segments of India, and even the smaller operations moved to establish publishing endowments to ensure future publications of high quality. In much the same way

[127] For their edition of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, see above section I.1, n. 6. The production of this text, which was prepared for private circulation, is reputed to have cost about one million rupees; see Ramakanta Cakravarti, *Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal*, 393.

[128] Edited by Vrajanātha Miśra, with the commentary *Vaiṣṇavapriyā ṭīkā* of Jaganmohana Dāsa (Murshidabad: Rādhārāmaṇa Press of Baharampura, 1334 BS [c. 1927]). Unfortunately, because of the manner of reproducing previously edited texts, earlier dates are not generally marked in any of these Rādhāramaṇa Press editions, so there is no way to know if this is the earliest version without finding a physical copy of an earlier imprint.

[129] Vide section V.1, n. 95 above.

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that a *guru*-lineage in the early generation would commission the writing of a hagiography of Caitanya to establish its credentials, publishing the *CC* in the twentieth century became a mark of a community's prestige, with the commentaries of its own leaders not only establishing their authority, but shaping their particular interpretation of the text, which became for them by definition the most authoritative. Some of these have carried them now to the turn of the twenty-first century, while others have had a less lasting impact.

One such text that was rigorously produced, but had a relatively limited lifespan, was that of Atulakṛṣṇa Gosvāmī.[130] This compact edition is one of the earliest examples of the growth of a scholarly text within the devotional community. The first edition, begun decades earlier than the most recent, displayed its Bengali and Sanskrit text in very concise form, and included by way of apparatus little more than translations of the Sanskrit *ślokas*. The second and third editions corrected mistakes found in the Bengali text and realigned the presentation to double-columned couplets. The fourth edition, published in 1925, retained the basic format of the second and third, but added new, and according to the editor's own admission in the preface, considerably more accurate translations of the Sanskrit. In this last edition the Sanskrit is set off in larger type and more notes are added at the bottom of the page. The way the text was revised in its presentation and apparatus—not in its content—closely parallels the process followed by the producers and users of the earlier MSS, and it marks the process that was to characterize nearly all multiple editions that would follow, a clear pattern of increasingly refined commentary and textual apparatuses.[131] Shortly after Atulakṛṣṇa Gosvāmī's works began to circulate, three other significant editions were published, one of which today is the most widely available scholarly work, the edition of the Gauḍīya Mission. The second, a single volume work that although remarkably produced, did not widely circulate, was that of Rādhānātha Kābāsī, while the last was the scholarly production of Rādhāgovinda Nātha.

Rādhānātha Kābāsī's text appeared from the Madanamohana Mandira of Dhānyakuḍīya in 1938,[132] and was clearly designed for the consumption of the local Vaiṣṇava community centered there. For the period, the text is printed on good quality paper of fairly low acid content, with an extremely clear typeface, double

130 Edited by Atulakṛṣṇa Gosvāmī, 4th ed. (Calcutta: Naṭabara Cakravartī, 1333 BS [c. 1926]).

131 While there is no evidence to connect this version of the *CC* to Rādhāgovinda Nātha's efforts a few years later, the similarity between his edition of Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *Caitanya Bhāgavata* and the earlier version by Atulakṛṣṇa Gosvāmī is especially notable. They alone of all the printed editions of that text divide the chapters dramatically differently.

132 Edited with commentary by Rādhānātha Kābāsī (Calcutta: Śrī Madanamohana Mandira of Dhānyakuḍiyā, 1345 BS [c. 1938]).

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columned *payāras*, and with *ślokas* set apart. The commentary is substantial and neatly placed at the bottom of the page just as one finds in most other scholarly editions. The additional apparatus is limited, but the overall production indicates a high quality of editing and thoughtful commentary. It is a shorter analog to the other major editions and we might speculate that had it appeared sooner, it would have filled a major lacuna in the scholarly section of the market. But it appeared almost exactly at the same time as the Gauḍīya Mission's version, which not only transformed the text into a massive compilation, but circulated much more widely because of its stronger institutional base.

The Gauḍīya Mission version follows a pattern of growth similar to that of Atulakṛṣṇa Gosvāmī, but over a considerably longer time frame and with a unique method of flexible reproduction. This community began in the nineteenth century through the efforts of Kedāranātha Datta, who founded the Viśvavaiṣṇava Sabhā (itself a combination of two societies, the Vaiṣṇava Sabhā and the Harisādhana Samāja), which would eventually transform into the Gauḍīya Mission with branches all over India.[133] As part of a massive publishing project that generated new compositions on Vaiṣṇava theology, ritual, and history, as well as producing inexpensive, but often heavily edited, versions of older primary texts from the Gauḍīya corpus, the Gauḍīya Maṭha, the Mission's largest branch located in Bāgabājāra in Calcutta, produced an edition of the *CC* that includes a very prominent commentary, the *Amṛtaprabāha bhāṣya* of Saccidānanda Bhaktivinoda Ṭhākura (the Mission's founder) and additional notes to the text in an *anubhāṣya* by Bārṣobhānavīdayita Dāsa.[134] The format of this text combines several popular styles of presentation. It has double columned *payāras* with the Sanskrit set slightly apart and in a different type face, but the text is interlaced with explanatory notes in an even lighter faced type, while the two commentaries fit below the text, divided from it by a solid line and referenced by *payāra* or *śloka* number (which are combined in sequence). For the first time, the combined commentaries are a length more than equal to that of the text itself, approximately one and one-half times longer. The explanations are theologically authoritative for the community, providing clear interpretations of the Gauḍīya Mission's understanding of the tradition, while much

[133] See Ramakanta Cakravarti, *Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal*, 396ff.

[134] Edited with introduction and notes by Bhaktikevala Auḍulomi Mahārāja, with the commentary *Amṛtaprabāha bhāṣya* of Saccidānanda Bhaktivinoda Ṭhākura and the *Anubhāṣya* of Bārṣobhānavīdayita Dāsa, 5th ed. (Calcutta: Gauḍīya Maṭha, 1364 BS [c. 1957]). We have been unable to locate the date of the original edition. The text was originally published in fascicles (*hīlā* by *hīlā*), and can still be purchased in parts, but no later than the early 1960s, the text was routinely bound in a single volume. The dates in the later printings, however, do not seem to change, so it is impossible to determine when any one fascicle was printed or the entire volume assembled.

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scholarly material is marshalled as additional evidence for proper readings. While there are numerous cross references in the commentary to the text and other parts of the commentary, the text features an appended apparatus which makes it extremely accessible, even to the casual reader. Numerous other well qualified scholars were enlisted to prepare these apparatuses, to double-check the citations, and so forth. The tables of contents stretch for pages, with extremely detailed references to stories and events, providing a topical synopsis of the entire text. Each *śloka* is indexed by its opening foot, so too every *payāra*. Place names, *dramatis personae*, and subject indexes are easily referenced and run to several hundred pages, and an extensive glossary translates the older vocabulary into a more modern idiom. In short, the overwhelming density of the *CC* is brought within easy grasp for both scholar and devotee, but with the effect of tripling the size of the presentation. Only the edition of Rādhāgovinda Nātha proves to be more expansive.

Unlike any other edition, the elements of the Gauḍīya text, however, are reproduced in flexible combinations by different branches of the Mission, especially after the decentralization of the Gauḍīya Mission over a succession dispute. One popular example comes from the Māyāpura Gauḍīya Mission. It was edited by Bhaktivilāsa Tīrtha and has been frequently reproduced; the edition in our possession was the fifth.[135] It includes a much truncated version of the apparatus, but the actual printing of the text and commentary is exactly the same, indicating the use of photo offset from a previous edition of the Bāgabājāra text. Another instance, the recent edition edited by Bhaktikumuda Santa Gosvāmī Mahārāja[136] uses only an abridgement of the first of the two previous commentaries while adding the *anubhāṣya* of a later leader, Bhaktisiddhānta Sarasvatī, thereby reducing the length of the text and commentary from a massive 1147 (British quarto crown) pages in the larger edition to a somewhat more manageable 741. The format, print size, even organization of the title page and binding, remain constant, while the front apparatuses (indexes, etc.) are reduced by more than half. From these examples—and they are only examples of numerous permutations—the community clearly augments or truncates the accompanying material depending on its perceived needs, while leaving the text itself intact. Although the initial phases through which the text expanded do not differ markedly from other publications produced in multiple editions, it shows its truly corporate nature in its variable reproduction, for each part of the text was and continues to be created by different members of the

135 Edited by Bhaktivilāsa Tīrtha, 5th ed. (Māyāpura, W. B.: Caitanya Maṭha, 470 GA [c. 1956]).

136 Edited by Bhaktikumuda Santa Gosvāmī Mahārāja, with the commentary *Amṛtaprabāha bhāṣya* of Saccidānanda Bhaktivinoda Ṭhākura and the *Anubhāṣya* of Bhaktisiddhānta Sarasvatī Gosvāmī Ṭhākura (Khaḍagapura: Śrīcaitanya Āśrama, 491 GA [1977]).

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community and creatively combined to meet specific contingencies. The result is a highly plastic product. The advantage of that arrangement is obvious; but the corporate nature of the text also tends generally to dissolve some of the thematic coherence of the text's interpretive framework, which on occasion usefully pinpoints general areas of disagreement (and for this we have relied heavily on these editions). But most importantly, this method of recombining the parts by adding and deleting as needed, suggests that the text will continue to be transformed to newer needs, while retaining a strong continuity with those that preceded it. Unlike other editions that were created entirely by one or two men and then become outdated, the Gauḍīya Mission's works, conceived as ongoing communal projects, are poised to maintain currency and viability for its disparate communities well into the foreseeable future.

The edition by Rādhāgovinda Nātha,[137] however, maintains a different kind of viability which derives from the fact that its audience is less communally centered and its presentation somewhat more theologically neutral, revealing the compiler's own academic interests[138]—and our reasons for relying on it. Testament to his standing as a scholar, no other editor of the *CC* has been honored with an academic commemoration volume; his death in 1970 at the age of ninety prompted sixty-five scholars from across India's universities and *āśrāmas* to assemble a collection of essays in Bengali and English to mark his lifetime contributions.[139] When he began his project with the *CC*, he was a professor at Victoria College in Comilla

[137] Edited with the commentary *Gaurakṛpataraṅgiṇī ṭīkā* by Rādhāgovinda Nātha, 3rd ed., 6 vols. (Calcutta: Sādhanā Prakāśanī, 1355-59 [c. 1948-53]). Vide Sect. I.1, n. 1 above.

[138] The standing of Rādhāgovinda Nātha as a scholar is attested by his other works, including a compilation of the all of the biographical material devoted to Caitanya, titled *Mahāprabhu śrīgaurāṅga* (Calcutta: Madana Gopāla Nātha, 1369 BS), a shorter work on the nature of Caitanya's incarnation, *Śrīśrīgauratattva* (Calcutta: by the author, 1360 BS), and his edition of Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *Caitanya Bhagavāta* (edited with the commentary *Nitāikaruṇākallolinī ṭīkā*, 6 vols. [Calcutta: Sādhanā Prakāśanī, 1373 BS]). Most impressive of all is his voluminous *Gauḍīya vaiṣṇava darśana*, 5 vols. (Calcutta: Prācyavāṇī Mandira, 1363-66 BS), the most comprehensive study of Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava theology and ritual. At the time of his death, he was working on an edition of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, only three volumes of which had been completed; to our knowledge this work is unpublished.

[139] Janārdana Cakravartī, ed., *Ācārya rādhāgovinda nātha smāraka grantha* (Calcutta: Sādhanā prakāśanī, 1973). His work was recognized by a variety of institutions. According to the notice in the beginning of the volume (p. ix), in addition to his degrees from Jagannātha College at Ḍhākā Viśvavidyālaya (BFA, 1902), the General Assembly (BA 1904), and Calcutta University (MA 1905), he was awarded honorary titles by nine different secular and Vaiṣṇava academic institutions: Vidyāvācaspati (Navadvīpa Paṇḍitamaṇḍalī); Bhaktisiddhāntaratna (Mādhava Gauḍeśvara Pīṭha, Vṛndāvana); Bhāgavatabhūṣana (Sīthi Vaiṣṇava Sammilanī, 24 Paraganā); Bhaktibhūṣaṇa (Rādhākuṇḍa o Govardhanera Vaiṣṇava Samāja); Sarojinī Vasu Suvarṇapadaka (Calcutta University, 1955); D.Lit. (Vaiṣṇava Theological Institute, Vṛndāvana, 1956); Rabīndra-puraskāra (West Bengal State Government, 1959-60); D.Lit. (Calcutta University, 1969); and D.Lit. (Rabīndra Bhāratī Viśvavidyālaya, 1970).

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(today in Bangladesh). He had contracted to produce a scholarly edition of the *CC* for a Vaiṣṇava publishing foundation, the Bhaktigrantha Pracāra Bhāṇḍāra, which was organized to produce quality editions of popular Vaiṣṇava texts, but was not associated directly with any other religious institution. When the first edition appeared in 1934, he noted in the preface to the last fascicle that his commentary had gotten proportionately longer as he progressed through the text. The final outcome was a book considerably exceeding the originally contracted length and cost, and somewhat asymmetrical in presentation. Because of the manner of its publication, he notes that he could not redress the imbalance in the commentary retroactively, for those early fascicles had already been printed. So, he promised a quick release of a second revised and expanded edition. The apparatus for the second edition, which appeared as promised in 1936, grew dramatically. He not only expanded the commentary in the early portions of the text to make them commensurate with the later portions, but enlarged the commentary throughout. So dramatic was the additional material that his printer was forced to expand the format. Having published the first edition on 8-page signatures in British quarto foolscap (8-1/2" x 6-3/4"), the second and subsequent editions required the substantially larger quarto crown (10" x 7-1/2"). He also indicated in the preface that, among others, he had been able to consult a very old MS found in the village of Jhāmaṭapura in Bardhamān, Kṛṣṇadāsa's own home (Kṛṣṇadāsa had, however, composed the text about eight hundred miles to the west in Vraja). While he had been working on the text, he had started to write essays on various features of it, especially historical and theological concerns, some of which were appended in the final fascicles at the end of the *antya līlā*. Toward the end of this preface, he adds somewhat prophetically, "I have corrected many mistakes found in the first edition, but my work is not at all finished." Indeed, at the outbreak of World War II, Rādhāgovinda Nātha was preparing a third edition, but this work would be delayed by the war, and complicated by the partition of Bengal.

The original publisher was no longer financially viable after the events of the decade and Rādhāgovinda Nātha moved to Ballygunge in Calcutta to pursue the study of the Gauḍīya tradition full time, a study which took him to many of the centers of Vaiṣṇava piety and learning. Financially well-placed scholars and devotees in Calcutta helped to reinvigorate the foundation under a new charter by raising nearly ten thousand rupees to establish a trust fund to guarantee continued future publications. The fund-raising was nowhere near complete by the time the third edition began to roll off the presses, and according to his introduction, it was unclear whether the entire text could be produced. It was eventually produced in six volumes of text and apparatus, a form it would retain from that point. The

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introductory volume contains a full length study of the text and tradition, exploring historical, philosophical, and ritual issues germane to the book and the life of Caitanya; it is not presented as a monograph, but as a series of discrete essays, totalling an auspicious sixty-four in number. That volume appeared in 1355 BS (c. 1948). *Ādi līlā* and the first half of *madhya līlā* also appeared that same year as volumes two and three. Volume four, the second half of *madhya*, came out a year later, delayed largely by the scarcity of paper, which also exacerbated the financial stability of the foundation and forced the new printer, Nagendrakumāra Nāga Rāya at Eastland Printers, to raise the price of the fascicle. Fund-raising stalled for a period, which forced the printer to wait until 1951 to produce volume five, *antya līlā*. The format of the text found in volumes two through five is double-columned *payāra*, with *ślokas* set apart, accompanied by the editor's own commentary, titled *Gaurakṛpataraṅgiṇī ṭīkā*, at the bottom of the page. This commentary, which is nearly triple the length of the text itself, not only includes cross references, explanations of unusual words, primary intertextual references, and lengthy explanations of the theology of the passage, but also translates the Sanskrit word-by-word and then in general paraphrase so that it works as as primer for the reader, although on occasion these paraphrased glosses supply so much additional and interpretive information that the unwary might be mildly misled as to the content of the Sanskrit. The sixth and final volume of the work was the *paraśiṣṭa* (appendices), which appeared in 1953. These appendices include the most extensive set of indexes and cross-referencing material available, including *śloka* and *payāra* indexes, extensive glossaries, all citations to other *śāstras*, place names, places of pilgrimage (*tīrtha*) and rivers, characters, and for the first time, subject and textual indexes to the commentary. The last volume ends with four additional essays on aspects of theology, *sādhana*, and renunciation. The production of the third edition took five years to complete and the early portions of the text (introduction and *ādi līlā*) were sold out by the time of the publication of the last two volumes. Its popularity supported the contention that in spite of its price it was without parallel as a scholarly tool. The fourth edition, which was released by another press in Calcutta, Sādhanā Prakāśanī, produced the text of the previous publisher, for the only emendations are listed in a set of errata. The introductory volume, which was itself a very popular book, began a fifth edition in 1978, published by Rādhāgovinda Nātha's student, Manorañjana Caudhurī at Sādhanā Prakāśanī. While Rādhāgovinda Nātha's monumental work has made the task of translation much easier, the current translation stands completely independent of all other translations, partial and complete.

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4. *Translations of the Text*

The text of the *CC* has been translated into English periodically, but completely only three times, although one of those three appears to be taken almost in its entirety from an earlier work. The translations do not start to appear until the early decades of the twentieth century. Although there is no date in the copy we inspected, the text that we believe to be the first translation is also possibly the first complete translation: Sanjib Kumar Chawdhury's *Sree Sree Chaitanya Charitamrita of Sree Sree Krisnadas Kaviraj Goswami.*[140] It should be noted, however, that we have not examined the *ādi līlā*, and cannot then confirm that the translation was in fact complete (this will have some potential bearing on later editions noted below). The text was published in Dhaka in East Bengal, and the publisher was Nagendra Kumāra Rāya, who is credited with editing the Bengali text in an edition also produced in Dhaka between 1904-1911. The overall production of the book—printing, binding, and its accession date in the India Office Library portion of the Oriental and India Office Collection at the British Library—confirms a publication date some time prior to 1915. At the end of the *antya līlā*, a complete translation of the epilogue surprisingly appears to be from the hand of Kṛṣṇadāsa himself. It is worth quoting in part, for it replicates exactly the wording from the oldest MS noted by Rādhāgovinda Nātha, which dates the original text from 1615 AD.

> For the satisfaction of the Lord Madan-Gopal and the Lord Govinda, I now dedicate this book, the Chaitanya-Charitamrita to the holy Lord Chaitanya himself. . . . So I complete this book today in the holy Brindaban. And today is the fifth day of the waning-moon of the month of Jaistha of saka era fifteen hundred and thirty-seven.[141]

The translation is certainly worthy of the name, for each chapter is fully translated with little omitted. There is a limited amount of paraphrase, but overall fidelity to the original is fairly high. Using Popovic's four dimensions of translation,[142] we would characterize the translation as not striving for precise linguistic equivalence, for in many places it does not attempt lexical precision in either word-for-word or even sentence-for-sentence replication. It does, however, capture the gist of the

[140] *Sree Sree Chaitanya Charitamrita of Sree Sree Krisnadas Kaviraj Goswami,* translated into English by Sanjib Kumar Chawdhury (Faridabad, Dacca: Nagendra Kumar Roy, n.d).

[141] Ibid., *Antyalila*, 323. Vide Sect. III.1, n. 67 above.

[142] Anton Popovic, *Dictionary for the Analysis of Literary Translation* (Department of Comparative Literature, University of Alberta, 1976).

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the semantic value to establish solid paradigmatic equivalence, for the translation gives the reader a very good sense of the parameters of the narrative and theological argument. Chawdhury has retained syntagmatic equivalance, for there is no rearrangement of the text nor are any sections or episodes eliminated or abridged. Stylistically he has chosen the English prose sentence to be the equivalent of the Bengali *payāra* and Sanskrit *śloka*, as is most often done for translations of premodern Bengali texts. The text does not appear to have circulated widely at all and has been effectively absent from the scholarship of the tradition. The text appeared again in 1950, published by the Sri Sri Chaitanya Charitamrta Karyalaya, apparently an operation established for essentially one purpose.[143]

In 1954-56 a new translation of the *CC* appeared from Puri under the authorship of Nagendra Kumar Ray (Nagendra Kumāra Rāya), the same publisher of both Chaudhuri/Chowdhury translations.[144] Yet Ray's translation is essentially the same as Chawdhury's, including the title, *Sri Sri Chaitanya Charitamrita by Sri Sri Krishnadasa Kaviraja Goswamin.*[145] The title page reports that the work had been translated by Nagendra Kumar Ray and revised by Satish Chandra Ray, but the introductory matter suggests that the model for it was indeed Chaudhuri's, for Ray claims authorship only for *ādi līlā*, which as noted above, we never located in the Chaudhuri versions. On p. vii of his introduction, he ends by saying, "Madhya and Antyalila have been translated by Sri Sanjib Chaudhury M.A. and published by me." In this edition, Nagendra Kumar has changed only the occasional article or conjunction, retaining virtually every part of the original translation, down to synopses that serve as lead-ins to chapters, page breaks, although pagination does differ by virtue of the breaking of the text into multiple volumes, and even punctuation, especially notable when awkward. The epilogue at the end of the *antya līlā* regarding the provenance and date of the original manuscript was, however, dropped. The five volumes that constitute the *madhya* and *antya līlā* bear no title pages or other publishing information, although they are clearly Chaudhuri's. Interestingly enough, the text is published again in a second edition in 1959 from the

[143] *Sri Sri Chaitanya-charitamrita of Sri Sri Krisnadasa Kaviraja Goswamin,* translated into English by Sanjib Kumar Chaudhuri, 1st ed. (Calcutta: Sri Sri Chaitanya Charitamrita Karyalaya, 1950).

[144] We were unable to determine if this publisher is the same publisher who helped Rādhāgovinda Nātha publish his edition of the CC.

[145] *Sri Sri Chaitanya Charitamrita by Sri Sri Krishnadasa Kaviraja Goswamin* [*Adilila*], translated into English by Nagendra Kumar Ray, revised by Satish Chandra Ray [*Madhya* and *Antyalila* translated by Sanjib Chaudhury], 1st ed., 6 vols. (Calcutta: by the translator at Sri Sri Chaitanya Charitamrita Karyalaya, 1954-56).

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Sri Sri Chaitanya Charitamrita Karyalaya, which has, at this point, shifted its operations to Puri.[146] This text has enjoyed a somewhat wider circulation, finding its way into many of the libraries in India and abroad, but it never enjoyed the widespread popularity of the first partial translation, which was also published abroad by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

About the time Chawdhury's first translation appeared, Jadunath Sarkar published a translation of the *madhya līlā*; which could have conceivably appeared prior to Chawdhury's. Published simultaneously in London and Calcutta, the text bore the title *Chaitanya's Pilgrimages and Teachings*.[147] This translation is a prose paraphrase and summary. The translator appears to operate on the assumption that an "invariant core" of meaning will come through regardless of the form—itself a not uncommon strategy for translators—for he strives to establish only an approximate linguistic and stylistic equivalence. Because the text is anything but literal, yet captures much of the spirit of the original, it bears resemblance to what Eugene Nida has styled a "dynamic" translation that is designed to produce an equivalent effect to the original.[148] Sarkar's interest seems to have been largely that of a historian commited to presenting the historical narrative of the movement, a translator's strategy which tends to render the more specifically theological sections less important; this allows him to summarize, condense, and abridge occasional sections according to his design. Sarkar later reprinted the text in an expanded and revised form, which mainly included additional similarly construed renderings of sections of Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *Caitanya Bhāgavata* that were germane to the history of the period. The title was changed to reflect the larger interest in Caitanya's life as a historical event, but appeared under the mild misnomer *Chaitanya's*

[146] 2d ed., 6 vols. (Puri: by the translator at Sri Sri Chaitanya Charitamrita Karyalaya, 1959[-63]). Only *Adilila* has a date, but the Library of Congress cataloging indicates 1959-63.

[147] *Chaitanya's Pilgrimages and Teachings*, translated into English by Jadunath Sarkar (London: Luzac and Co.; Calcutta: M. C. Sarkar and Sons, 1913).

[148] The idea of an invariant core suggests that the text in the source language has a meaning that will emerge essentially unchanged, regardless of the type of translation, rendering the need for literal word-for-word translations obsolete. Eugene A. Nida formalized this concept in his *Towards a Science of Translating* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964) as applied to the Bible. He articulates two basic kinds of translation: formal translation and dynamic translation. The former slavishly focuses its attention on the message itself, in both form and content, so that poetry would be translated as poetry, prose sentences would translated as prose sentences, and so forth. Dynamic translation, however, depends on the invariant core to produce an "equivalent effect," allowing the author to disregard and rearrange anything in the text. This latter is certainly appealing to translators of religious texts because of the assumption that the word is by definition inspired, which guarantees that the divine message will emerge, even from translations that are less than elegant.

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Life and Teachings from his Contemporary Bengali Biography the 'Chaitanya-charitamrita.'[149] These two works are often confused in bibliographical reference, but they were reliable staples of their period.

In the mid-twenties, however, two significant new partial translations appeared that provided a somewhat more literal presentation of the text. The first is a translation of the *ādi līlā* by Nihar Ranjan Banerjee under the title *Shree Shree Chaitanya Charitamritam.*[150] It was published from the Shree Gaurkishore Temple, Chakratirtha, Puri, and while the title page bears no date, the introduction is dated 438 GA and 1925. According to the introduction, the translation was undertaken as a small contribution to help alleviate the tensions and hatred that were prevalent throughout the world by making the model of Vaiṣṇava love available to the English speaking populace. This impulse to proselytize is not uncommon among educated, religiously committed Indians of the period, and in this vein, the author names several figures who had sufficient vision to spread the word abroad, and whose example inspired his contribution. The format is small (British octavo crown, trimmed to 7" x 4-3/4"), with an expansive twelve point typeface and ample leading, resulting in the *ādi līlā* stretching to 356 pages. All Sanskrit *ślokas* are printed in bold *devanāgarī* type and numbered separately in translation, and include citations when known. The translation itself is very concise, with names generally rendered in a popular transcription (e.g., Roopa for Rūpa), although diacritics are consistently retained for some technical terminology. The translator has included the very occasional footnote, usually a reference to another text supporting or clarifying the argument. The literal accuracy of the translation is considerably greater than other similar works and the author's English is very comfortably idiomatic to the period. He generally refrains from attempting to expand the glosses of key terms and phrases in the text, making the overall style very much akin to our contemporary standards of technical translation. Unfortunately only the *ādi līlā* appears to have survived, if indeed any other volumes were published. Again, the impact on the scholarly community, however, seems to have been nil, for the book is to our knowledge never cited in any of the scholarship of the period, although it can be occasionally located in major research and private libraries.

Two years later another author produced a more specialized volume that focused exclusively on the theologically dense sections of the *madhya līlā*. The al-

149 *Chaitanya's Life and Teachings from his Contemporary Bengali Biography the 'Chaitanya-charitamrita,'* translated by Sir Jadunath Sarkar (Calcutta: M. C. Sarkar and Sons, 1932). The book has been recently reprinted again, as part of the fifth birth centenary of Caitanya.

150 *Shree Shree Chaitanya Charitamritam* [*ādi līlā*] translated by Nihar Ranjan Banerjee (Puri: Gaurkishore Temple, 438 GA).

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leged translation, titled *Lord Sree Gouranga's Teachings to Rupa Goswami on Bhaktirasa (or Sweet Sentiments of Devotion)*, was prepared by Bemandas Majumdar.[151] The text is straightforward with a somewhat over-elegant diction, but is a translation only in the very loosest sense, for many whole sections of the narrative are excised, truncated, or summarized, reducing the chapters in question to less than twenty percent of the original. Yet, the argument itself is faithfully followed, and includes very literal readings of sections, especially those quoted from Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* and *Ujjvalanīlamaṇī*. In the introductory matter, this paraphrase includes a very instructive chart of the *avatāras* of Kṛṣṇa as devised by Kṛṣṇadāsa, which bears a certain resemblance to the chart that appears later in this volume. Privately financed, the text does not seem to have circulated beyond a very tightly circumscribed community, for it too fails to register in the scholastic literature of the period, perhaps reflecting its general lack of availability, being privately published, but just as likely the weight of scholarly value, especially in the light of the success of Jadunath Sarkar's rendering about the same time.

The last translation of the *CC* was prepared much more recently by A.C. Bhaktivedanta Prabhupada.[152] Like so many editions before it, the text first appeared over a two year period, not in fascicles, but originally in seventeen glossy hardbound volumes. The production values are high with printing on heavy, good quality stock, including illustrations that use four-color separations for very clear and bold images produced by artists within the devotional group. The extraordinary length of this edition results from the fact that Prabhupada included text, translation, and commentary. The Bengali and Sanskrit texts, both in Bengali script, are followed by word-for-word glosses and then translations, which are often expansive, suggesting its oral delivery to transcribers, but which serves the important purpose of attempting to capture for the non-native speaker the full semantic fields of technical terms. The idiom, however, is somewhat unique to this devotional community, being very much affected by the counter-culture adherents who first converted to Prabhupada's mission in New York and by Prabhupada's own English, which was his second language. The commentary, called here a "purport," is lengthy and used as a vehicle to lay the foundations of basic Gauḍīya teachings aimed at an audience with little or no background in the history of the movement, but who might be inclined to join the group. In this sense, Prabhupada's translation is very

151 *Lord Sree Gouranga's Teachings to Rupa Goswami on Bhaktirasa (or Sweet Sentiments of Devotion)* [From the *Chaitanya Charitamrita* of Krishnadas Kaivraj Goswami], translated into English by Bemandas Majumdar (Monghyr: Raja Raghunandan Prasad Singh, 1926).

152 Translated with text and commentary by A. C. Bhaktivedanta Prabhupada, 17 vols. (Los Angeles: International Society for Krishna Consciousness, 1974-75).

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much a vehicle to proseletyze—much as the text has been since its initial writing—only to a foreign, rather than local audience; this is further evidenced by the somewhat unusual methods of distribution which frequently depends on selling copies to people transiting airports, attending large sporting and musical events, and frequenting other social gatherings. Because of the heavy subsidy, the text is very inexpensive. Except for studies of the contemporary Vaiṣṇava comunities, the text is not generally cited in academic writing, even though it has been reissued several times since its original publication and is still widely and easily available today.

D. C. Sen's various books on Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism,[153] as well as his *History of Bengali Language and Literature*[154] also contain some translated passages, but mainly retell stories from the biographies of Caitanya and other Vaiṣṇava writings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These somewhat dated volumes still serve as an important introduction to the biography of Caitanya for those readers restricted to European tongues. There are several additional, usually partial, translations of the *CC* into modern Bengali, Hindi and Brajabhāṣā, Sanskrit, and European languages. The reader may consult the bibliography for a sample of these works. The scholarly works that analyze the *CC*, and the larger Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava world is, however, considerably more vast than the translations would suggest.

5. *Scholarship of the Text and Traditon*

Perhaps more than all of the critical studies combined, the previously mentioned essay by Amūlyacandra Sena called *Itihāsera śrī-caitanya* has caused near apoplexy among the followers of the tradition and a good many scholars as well. Dr. Sena has applied critical standards, based on both internal and external evidence, and has reached certain conclusions which seem to be extremely offensive to believers, e.g., the already noted judgment that the beloved story of the conversion of Sārvabhauma has an element of fiction mixed in with it. The extent of the offence which has been taken, and the extent to which Vaiṣṇavism is still a social force, can be judged from the fact that the book was recalled from the market shortly after

[153] Dinesh Chandra Sen, *Chaitanya and his Age* (Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1924); idem., *Chaitanya and his Companions* (Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1917); idem., *The Vaiṣṇava Literature of Mediæval Bengal* (Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1917). Vide Sect. V.1, n. 98 above.

[154] Vide Sect. III.1, n. 61 above.

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its publication.[155] If one grants the premise of believing Vaiṣṇavas, viz. that Caitanya was more than a man, one can understand readily enough the height of the feeling which surrounds the book. And it is true that Dr. Sena does belabor his point to a certain extent: to ignore the fact that certain of Kṛṣṇadāsa's statements are pious hyperbole, and to stress that it would have been impossible for Rūpa and Sanātana to spend one night under each tree in Vṛndāvana, as Kṛṣṇadāsa says they did, may be going too far. Both A. C. Sena and S. K. De also seem taken with the fact, previously mentioned, that Kṛṣṇadāsa often quotes from texts which had not at that time when they were quoted in the sequence of the *CC* been written. This is indeed historically strange; but as has been pointed out before, Kṛṣṇadāsa was not writing history. But even in that context the Vaiṣṇavas would have an answer for the charge: whatever early writers wrote was only the word of Caitanya, who was speaking through their mouths. The word itself is eternal. So the religious context of the texts must be taken into consideration. But even though he does not do this, Dr. Sena's book is a careful and thoughtful analysis, and deserves the attention of anyone concerned with distilling whatever there is of history from these religious books.

In terms of historical criticism, Sena has not gone much beyond S. K. De's study, *The Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal,*[156] which remains the standard book in English on the subject, and the best of its kind in any language. Like Sena, De's book, especially in the section called "The Life and Personality of Caitanya,"[157] pokes holes in accepted dogma, and points out historical inaccuracy with irrefutable eruditon. But the tenor of the book is one of reserve and tact, established in the Preface in the first edition: "The author . . . is willing to confess to an imperfect capacity, but his desire to appreciate, in the light of modern standards of scholarship, should not be misjudged."[158] It is this humility, which would be very familiar to a Vaiṣṇava, which has perhaps allowed De's study to be accepted.

Walther Eidlitz' book *Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya: Sein Leben und Seine Lehre*[159] is actually one of the earlier recent studies on the subject (it was begun, in fact, in 1938),

[155] Vide Sect. II, n. 15 above. So complete was this recall that when in 1982 I visited the publisher to inquire about purchasing a copy of the book, carrying with me a photocopy of the title page, the manager denied ever publishing the book and simply dismissed my "evidence"—TKS.

[156] Vide Sect. I, n. 6 above.

[157] De, *VFM*, 67-102.

[158] De, *VFM*, 1st ed. (Calcutta: General Printers and Publishers, 1942), ix. This statement is not found in later editions.

[159] Walther Eidlitz, *Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya: Sein Leben und Seine Lehre,* Stockholm Studies in Comparative Religion 7 (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1968).

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and has much still to recommend it. The first part places the Bengali Vaiṣṇava movement in the larger context of devotional Hinduism; the second traces the development of Caitanya's life and thought, mostly through the author's translations from the *CBh*, *CC*, and *CCN*, though other texts are not ignored. Several recent studies have followed the same pattern as Eidlitz. One of these studies is by A. K. Majumdar who has structured his *Caitanya: His Life and Doctrine* along the lines of Kṛṣṇadāsa's *CC*, but has consulted the full range of biographical and philosophical texts.[160] The book is very well documented and contains a useful bibliography.

The standard sourcebook for the biographies of Caitanya and his companions remains that by the great, now-deceased Vaiṣṇava scholar B. B. Majumdāra, *Śrī caitanya caritera upādāna*.[161] This is an extraordinary piece of scholarship in its breadth and its penetrating analysis, and it examines critically all the primary source materials for the early centuries of the movement, establishing relative dates, probable interpolations, etc. Carrying on and extending this scholarship is the recent and still unpublished dissertation by Tony K. Stewart, "The Biographical Images of Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya: A Study in the Perception of Divinity."[162] This study, besides providing thorough bibliographic information on the biographical texts in Bengali and Sanskrit, analyses the evolution of the idea of Caitanya's divinity from its origins in the earliest text, Murāri's *KCC*, through the five intermediate biographies to Kṛṣṇadāsa's *CC*: it is, effectively, a study of theological development through an analysis of the medium of biography, and it includes extensive translations.

Less textual in orientation and more designed to provide social and historical background to the early phase of the movement is another excellent and still unpublished dissertation, this one by Joseph T. O'Connell, called "The Social Implications of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Movement."[163] It is a study particularly valuable for its insight into Hindu-Muslim relations. It joins another, older book in this area of concern, namely *The Chaitanya Movement* by Melville T. Kennedy, a somewhat flawed but still useful book that contains interesting if unsystematic observations on some modern developments of the movement.[164] Ramakanta Chakravarti's *Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal: 1486-1900*, provides a useful guide to the post-Caitanya

[160] A. K. Majumdar, *Caitanya: His Life and Doctrine—A study in Vaiṣṇavism* (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1969).

[161] Bimānabihārī Majumdāra, *Śrī caitanya caritera upādāna*, 2d ed. (Calcutta: Calcutta University, 1959); hereafter cited as *CCU*.

[162] Vide Sect. II, n. 21 above.

[163] Joseph T. O'Connell, "The Social Implications of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Movement" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1970).

[164] Vide Sect. II, n. 50 above.

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era[165]; those familiar with Bengali with find more details in the previously mentioned *Narottamadāsa o tāhāra racanāvalī* by Niradaprasāda Nātha, Mihira Caudhurī Kāmilya's *Narahari cakravartī: jīvanī o racanāvalī*, Jīmūtavāhana Rāya's *Śrīnivāsa ācārya o ṣoḍaśa śatābdhira gauḍīya vaiṣṇava samāja*, and Śantilatā Rāya's *Vaiṣṇava sāhitya o yadunandana*.[166] Two older works that are especially difficult to locate, but which prove invaluable when found, are Amūlyadhana Rāya Bhaṭṭa's *Śrī śrī dvādaśa gopāla*,[167] and Gauraguṇānanda Ṭhākura's *Śrīkhaṇḍera prācīna vaiṣṇava*.[168] A newer regional study that extends this type of scholarship and fills in significant gaps in the movement's history is Kānanavihārī Gosvāmī's *Bāghanāpāḍā sampradāya o vaiṣṇava sāhitya*.[169] Prabhat Mukherjee has authored several books on the Vaiṣṇavism of Orissa, and most germane to the current interest is his *History of the Chaitanya Faith in Orissa*.[170] For the lives of the six Gosvamins, the standard reference continues to be Nareśacandra Jānā's *Vṛndāvanera chaya gosvāmī*.[171] Two more specialized studies of the Braj region are the Hindi *Caitanya sampradāya: siddhānta aura sāhitya* by N. C. Baṃsal[172] and Prabhudayāla Mītala's *Caitanya mata aura braja sāhitya*.[173] David Haberman's *Journey through the Twelve Forests*[174] gives an account of the traditional pilgrimage to the Braj region and, of immediate interest here, explores the relationship of the different Vaiṣṇava groups that lay claim to restoring the lost sites of Vṛndāvana.

There is a very large residue of work, in both English and Bengali, which deals with one or another aspect of the philosophy, theology, religion, and literature of the movement that centered around Caitanya, while not relating specifically to his life. For example, three recent studies have dealt in one way or another with the unique Vaiṣṇava ideas of the relationship between religious and esthetic experience, David Haberman's dissertation published as *Acting as Way of Salvation: A Study*

165 Vide Sect. V.2, n. 98 above.

166 Ibid, and vide Sect. III,1, n. 67 above.

167 Amūlyadhana Rāya Bhaṭṭa, *Śrīśrī dvādaśa gopāla* (Calcutta: Mānuṣī Press, 1331 BS).

168 Gauraguṇānanda Ṭhākura, *Śrīkhaṇḍera prācīna vaiṣṇava*, 2d ed. (Śrīkhaṇḍa, WB: Yaṣodānanda Ṭhākura, 469 GA).

169 Kānanabihārī Gosvāmī, *Bāghanāpāḍā sampradāya o vaiṣṇava sāhitya* (Calcutta: Rabīndrabhāratī Viśvavidyālaya, 1993).

170 Prabhat Mukherjee, *History of the Chaitanya Faith in Orissa*, South Asian Studies no. 10 (Delhi: Manohar for South Asia Institute, Heidelberg University, 1979).

171 Nareśacandra Jānā, *Vṛndāvanera chaya gosvāmī* (Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1970).

172 Nareśa Candra Baṃsal, *Caitanya sampradāya: siddhānta aur sāhitya* (Agra: Vinoda Pustaka Mandira, 1980).

173 Prabhudayāla Mītala, *Caitanya mata aura braja sāhitya*, Braja Sāhitya Māla 16 (Mathurā: Sāhitya Samsthāna, 1962).

174 Vide section II, no. 44 above.

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of the Rāgānugā Bhakti Sādhana,[175] Donna M. Wulff's *Drama as a Mode of Religious Realization: The 'Vidagdhamādhava' of Rūpa Gosvāmin*,[176] and Neal Delmonico, "Sacred Erotic Rapture: A Study of Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*."[177] And June McDaniel's *Madness of the Saints: Ecstatic Religion in Bengal*[178] treats some of the more mystical phases of the religious traditions in Bengal, including Vaiṣṇavas and related groups, such as Bāuls and Sahajiyās. To understand these groups, it is a desideratum to be familiar with the metaphysics and aesthetic rendering of *rasa* by the Gosvāmins and the interpretation of the dual incarnation articulated by Kṛṣṇadāsa. Among those groups, the Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyās perhaps receive the most attention, and the scholarship on them is considerable, in spite of the obscurity of their writings and the difficulty of investigating religious practices that are by their very nature secret. Manindra Mohan Bose's 1930 study titled *The Post Caitanya Sahajiyā Cult of Bengal*, the first full scale study of this group's system of theology and ritual, has been recently reprinted.[179] Shashibhusan Dasgupta's *Obscure Religious Cults* is an excellent comparative study that contextualizes the Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyās in the larger religious environment of Bengal.[180] Edward C. Dimock's *Place of the Hidden Moon* demonstrates the intimacy and reliance of the Sahajiyās on individuals with the mainstream Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava tradition as well as its philosophical and theological speculation.[181] Building on those works are Paritoṣa Dāsa's several studies, most notable *Sahajiyā o gauḍiya vaiṣṇava dharma*,[182] and Glen Hayes' unpublished dissertation, titled "Shapes for the Soul: A Study of Body Symbolism in the Vaiṣṇava-Sahajiyā Tradition of Medieval Bengal."[183] Apart from the Sahajiyās, the Vaiṣṇava scholarship affects other Bengali communities such as the Karta Bhajās, Āuliyās, and Bāuls, and the Pāñca Sakhā of Orissa, but to detail this

175 Vide section I, n. 9 above.

176 Donna M. Wulff, *Drama as a Mode of Religious Realization: The 'Vidagdhamādhava' of Rūpa Gosvāmin*, AAR Academy Series 43 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1984).

177 Neal Delmonico, "Sacred Erotic Rapture: A Study of Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*" (Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Chicago, 1990).

178 June McDaniel, *The Madness of the Saints: Ecstatic Religion in Bengal* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

179 Manindra Mohan Bose, *The Post Caitanya Sahajiyā Cult of Bengal* (1930: reprint Delhi: Gian Publishing House, 1986).

180 Shashubhusan Dasgupta, *Obscure Religious Cults*, 3d ed. (Calcutta: Firmal KLM, 1976).

181 Vide Sect. II, n. 13.

182 Paritoṣa Dāsa, *Sahajiyā o gauḍīya vaiṣṇava dharma* (Calcutta: Firmal KLM, 1978).

183 Glen Alexander Hayes, "Shapes for the Soul: A Study of Body Symbolism in the Vaiṣṇava-Sahajiyā Tradition of Medieval Bengal" (Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Chicago, 1985).

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scholarship beyond reference to the encyclopaedic compilation by Upendranātha Bhaṭṭācārya, titled *Bāṃlāra bāula o bāula gāna,* will serve little purpose.[184]

To make a comprehensive list of all studies relevant to the matter at hand would be an impossible task within the present confines. The reader is directed to the bibliography which, although not exhaustive, can serve as a guide to the scholastic literature and the primary texts of the tradition. Two other studies, however, have been of particular importance to the production of the present book, and they should be mentioned here. They are Rādhāgovinda Nātha's monumental five volume survey of Vaiṣṇava philosophy, *Gauḍīya vaiṣṇava darśana,*[185] an invaluable reference work, and Sukumar Sen's *A History of Brajabuli Literature,*[186] which, although published more than fifty years ago, remains the best compilation of information on the early *pada*-writers, excellent poets and excellent sources for the history of the movement.

[184] Upendranātha Bhaṭṭācārya, *Bāṃlāra bāula o bāula gāna* (Calcutta: Orient Book Company, 1364 BS).

[185] Vide Sect. V.3, n. 138 above.

[186] Sukumar Sen, *A History of Brajabuli Literature* (Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1935).

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VI. CAITANYA'S IMAGE IN EARLY SOURCES

1. *Caitanya as* Avatāra: *Early Perspectives*

The hagiographical tradition dedicated to Caitanya is prolix, a monument to his charisma and exemplary devotion. But the texts are much more than hagiographies, in the traditional sense of that word, because the authors never portray their beloved subject as anything less than an extension of their lord Kṛṣṇa, but more often as Kṛṣṇa himself. There are seven complete biographies extant to the sixteenth century, beginning with Murāri's Sanskrit *KCC* and ending with Kṛṣṇadāsa's *CC* in the early seventeenth century.[187] Each biographer is inescapably bound to his own historical circumstance and, more important here, to his or more probably his *guru*'s personal devotional perspective. It comes as no surprise that several of these authors are considerably more skilled than others in expressing the fundamental tenets of their acceptance of Caitanya's divinity. Yet within this tradition stretching nearly a century, there is a discernible continuity, a tendency toward greater sophistication in theology, in western terms probably best described as a process of development in the biographical image of Caitanya. This trend, however, ends rather abruptly with the *CC* of Kṛṣṇadāsa. His is, both literally and figuratively, the final word in shaping the sacred image of Caitanya.

Before Gaura's renunciation, the Navadvīpa devotees began to apprehend in him the first hints that he was more than a good devotee; he was, so they began vaguely to articulate, an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa, a *bhakta* appearing in order to instruct

[187] As already noted, the best critical account of the vast array of primary materials for the study of Caitanya's life is the late B. B. Majumdāra's *CCU* (vide Sect. V.5, n. 161 above). His appraisals of the texts have been followed with few emendations by most recent writers, including the previously cited works by Sushil Kumar De, Amūlyacandra Sena, Rādhāgovinda Nātha, and Tony K. Stewart.

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the devotional community in those uneven times of Muslim domination. It was not long until his followers came to believe in him as the godhead himself, *svayaṃ bhagavān*, not merely an extension or part of that godhead descended. Even though he attributes the inspiration to earlier *bhaktas*, Kṛṣṇadāsa proposes a final, novel image of Caitanya as the dual-incarnation of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. The two became one as Caitanya, who was overtly Rādhā and covertly Kṛṣṇa, an androgynous divinity that encompassed the full range of devotional possibilities between humans and God. When devotees envisioned him as a model for emulation—that is, as Rādhā—he served as the subject of devotion; at other times, he was approached as the object of that devotion—Kṛṣṇa.

Kṛṣṇacaitanyacaritāmṛta *of Murāri Gupta*

Murāri Gupta's Sanskrit *Kṛṣṇacaitanyacaritāmṛta*[188] is generally accepted as the oldest extant biography of Caitanya and probably is the first one to take a definite shape beyond a few verses of adulation. The book, popularly referred to as Murāri's *Kaḍacā*, meaning "diary" or "notebook," is significantly more than that; the printed text contains 1926 *ślokas*, divided into roughly equivalent books of sixteen, eighteen, eighteen, and twenty-six chapters respectively. The narrative is unsophisticated in conception and unadorned in its execution, hence its value as a straightforward record of the basic acts of Caitanya, sufficiently reliable to provide the frame for every subsequent biographer. Murāri was a contemporary of Caitanya, apparently his elder classmate in the Sanskrit *ṭola* of Gaṅgādāsa Paṇḍita; he was a *vaidya* by caste, and a devotee of Rāma. Murāri composed this biography at the behest of Śrīvāsa (*KCC* 1.1.9), but not until he received the expressed permission of Caitanya himself (2.4.24-26), petitioned apparently when Caitanya was still living in Navadvīpa.

Exactly when the text was completed is open to question, but the evidence suggests that Murāri had written most of it before Caitanya died and finished it shortly thereafter, for Caitanya's passing is explicitly noted (1.2.14). Doubts about the date have been compounded by inconsistencies in the printed editions, several editors and transcribers having seen fit to emend the text here and on other points.[189] That the MSS from which the printed editions were prepared have disappeared has fueled

188 Vide, Sect. II, n. 16.

189 In 1303 BS (c. 1896) the editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Śiśira Kumāra Ghoṣa, transcribed the text from a MS held by Madhusudana Gosvāmī of the Dhaka region of present-day Bangladesh. A second MS, written in the *nāgari* script, was discovered in Vṛndāvana, which was consulted along with the first to create the first printed edition, brought out in that same year by

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the controversy even further, causing some scholars to doubt its authenticity. But the fact remains that every hagiographer in the tradition, including Kṛṣṇadāsa (*CC* 1.13.14), follows Murāri's biographical chronology and offers him homage; some quote him or paraphrase him fairly extensively. B. B. Majumdāra concludes that the printed text, apart from minor inconsistencies, is essentially accurate and does, in his learned opinion, represent the original biography by Murāri.[190] Majumdāra's argument is sound: Narahari Cakravartī's eighteenth century *Bhaktiratnākara* quotes thirteen *ślokas* found in the modern version of *KCC*; Kavikarṇapūra's early biography, the *Kṛṣṇacaitanyacaritāmṛta Mahākāvya*, claims to and does follow Murāri up to the point of Caitanya's renunciation; and Locana Dāsa's late sixteenth century Bengali *Caitanya Maṅgala* translates large sections of Murāri's work, corroborating the narrative of the *KCC* through 4.21, approximately ninety-five percent of the text.

Murāri contributes generously to the hagiographical tradition and to the fledgling and still speculative theology regarding Caitanya. He was the first to articulate *in extenso* the position that Caitanya was God, and in so doing he provided the first systematic theological statements to justify the claim. However bold his assertion of Caitanya's true identity may have been, he followed strictly the framework provided by the Vaiṣṇava *purāṇas* for such postulations: Caitanya was a portion (*aṃśa*) of the godhead, a part descended from heaven to establish the proper mode of worship for this apparently god-forsaken Kali age, in short, a traditional *avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa. This *avatāra* was of course the classical *yuga avatāra*, the descent for this the last of the four ages, but from this rather straight-forward position, Murāri plants the seeds for several theories that were to shape profoundly later theology and practice (*sādhana*). In one of his earliest speculations, and a theological move that would be accepted as the norm by every other hagiographer, Murāri argues that when

Śyāmalāla Gosvāmī. A second *nāgari* edition was published in 1317 BS (c. 1910). The third edition, edited by Mṛṇālakānti Ghoṣa, appeared in 1337 BS (c. 1930) in Bengali script; and it was in this edition that the date of transcription was changed from 1425 *śaka* (c. 1503) to 1435 *śaka* (c. 1513), creating much controversy in the process. The last edition, the fourth, also edited by Mṛṇālakānti, retreated from these and other minor changes, but then suffered from additional emendations and "corrections" by the Bengali translator, the learned Vaiṣṇava scholar Haridāsa Dāsa. In celebration of the fifth birth centenary of Caitanya, Madanamohana Gosvāmī, a devotee from Calcutta, has published a Bengali translation of the *KCC* that, according to his introduction (p. ii), was made from an old MS in his possession, but also with the aid of Mṛṇālakānti Ghoṣa's edition, whose Bengali translation it follows very closely in content, but not diction (*Kṛṣṇa-caitanya-caritāmṛtaṃ bā śrī śrī murāri guptera kaḍacā*, trans. Madanamohana Gosvāmī [Calcutta: Puṣparāṇī Maṇḍala, 1382 BS]).

[190] Majumdāra, *CCU*, 76-81.

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Caitanya descended to earth, he brought with him his *dhāma*, his personal realm. All of the personal relations Kṛṣṇa had in Vraja, his mother and father, his brother, his friends, and even enemies, he carried along when he descended; and these figures are the very people who surrounded Caitanya in this world. Four among them carried a special significance apart from Caitanya: Nityānanda, Gadādhara, Advaitācārya, and Śrīvāsa. These men—or in this theory, descendants of their heavenly counterparts—assumed a central place in all of the theologies because they came to represent the requisite parts of a complete and satisfying *bhakti*. Each one eventually headed a central spiritual lineage, so when taken together with Caitanya, they form the historical nucleus of Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava society. Murāri only provides a speculative outline of these positions, often intimating more than he openly declares, but it was enough to lay the foundation for a more sophisticated articulation of the *gaura parāmya vāda*, the belief in the supreme divinity of Caitanya.

Caitanya Bhāgavata *of Vṛndāvana Dāsa*

The first Bengali biography is also the most popular narrative of Caitanya's life, the *Caitanya Bhāgavata* of Vṛndāvana Dāsa.[191] The author grew up near and continued to have access to the inner circle of Caitanya's Navadvīpa community, for his mother, Nārāyaṇī, was sister-in-law to the important devotee Śrīvāsa Paṇḍita. There are many elaborate stories which surround Vṛndāvana Dāsa and his mother, some of them perhaps factual;[192] but more important is the fact that Vṛndāvana Dāsa wrote at the direct command of his *guru*, Caitanya's close companion Nityānanda

[191] Vide Sect. I, n. 2 above. According to Jatindra Mohan Bhattacharjee's *Catalogus Catalogorum of Bengali Manuscripts* and Tarapada Mukherjee's *Catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts of the Vrindaban Research Institute* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1978), well over four hundred MSS complete and partial are preserved today in accessible collections.

The *CBh* has been printed numerous times during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In addition to the Rādhāgovinda Nātha and Gauḍīya Maṭha editions noted above, that of Atulakṛṣṇa Gosvāmī is significant since it apparently served as the basis for Rādhāgovinda Nātha's version (*CBh*, ed. Atulakṛṣṇa Gosvāmī [Calcutta: Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Sammilana, 452 GA]). The Murshidabad edition, like most of the other quality works produced by the active Vaiṣṇava community there, was first published in fascicles and then reprinted from time to time (ed. Rāsavihāri Bhāgavatabhūṣaṇa [Murshidabad: Rāmadeva Miśra at Rādharamaṇa Press of Baharampura for Haribhaktipradāyinī Sabhā, 1320-26]).

[192] The controversy centers on two important points: first, Vṛndāvana Dāsa's father is never mentioned, which raises the spectre of illegitimacy; and second, Nārāyaṇī is reputed to have consumed Caitanya's leftover food, a privilege associated with intimacy, but also a standard mythic variant for insemination (*CBh* 2.2.319; 2.10.288-94). Majumdāra notes that none of the condemning speculation can be verified (*CCU*,180-83). See also Sena, *ISC*, 137-38; and De, *VFM*, 48, n. 1.

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(*CBh* 1.1.60-61; 2.2.339-40), and the text should be read in that light. That the text was probably finished sometime between 1546 and 1550 when Vṛndāvana Dāsa would have been in his twenties—most scholars settling for 1548 AD[193]—argues heavily for its historical accuracy—or at least a version of events acceptable to the community—for many of Caitanya's close companions were still alive and probably had the opportunity to read the text. Significantly, Kṛṣṇadāsa, who calls the *CBh* by the name of *Caitanya Maṅgala*, pays his respects to Vṛndāvana Dāsa on numerous occasions in the *CC*, commonly referring to him as the Vyāsa of the Caitanya story (e.g., *CC* 1.11.51-52; 1.13.45-46).[194] With his usual humility, Kṛṣṇadāsa claims only to expand on Caitanya's later life in an effort to finish the work first begun but not completed in the *CBh*, which concentrated on his early life (e.g., *CC* 1.13.47-48; 3.20.64-66; 3.20.73-92).

At 12,400 couplets (*payāra*), the *CBh* is about 900 strophes longer than the *CC*, which makes it the longest biography from the early period. Vṛndāvana Dāsa's narrative style is popular largely because of its earthiness, unburdened by the often ponderous theological speculation that characterizes the *CC*. It follows Caitanya's life up to and immediately following his renunciation. The text is divided into three uneven sections (*ādi*, *madhya*, and *antya khaṇḍas*), with more than half—the entire *madhya khaṇḍa*—devoted to those few months of ecstasy Caitanya experienced in Navadvīpa between his return from Gayā and his *saṃnyāsa*. Later devotional developments within certain sectors of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava community will utilize this mythology, which describes young Gaurāṅga's first taste of the emotions of *bhakti* (*bhāva*), as a model for their own practice. These sections confirm and extend Murāri's claim for Caitanya's divinity by recounting a number of episodes in which Caitanya revealed a celestial form. As did Murāri, Vṛndāvana Dāsa presents Caitanya as the supreme lord, Kṛṣṇa Nārāyaṇa, who has come to overwhelm the evil-doers of the decadent Kali age and to reinstitute the proper law (*dharma*). Where Murāri only hints, Vṛndāvana Dāsa provides details of the puzzling dissociative states experienced by Caitanya when he was possessed of the various *bhāvas* of devotion. His descriptions are vivid and passionate, capturing the spectacle of Caitanya's profound religious experiences. He too was bound by the same purāṇic

[193] Majumdāra, *CCU*, 188-95; see also Asit Kumāra Bandyopādhyāya, *Bāṃlā sāhityera itibṛtta*, 5 vols. (Calcutta: Modern Book Agency, 1373-90 BS), 2:347-49; hereafter cited as *BSI*.

[194] Vṛndāvana Dāsa was widely believed to be the personality of Vyāsa in the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa's realm (*dhāma*), as reported by Kavikarṇapūra in his *Gauragaṇoddeśadīpikā* (ed. with Bengali trans. by Rāmanārāyaṇa Vidyāratna, 4th ed. [Murshidabad: Rāmadeva Miśra at Rādhāramaṇa Press of Baharampura, 1329 BS], v. 109); herafter cited as *GGUD*. This composition matches each of the primary characters of Caitanya's *dhāma* with his or her counterpart in the Kṛṣṇa-*dhāma*.

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conception that bound Murāri, but Vṛndāvana Dāsa asserts much more boldly Caitanya's role in bringing about the end of the tyrannies of the Kali age—and specifically, the end of the Muslim domination of Bengal and the widespread blood-rituals of worshipers of the goddess.[195] By placing such emphasis on Caitanya's psychological condition (*bhāva*), he anticipates the future direction of Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava theology, moving as it does away from the martial images of divinity to more benign forms.

Kṛṣṇacaitanyacaritāmṛta Mahākāvya *of Kavikarṇapūra*

The *Kṛṣṇacaitanyacaritāmṛta Mahākāvya*[196] is a Sanskrit work by a young pandit of the city of Puri, Paramānanda Sena. He was the son of the prominent Bengali devotee, Śivānanda Sena, who led the devotees annually to Puri to visit Caitanya in the later years. Tradition has it that Paramānanda was a precocious youngster who apparently demonstrated his skills by composing a verse for Caitanya, the latter promptly bestowing on him the title "Ear Ornament of Poets" or Kavikarṇapūra. The text of the *KCCM*, often considered an admirable but immature work, reflects the author's extensive training in the literary arts, especially *alaṃkāra-śāstra*, that special science devoted to the sophisticated but overt techniques of poetic style (in contrast to the subtle and more dramaturgical *rasa-śāstra* adapted so effectively by Rūpa Gosvāmin). The *KCCM* is divided into twenty chapters, comprising 1912 *ślokas*, written in a variety of meters.[197] Even though the text was finished in 1464 *śaka* (c. 1542),[198] making it roughly contemporary to Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *CBh*, it appears never to have made much of an impact on the believing community,

[195] The hope that Caitanya would somehow lead his community to a victory over the local Muslim government and triumph over those who spill blood in sacrifice is found in references to the function of the *avatāra*, especially the *yugāvatara*, e.g., destroying and decapitating heretics (*CBh* 2.2.86-92; 3.3.94); calming fears because he carries the Sudarśana discus (3.2.135ff); Caitanya's and Nityānanda's roles as Rāma and Lakṣmana (2.4.21ff; 2.23.523; 3.5.218; 3.8.31); his equation with Kṛṣṇa of the *BhG* (2.24.49ff and passim); and multiple revelations of his celestial sovereignty with weapons (passim). As previously noted, Jayānanda writes of a prediction given a Muslim ruler that he will be overthrown by a *brāhmaṇa* (*JCM* 2.4.22-27), vide Sect. I, n. 3 above.

[196] Vide, Sect. II, n. 27 above. The only other edition of this work to be printed in the last half century is *KCCM*, ed. with Bengali trans. by Rāmanārāyaṇa Vidyāratna, 2d ed. (Murshidabad: Rādhāramaṇa Press of Baharampura, 1332 BS).

[197] S. K. De counts thirty-three different meters (*VFM*, 568, n. 1). Kavikarṇapūra also employs any number of stylistic devices, ranging from the sound plays (*śabdālaṃkāras*) like punning (*śleṣa*) to more complex devices such as palindromes (*pratilomānuloma*) and repetition of the same verse twice with different meanings (*ślokavṛtti*), etc.

[198] Majumdāra, *CCU*, 96-97; see also Bandyopādhyāya, *BSI*, 2:317; and De, *VFM*, 41-43.

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probably for the above-mentioned stylistic reasons, or more simply because it was written in Sanskrit, although passages did find their way into the *CC*, where they were often unattributed.

Unlike Murāri, from whose narrative structure he deviates but little through the renunciation, Kavikarṇapūra presents Caitanya's life as a series of loosely connected anecdotes, keying on exemplary events, rather than striving for narrative cohesion. Kavikarṇapūra adds little to the already existing theories of Caitanya's divinity, save the way he expands the significance of his four chief companions. In this set, called the *pañca-tattva*, or "five metaphysical principles [of *bhakti*]," Caitanya and four of his most prominent devotees constitute the sufficient conditions and the necessary functions of the new incarnation: the lord as the model form of devotee (Caitanya = Kṛṣṇa), the lord's innate power to satisfy his desire (Nityānanda = Balarāma or Śeṣa), the material cause of the incarnation (Advaitācārya = Sadāśiva or Mahāviṣṇu), the lord's feminine consort (Gadādhara = Rādhā), and the hosts of devotees (Śrīvāsa, et al. = remaining devotional entourage). This early doctrine reconciled easily with the theory of Caitanya as the *avatāra* of the age, which was propounded by Murāri and Vṛndāvana Dāsa, and it remained the primary interpretive strategy for explaining the mechanics of Caitanya's divinity until the comprehensive formulations of Kṛṣṇadāsa, who incorporated it into a more systematic theology.

Caitanya Maṅgala *of Jayānanda*

The *Caitanya Maṅgala* of Jayānanda Miśra is perhaps the most maligned and least understood of the Caitanya biographies.[199] The text was probably composed sometime between 1550 and 1560, although we cannot date it any more precisely than that. Majumdāra, who had originally dismissed the text only later to prepare the

[199] Vide, Sect. I, n. 3. The printing history of this text is partially responsible for its notoriety. Nagendranātha Basu first introduced the text to the academic world in a series of articles in the *Baṅgīya sāhitya pariṣat patrikā* in 1304 and 1305 BS (c. 1896-97; see bibliography), and released the first edition shortly thereafter (*Caitanya Maṅgala* of Jayānanda Miśra, ed. Nagendranātha Basu [Calcutta: Baṅgīya sāhitya pariṣat kāryyālaya, n.d.). Because of numerous errors, including the omission of over forty passages, the text was re-edited by Nagendranātha Basu and Kalidāsa Nātha (Calcutta: Baṅgīya sāhitya pariṣat, 1312 BS). Significantly, the uproar over the questionable scholarly techniques employed in the first edition, coupled with the equally suspect handling of the MSS of Murāri's *KCC* and Govindadāsa's *Kaḍacā*, led the scholars of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat to establish general guidelines for the treatment of MSS being put into print, taking the first steps toward producing "critical" editions. The text was published again privately in what claimed to be a critical edition, including a lengthy introduction and extensive indexes; unfortunately, the editor chose not to include his name or any of the other pertinent bibliographical data, but personal discussions with scholars in Calcutta place the text in the late 1940's or 1950's and attribute

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best critical edition of it, calculates from internal evidence that the author Jayānanda, who was born around 1513, finished the text no later than 1560. Jayānanda's father was one Subuddhi Miśra (*JCM* 1.1.50), whose name can be found among Caitanya's personal lineage,[200] and his mother Rodānī, a servant of Nityānanda (3.25.53). The author claims that when he was but a year old, Caitanya passed the night in his father's house, at which time Caitanya took exception to the child's name (Guhiā/Guhiyā),[201] renaming him Jayānanda (1.1.49; 3.25.52). There is no evidence to controvert the assertion, even though a number of scholars have remained skeptical, perhaps because they do not trust the text generally, nor is there any independent corroboration.[202] Even though Jayānanda may not have been the most prominent *bhakta* asked to write a hagiographical work in praise of Caitanya, he was most certainly intimate with a number of the central figures. Jayānanda appears to have received initiation (*dīkṣā*) into the Vaiṣṇava faith by Abhirāma, perhaps the most prominent member of Nityānanda's select following of twelve disciples, the *dvadaśa gopāla*.[203] Abhirāma in turn led Jayānanda to one of Caitanya's favorite followers, Gadādhara Paṇḍita, who became his teacher (*śikṣā guru*), and whose name appears in every signature line of the *JCM* along with Caitanya's. It was the command of the latter, claims Jayānanda, that he make public this collection of songs devoted to Caitanya (1.1.47).

Even though Jayānanda's work does not exhibit the sophistication of the lyrics which constitute the reportory of *kīrtana*, it is composed of songs, replete with melody and time signature information. It was clearly a popular text at some point, if the number of surviving MSS is any indication,[204] but little is certain about its

editorship to Sukumar Sen. These editions have been completely superceded by the Majumdar and Mukhopadhyay edition (1971); but it should be noted that after consulting numerous MSS, Majumdar and Mukhopadhyay have rearranged the order of the divisions within the text yet again.

200 Bandyopādhyāya, *BSI*, 2:396.

201 *Guhiā*, which means "filthy one" or "one who is kept concealed," both with scatalogical overtones, is a nickname occasionally applied to a surviving son. The name acknowledges his narrow escape from the clutches of death and continues to extend protection by being unattractive to Yama and his minions. Notably Caitanya's own childhood nickname, Nimāi, offered a similar deterrent to any ghoul, who would associate him with the bitter taste of the leaves of the *nim* tree (<*nimba* [Skt], *azadirachta indica*).

202 Majumdāra gives no reason for his skepticism (*CCU*, 223), but later seems to have a change of heart (Introduction to *JCM*, 16).

203 See Bhaṭṭa, *Śrīśrī dvādaśa gopāla*; and Majumdāra, *CCU*, 577-80.

204 Although the text is not particularly popular today, the MSS evidence suggests that it did at one time enjoy a wide popularity. Bhattacharjee lists over eighty MSS extant today in *Catalogus Catalogorum* (76). A number of MSS bearing section titles found in the *JCM* have also been catalogued under *LCM*, perhaps adding as many as ninety more MSS.

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style of performance. The narrative itself likewise suggests that his audience was not the adept devotee, but the Vaiṣṇava lay practitioner. Its style and delivery are clearly reminiscent of the popular medieval Bengali genre of *maṅgala kāvya*, but its composition exhibits features commonly found in completely oral compositions, such as extensive repetition and narrative simplicity, which are used to underscore its central points. This is in stark contrast to primarily chirographic works such as the *CC* that depend heavily on an analytic precision and solipsistic reflection only afforded through reading and rereading; most of the biographies fall somewhere inbetween.[205] The internal structure of the *JCM* also supports the contention that it was performed serially, being divided into nine different sections (*khaṇḍa*), each descriptive of its content, starting with the mythic frame of the text's narrative, Caitanya's birth and childhood, his renunciation, his years in Puri and the pilgrimages, and his demise. The author refers directly to a number of other hagiographies devoted to Caitanya, as well as the popular *itihāsas* and *purāṇas*.[206] From a theological standpoint, however, Jayānanda seems only to be conversant with the more popular forms of piety, emphasizing in broad outline the fundamental aspects of Vaiṣṇava worship, e.g., the importance of chanting the name of Kṛṣṇa, pilgrimage, eating only food offered to the deity (*prasāda*), and so forth. Jayānanda portrays Caitanya as the *avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa, thereby supporting but in no way significantly extending previous incarnational speculation.

Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka *of Kavikarṇapūra*

Kavikarṇapūra's second hagiographical work is a ten act drama written in Sanskrit, the *Caitanyacandrodaya*.[207] This drama is significant for a number of reasons, not

[205] See Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, pp. 96-115.

[206] For a list of the texts he cites by name, see Stewart, *BIKC*, 220.

[207] Vide, Sect. III.1, n. 64 above. Although very few MSS of this text exist, it has enjoyed continuous publication since 1854 when the Asiatic Society of Bengal released its edition (ed. Rājendralāla Mitra, with the commentary of Viśvanātha Śāstri explaining the Prakṛta passages, Biblioteca Indica, no. 40, 48, 80 [Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1854]). The influential *paṇḍita* Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara published the text thirty years later (ed. with commentary by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara [Calcutta: Sarasvatī Press, 1885]). One precise and nicely edited text is that of Purīdāsa Mahāśaya (ed. Purīdāsa Mahāśaya [Vṛndāvana: Haridāsa Śarma, 1361 BS]). A number of editions include Bengali translations, one of the most accurate of which is that of Bhaktivilāsa Tīrtha (ed. Bhaktivilāsa Tīrtha, with Bengali trans. by Tamāla Kṛṣṇa Vidyālaṃkāra [Māyāpura: Caitanya Maṭha, n.d.]). Another notable edition is that of Rāmanārāyaṇa Vidyāratna (ed. with Bengali trans. by Rāmanārāyaṇa Vidyāratna, 2d ed. [Murshidabad: Rāmadeva Miśra at Rādhāramaṇa Press of Barahampura, 1330 BS].

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the least of which is its emphasis on Caitanya's later years, when he lived as a *saṃnyāsin* in Puri. Kavikarṇapūra spent most of his own adult life in Puri, and as a prominent Vaiṣṇava and poet of some stature he undoubtedly would have been intimate with the stories and many of the individuals directly involved. He writes in the first act that he composed the drama at the direct request of the Gajapati ruler Pratāparudra in order to assuage the latter's grief at Caitanya's passing (*CCN* 1.2). This statement was often cited as proof of the text's early composition (Pratāparudra died in 1540 AD), but recent scholarship has determined a much more plausible later date, sometime between 1570 and 1579 with that statement being read as a rhetorical strategy. The complex argument rests on an evaluation of Kavikarṇapūra's technique in *rasa-* and *alaṃkāra-śāstra*, which in the *CCN* is far more sophisticated than an earlier date would allow based on the skills he exhibits in the *KCCM*.[208] The *CCN* is quoted extensively by Kṛṣṇadāsa, which suggests that he felt it was reliable, although he frequently fails to attribute the quotations to Kavikarṇapūra. The *CCN* is quoted by others as well, e.g., Narahari Cakravartī's *BhR*. Premadāsa, a devotee and *paṇḍita* in Nityānanda's wife's spiritual lineage in Bāghanāpāḍā, appreciated its qualities sufficiently to translate it into metrical Bengali in 1712.[209]

Most early biographies, including Kavikarṇapūra's own *KCCM*, emphasized the regal and resplendent power (*aiśvarya*) of Caitanya, the incarnation of the sovereign lord Kṛṣṇa as a major component of his divinity; but the *CCN*, focusing on his other-worldly ascetic life, promotes his role as purveyor of divine love, the sweeter, gentler side of Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti* (*mādhurya*). These two positions, as will be seen in the *CC*, are a complementary pair of defining features, poles around which Kṛṣṇa's personality has been historically articulated, and like Kṛṣṇa before him, so must Caitanya be presented. To do this Kavikarṇapūra employs a range of rhetorical techniques to highlight and then explore the ramifications of Caitanya's ascetic turn; the central extended allegory has the minions of evil (Adharma, et al.) seeking to destroy the earth, but they are thwarted by the advent of Caitanya, who propagates *prema bhakti*, the erotic devotion deemed most suitable by Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas. Despite the shift to *mādhurya*, the drama of the *CCN* is a clear allegory of the popular purāṇic interpretation of Caitanya as the *avatāra* of the Kali age.

Because of its allegorical nature, the *CCN* is often compared to Kṛṣṇa Miśra's famous *Prabodhacandrodaya*, but any similarity beyond the analog of exterior form

[208] S. K. De argues cogently for the later date (*VFM*, 44-45), which seems to sway Majumdāra from his argument for early composition (see "*Śrīcaitanya candrodayera nāṭakera racanākāla*," *Baṅgīya sāhitya pariṣat patrikā* 42, no. 1 [1342 BS]: 49-51) to a post-1572 date (*CCU*, 101-2).

[209] Majumdāra, *CCU*, 104-106.

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is weak. Where the *Prabodhacandrodaya* casts over sixty allegorical characters, the *CCN* calls only for eight, the remaining characters made up of historical figures in Caitanya's entourage. One might argue, as Kavikarṇapūra seems to do, that Caitanya's followers are personifications of special devotional tendencies precisely because they are incarnations of the mythic assembly of Kṛṣṇa, his *dhāma*. The significance of this position can be better understood through another work Kavikarṇapūra composed at this same time (c. 1576), the short, tersely written *Gauragaṇoddeśadīpikā*, or the "Lamplight Illuminating the Followers of Gaura."[210] The primary theological statement of the *GGUD*, which can be construed as a reader's guide to the characters in the drama of Caitanya's life, seeks to verify that Kṛṣṇa's *dhāma* has a perfect match on earth, which the author proves by identifying approximately one hundred eighty historical figures with those in the Kṛṣṇa mythology. In this identification process, Kavikarṇapūra systematizes several popular beliefs about Caitanya's descent into a coherent doctrinal statement; importantly, he directly attributes and quotes several *ślokas* of Svarūpa Dāmodara, which provide the cornerstone for his fledgling theological system; significantly these *ślokas* are used the same way by Kṛṣṇadāsa in the *CC*.[211] In Kavikarṇapūra's hands, Caitanya is no longer the simple *avatāra* of the early tradition, but an increasingly complex figure whose image serves different theologies that develop within the group during the sixteenth century.

Kavikarṇapūra makes explicit the idea of a multifunctional identity for Caitanya, most clearly in the dramatic device of *garbhāṅka* or a play-within-a-play (*CCN* 3). There he suggests that Caitanya's essential dual nature manifests its loving side best in the personality of Rādhā, rather than Kṛṣṇa. In so doing Kavikarṇapūra acknowledges a strain of devotion that had been popular among a small band of Nadīyā followers since Caitanya's presence there. This perspective, which underscores an emerging emphasis on Caitanya's feminine nature, anticipates in an inexact way the formal doctrine of the dual-incarnation, around which Kṛṣṇadāsa's *CC* is conceived. This new complementarity of divine images in Kavikarṇapūra's works proves incisive. In a very deft move, different phases of Caitanya's life are aligned with Kṛṣṇa's, only inverted: The adult Kṛṣṇa, lord of battle and arbiter of *dharma*, who exhibits his sovereign majesty (*aiśvarya*) as demonstrated in the *Mahābhārata*,

[210] See Sect VI.1, n. 194 above. This text has been printed a number of times with virtually no disagreement among editions; the MSS sources are somewhat limited in number and very consistent.

[211] These *ślokas* stand as the solitary corroboration of Svarūpa's writings apart from the *CC*. See below the section on Svarūpa Dāmodara's *Kaḍacā* and the commentaries to *CC* 1.4.*śl*.8; 1.4.*śl*.44; and especially 1.7.*śl*.2.

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is aligned with the young householder Viśvambhara, who in his years at Navadvīpa practiced a basic devotion of service (*dāsya*). Kṛṣṇa the adolescent lover of the *gopī* maidens, who reveals his loving side (*mādhurya*) as depicted in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, is compared with the condition of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya as the adult ascetic living in Puri. These serial images dominate the visions of the *KCCM* and the *CCN* respectively, while the *GGUD* hints that its *dhāma* incarnation theory encompasses both.

Caitanya Maṅgala *of Locana Dāsa*

The *Caitanya Maṅgala* of Locana Dāsa[212] can be viewed as a transition text, situated at a theological midpoint between the earlier biographies, especially Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *CBh*, and Kṛṣṇadāsa's *CC*. Strikingly, for the first time in the hagiographical tradition, the *LCM* promotes the loving aspect—the essential sweetness or *mādhurya* of Caitanya—nearly to the exclusion of his identity as cosmic overlord—the majestic *aiśvarya*. Composed in Bengali, the text is datable to the mid-sixth or seventh decade of the sixteenth century, with a few scholars pushing it into the eighties.[213] The text is quite popular, judging from the numerous manuscripts and printed editions—it has been continuously in print for nearly a century[214]—but is not often

[212] Vide, Sect. II, n. 19 above. The most scholarly edition of this text is easily that edited by Mṛṇālakānti Ghoṣa.

[213] Majumdāra (*CCU*, 150-54) opts for a date sometime between 1550-66 because he felt the beliefs found in the text predated the *GGUD* of Kavikarṇapūra. De (*VFM*, 58-59) disproves Majumdāra and argues for a date sometime in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Bandyopādhyāya (*BSI*, 2:379-80) summarizes the whole issue and appears to favor a mediating view.

[214] The text has been printed in many editions, enduring multiple press runs, but suffering from a remarkable lack of uniformity in the organization of the material. One of the earliest, and certainly an exceedingly popular version of the text, was published by the Gaura Viṣṇupriyā Patrikā Press with unattributed editorship, but probably by the editors of the journal of the same name (Calcutta: Śrī Śrī Gaura Viṣṇupriyā Patrikā Press, 417 GA). The editions by Atulakṛṣṇa Gosvāmī (edited with translation of Sanskrit verses, 2d ed. [Calcutta: Śrī Baṭabara Cakravartī, 1320 BS]) and Rāmanārāyaṇa Vidyāratna (2d ed. [Murshidabad: Rādhāramaṇa Press of Baharampur, 1325 BS]) were both widely used, although their formats differed dramatically from each other and previous editions—the Murshidabad text printed in uninterrupted text, while Atulakṛṣṇa's divided chapters and sections differently. The more recent edition of Bhaktikevala Auḍulomi (2d ed. [Calcutta: Gauḍīya Mission of the Bāgabājāra Gauḍīya Maṭha, 1386 BS]) is not as reliable as his work on the *CC*, even though it is widely distributed and has the convenience of numbered chapters and verses. This and other "modern" editions have been heavily edited to eliminate passages that the editor found offensive or otherwise problematic (see Stewart, *BIKC*, Appendix E, "Edited Passages in Locana Dāsa's *Caitanya Maṅgala*," 496-97).

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cited by scholars or referred to by devotees within the tradition, generally giving way to the two most popular works by Vṛndāvana Dāsa and Kṛṣṇadāsa.

Locana Dāsa was the student of Narahari Sarakāra of the Vaiṣṇava community of Śrīkhaṇḍa, not far from Navadvīpa, and it was at his *guru*'s request that he composed his text. The association is significant, for Narahari, Locana Dāsa, and others in this community practiced a form of worship known as *gaura nāgara bhāva*, a shorthand designating the belief of those devotees who saw in Caitanya the Lord Himself (*svayaṃ bhagavān*), not a partial manifestation or *avatāra*; Caitanya was the new Madanamohana. Just as Kṛṣṇa had personally and completely appeared in the Dvāpara age before him, Caitanya too was perceived to be the full divinity. Caitanya as Gaura, the Golden One, acted in much the same fashion as Kṛṣṇa, but did not simply imitate those actions; he was worshiped for his own sake. To worship, these devotees recovered for themselves their timeless identities as *gopīs*—they understood themselves to be a part of Kṛṣṇa's *dhāma*—and loved Caitanya accordingly, that is, as the sole male in their universe. But in the *LCM*, Caitanya also assumes the role of Rādhā from time to time, a role which dominates his personality during his ecstatic, dissociative states. In so doing Caitanya demonstrates to the devotees of the Kali age the best way to express their love for Kṛṣṇa, thus promoting Rādhā as a model for emulation, for it is only through the love of Rādhā that Kṛṣṇa can fully taste his own sweetness; no other love can compare.

Caitanya's dual role as Kṛṣṇa or Rādhā represents both sides of the devotional equation: he served as both the object of devotion and the exemplary means to promote that devotion. Respecting Rādhā's priority in this union, the devotees who sought to discover their own true, eternal identities as players in the larger drama of Vraja, would assume a role (*bhāva*) commensurate with Caitanya's often-shifting state, usually as a companion or servant to Rādhā.[215] It was with this sensibility that Locana Dāsa wrote his biography of Caitanya. With his awareness that both of these roles—lover and beloved, means and end, devotee and lord—are necessary to the epiphany of Caitanya, Locana Dāsa presents him alternately as Rādhā or Kṛṣṇa, depending on the context. When Caitanya was Kṛṣṇa, he invariably found a consort or companion to maintain the symmetry of the dual function: she could

[215] This position created no little controversy in the early community as evidenced by Vṛndāvana Dāsa's invectives in *CBh* 2.10.210-11. The writings of the *gaura nāgara* believers, primarily lyric compositions or *padas*, can be found scattered through *Vaiṣṇava padāvalī*, edited and compiled by Harekṛṣṇa Mukhopādhyāya, rev. ed. (Calcutta: Sāhitya Saṃsad, 1386 BS), and collected in one volume, *Gaurapadataraṅgiṇī* compiled by Jagadbandhu Bhadra, edited by Mṛṇālakānti Ghoṣa, 2d ed. (Calcutta: Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat, 1324 BS). The only significant theological text is the short Sanskrit *Kṛṣṇabhajanāmṛtam* of Narahari Sarakāra, which has appeared in numerous editions (e.g., edited with Bengali translation by Sundarānanda Vidyāvinoda [Ḍhākā: by the editor, 465 GA]).

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be Lakṣmīpriyā or Viṣṇupriyā, his wives; Gadādhara Dāsa, his best friend; Nityānanda, his ascetic companion, or others. And when he was Rādhā, his companions were the *sakhīs*; there was no room for that lordly majesty of Kṛṣṇa the warrior, which was always removed to the distance, as befitted sovereignty. In the *LCM*, Caitanya's divinity found several outlets, a perspective which recognized that both masculine and feminine features were complementary parts of the whole; thus for the first time Caitanya's biographical image was very consciously fashioned as alternating or serial androgyny. As will become apparent, Locana Dāsa's vision proved prescient to systematic formulations of the Gosvāmins in Vṛndāvana, who had nearly completed their system of theology by the time Locana Dāsa wrote, and only awaited Kṛṣṇadāsa's application of it to the life of Caitanya.

Kaḍacā *of Svarūpa Dāmodara*

Svarūpa Dāmodara was perhaps Caitanya's closest companion during the many years he spent resident in Puri. The tradition tells us that it was Svarūpa who acted as Caitanya's secretary, screening visitors, interpreting Caitanya's many and varied moods, and often organizing the devotees into Caitanya's daily routine. Kṛṣṇadāsa observes that Svarūpa probably knew Caitanya better than anyone, and with his appreciation for *bhakti rasa* and penchant for literary interpretation, who could be better placed to penetrate the mystery of Caitanya's appearance on earth? Except for second-hand reports, the only record of Svarūpa's speculations is a small Sanskrit composition popularly labeled a *kaḍacā*, a diary or notebook. Kṛṣṇadāsa often defers to Svarūpa's work, for it was in this work that the incarnational theory followed by Kṛṣṇadāsa was first formally articulated; but Svarūpa's text, unfortunately, has been lost, if indeed it ever existed in a written form.[216] Modern printed editions of Kṛṣṇadāsa's *CC* regularly cite verses from the *SDK*, so it would appear that at the very least we might reconstruct the barest outline of this missing text; but the situation, as is often the case in such matters, is decidedly more complex than that.[217] Nearly

[216] There have been a number of works purporting to be this missing text, usually in Bengali and usually Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyā in nature. One of the latest examples is *Dāmodara svarūpa gosvāmīra kaḍacā*, edited by Gaurahari Dāsa, new ed., 2 pts. (Medinipura, WB: Sunirkumālā Kumāra, 1381 BS); *Svarūpa's* missing text is hereafter cited as *SDK*. A recent study analyzes the role of Svarūpa and conjectures about the text based on the biographical and other references; see Nirmalendu Khāsanabīśa, *Śrīsvarūpa dāmodara o tāra kaḍacā: mahāprabhura līlāya kaḍacākārera bhūmikā* (Calcutta: Ratana Khāsanabīśa, 1398 BS).

[217] The printed edition of the *CC* by Rādhāgovinda Nātha cites the *SDK* frequently in the opening chapters of the book; see *CC* 1.1.*śl.*5-13; 1.4.*śl.*8; 1.4.*śl.*44; 1.5.*śl.*2-3; 1.5.*śl.*7; 1.5.*śl.*15; 1.5.*śl.*16; 1.6.*śl.*2-3; 1.7.*śl.*2.

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all of the attributions appear to be the work of the editor, following a long tradition in the printing of the *CC*, for the oldest manuscripts do not substantiate the attribution. This does not of course preclude the possibility that the verses in question are the work of Svarūpa; in fact it seems rather probable that they are, based on other general comments in the text of the *CC*. There is, however, one notable exception: *CC* 1.7.*śl*.2. Kavikarṇapūra quotes this *śloka* verbatim in the opening to his *GGUD* and attributes it explicitly to Svarūpa Dāmodara,[218] which suggests that at least the ideas expressed therein do in fact originate with Svarūpa as Kṛṣṇadāsa says they do. Beyond that, we can do little but speculate.

The assumption that the *SDK* was ever more than a few verses—and the collective wisdom of the scholarly community is that it probably was substantial, if not lengthy—would appear to be based on the fact that Murāri's extended Sanskrit narrative, *KCC*, bore the same epithet of *kaḍacā*. Yet the verses in question bear no resemblance to Murāri's style, nor do they appear to be anything resembling a diary. If we interpret *kaḍacā* as jottings, or an assembly of stray strophes, then it would be easy to imagine its resemblance to *stotra* literature: eulogistic and precise theological formulations in a very dense Sanskrit, but which often stand alone. They are abstruse in a manner appropriate to the *sūtra* form which requires elaboration and commentary—and this is exactly how they are used in the *CC*. That Svarūpa would write short *stotras* or the occasional verse on Caitanya would surprise no one, especially considering his alleged erudition, and the fact that his student, Raghunātha Dāsa joined other Gosvāmins in writing similar compositions. That these poetic works could be lost, however, is much more difficult to explain unless they were intended for a private élite audience or as oral expostulations were never recorded. Because we have agreement on at least one recorded strophe, it would favor a private circulation, and that would provide the perfect opportunity for Kṛṣṇadāsa to know of it.

If the text did exist—and it seems highly unlikely that Kṛṣṇadāsa would claim it if it were not so—but was not publicly circulated, the most likely source of information would be one of Svarūpa's closest associates. This associate could conceivably be Kṛṣṇadāsa's own *guru*, Raghunātha Dāsa, who was the student of Svarūpa and his personal charge (*CC* 3.6.200-202).[219] Kṛṣṇadāsa writes that Raghunātha supplied him with the details of Caitanya's later life, which were expanded from Svarūpa's original source (1.3.15; 1.4.91-97; 1.4.137-38; 1.13.44; 2.2.73; 2.8.263;

[218] The phrase is "*svarūpacaraṇairuktaṃ*," i.e., "spoken by the venerable Svarūpa." See the commentary to *CC* 1.7.*śl*.2.

[219] Raghunātha is called "Svarūpa's Raghunātha" because Caitanya commended him to Svarūpa's care and instruction upon his arrival in Puri.

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3.3.256; 3.14.6-9). He calls Svarūpa the *sūtrakāra*, the composer of concise statements about the final *līlās* of Caitanya; he calls Raghunātha the *vṛttikāra*, who expands on those (3.14.6-9). Svarūpa passed on to Raghunātha the story of the final *līlās*, and Raghunātha in turn "told" Kṛṣṇadāsa about them and their source in Svarūpa's text (2.2.73). Whether Kṛṣṇadāsa had access to the original verses or whether those found in the *CC* were reconstructions provided by Raghunātha is really beside the point. Kṛṣṇadāsa paints an imposing picture of Svarūpa and emphasizes his own theological indebtedness to this great devotee, so we have no reason not to accept him at his word and assume that at the very least we are reading some of what Svarūpa conceived. Significantly, apart from the pivotal verses in *CC* 1.4-7 where the *pañca tattva* doctrine is elaborated from alleged *SDK* materials, Kṛṣṇadāsa claims that he follows Svarūpa's version of that critical meeting between Caitanya and Rāmānanda Rāya (2.8.263), the revelation of Caitanya's androgynous dual-incarnation. While Kṛṣṇadāsa credits the Gosvāmins with all of his explanations for Kṛṣṇa's divinity and Rādhā's love, he credits Svarūpa with every major theological innovation regarding Caitanya's divinity and how that relates to Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. In short, all of the novelty of Kṛṣṇadāsa's theorizing about Caitanya is said to derive from the *SDK*.

Other Biographical Sources

The *pada* or lyric literature of the early devotees provides us with another important perspective on Caitanya, as well as a tantalizing glimpse of early practices and beliefs. The most substantial compilation is that of Jagadbandhu Bhadra, titled *Gaurapadataraṅgiṇī*, which contains well over twelve hundred poems about Caitanya.[220] The earliest collection of lyric materials is the *Gauracaritracintāmaṇi* of Narahari Cakravartī, the author of the *BhR* and several other important historical works on the second generation of the movement.[221] These poems, however, were often written for much different purposes than the narrative biographies surveyed above and should, for that reason, be treated as devotional or theological documents; they can be quite rewarding as a source of early, albeit unsystematic and often undeveloped theological speculation. So too are the occasional Sanskrit *stotra* and *stava* compositions found in collections like Raghunātha Dāsa's

[220] See Sect. VI.1, n. 215 above.

[221] *Gauracaritracintāmaṇi* of Narahari Cakravartī [Ghanaśyāma Dāsa] (Navadvīpa: Haridāsa Dāsa at Haribol Kuṭira, 461 GA).

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Stavāvalī,[222] and Rūpa's *Stavamālā*,[223] as we have already intimated. One significant longer Sanskrit work which falls into this same general category is Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī's *Caitanyacandrāmṛtam*,[224] but again the statements are more celebratory and eulogistic than systematic.

There are other, somewhat minor, narrative sources for the life and teachings of Caitanya which date back to the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. We have already mentioned the controversial *GDK*, which purports to be the diary of Caitanya's servant during the latter's pilgrimages south and west.[225] The text is probably very old, although its authenticity cannot be declared with certainty. Because the information in this text is limited to the short period of Caitanya's pilgrimage, it does not materially affect any evaluation of his life. A much greater loss is a substantial part of the *Gaurāṅga Vijaya* of Cūḍāmaṇidāsa, a disciple of Dhanañjaya Paṇḍita, one of Nityānanda's chief devotees.[226] This text has been printed in an excellent edition by Sukumar Sen based on a solitary, incomplete MS in the Asiatic Society, which is unfortunately mutilated at both ends. Although containing one hundred-thirty folios, the extant text covers only the opening portion of the book. Written much in the popular style of *JCM*, the *Gaurāṅga Vijaya* appears to date to the middle decades of the sixteenth century, making it among the earliest biographical compositions. As one might expect, Cūḍāmaṇidāsa elaborates on the role of Nityānanda, the founder of his lineage, but contributes little else new by way of history or theology, although it should be noted that his version of these early years in the life of Caitanya does not entirely concur with the more popular biographies. That Cūḍāmaṇidāsa's text survives by a sole manuscript, and the fact that his name barely surfaces in the chronicles of devotees over the centuries, suggests that what he wrote was not deemed of great significance by the community; its value today clearly lies more in its curiosity as an early, but alternative reading that was abandoned by the tradition. Other similar, although probably not quite so early, biographical compositions have surfaced over the years. One unpublished example of a lengthy biographical work on Caitanya, although incomplete, is the *Gauralīlāmṛta* of Vaṃśīdāsa in the manuscript library of the Bengali

222 *Stavāvalī* of Raghunātha Dāsa, edited by Purīdāsa Mahāśaya (Mayamanasiṃha: Śacīnātharāya Caturdhurī, 461 GA).

223 *Stavamālā* of Rūpa Gosvāmin, edited by Arpaṇā Devī (Calcutta: by the editor, 1387 BS).

224 *Caitanyacandrāmṛtam* of Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī, edited with Bengali translation by Rāmanārāyaṇa Vidyāratna, with the commentary *Rasikāsvādinī* of Anandī, 3d ed. (Murshidabad: Rāmadeva Miśra at Rādhāramaṇa Press of Baharampura, 1319 BS).

225 See Introduction, Sect. II, n. 35 and n. 37.

226 *Gaurāṅga Vijaya* of Cūḍāmaṇi Dāsa, edited by Sukumar Sen, Bibliotheca Indica, no. 283 (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1957).

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Department at Calcutta University.[227] Occasionally works will surface in other scripts, such as the recently printed edition of Govinda Dāsa Bābājī's *Caitanya Cakaḍā*, the MS of which is in Oriya script, with a language from the period that is locally distinctive to Puri. This unique text appears to be a very early piece presented to King Pratāparudra perhaps within a few years of Caitanya's death, and it begins with Caitanya's trip to Orissa after his renunciation. The text corroborates the other biographies and adds little new. Not surprisingly, the text emphasizes Caitanya's connection to Jagannātha and the most often cited manifestation of his divinity is the six-armed form that reveals his sovereign majesty.[228] Another rediscovered piece from the manuscript library of Dhaka University is the substantial *Caitanya Tattva Pradīpa* of Vrajamohana Dāsa, which is datable to the early decades of the seventeenth century.[229] After this, the proliferation of shorter works or biographical sketches of Caitanya imbedded in longer works of theology and history in the seventeenth century leads to a qualitatively different style of biographical interpretation than what had previously transpired. The community had by then standardized the features of his life and had nearly completed the mythologizing process that would eliminate those views that failed to conform. This trend is especially notable as other groups adopted Caitanya as the model for their own religious purposes; and it marks the effective end of this early phase in the biographical tradition devoted to Kṛṣṇa Caitanya.

2. *The Androgynous Dual Incarnation: Final Image*

The *CC* is well-known for its comprehensive summaries of Gosvāmin theology, reconstructing as it does many of the complex arguments found in such texts as Rūpa's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* and *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi*, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's *Haribhaktivilāsa*, and Jīva's *Bhāgavata-saṃdarbha* (*CC* 2.6; 2.19-25; and 3.1).[230] Its greatest original

227 *Gauralīlāmṛta* of Vaṃśīdāsa, MS no. 3996 (Bengali Manuscript Collection, Department of Bengali, Calcutta University; n.d., incomplete, folios 1-70, 90-92, 95-105).

228 Govinda Dāsa Bābājī, *Caitanya Cakaḍā*, edited by Sadāśiva Rathaśarmmā (Calcutta: Kailāsa Prakāśana, 1985).

229 The text is discussed at length by Āhmād Śarīph in his Bengali article "'*Caitanya tattva pradīpa*': *vrajamohana dāsa viracita*," *Ḍhākā viśvavidyālaya patrikā* 6 (Pauṣa 1384 BS): 31-52. The text was printed the following year by Dhaka University: Āhmād Śarīph, editor, "*Vrajamohana dāsa viracita 'caitanya tattva pradīpa'*," *Sāhitya patrikā* 22, no. 1 (Winter 1385 BS): 129-93.

230 The background and nature of the *CC* has been examined elsewhere in the Introduction; see Sect. III-V.

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contribution, however, is in its application of the basic theological tenets found in these and other texts to the interpretation of Caitanya's life through the framework provided by Svarūpa (*CC* 1.1-4; 2.8; and applied in 3.14-20) and Kavikarṇapūra (*CC* 1.5-12). Kṛṣṇadāsa weaves together all of the prevailing theories of Caitanya's divinity and then hierarchizes them into an integrated structure that assigns relative values to each and explains how these apparently competing interpretations might be unified. He brings together the popular devotional styles of Bengal and the highly analytic theological reflection of scholars in Puri and Vṛndāvana to provide a comprehensive theological statement that would eventually serve to unite the different communities of followers. His argument serves as a blueprint and justification for the group we have come to know as the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava *sampradāya*.

Kṛṣṇadāsa's arguments hinge on the logic of *CC* 1.4. Kṛṣṇa's decision to descend as Caitanya has two causes, which are in Kṛṣṇadāsa's words "external" to himself (*bahiraṅga*) and "internal" (*antaraṅga*). Externally, he is motivated by the evils of the Kali age to come to earth as the *yugāvatāra*, to reinstitute *dharma* which had sagged miserably. This is the first role of Caitanya: to effect the salvation of the world through the chanting of the name of Kṛṣṇa, *nāma saṃkīrtana* (1.3.19-20; 1.4.4-13), and it was this role that the early biographers emphasized. It is, for Kṛṣṇadāsa and presumably for Svarūpa whom he follows, external in another way, in the sense that it is secondary, it does not possess the same intrinsic value as the internal reason for it is not complete. Ultimate truth concerns itself with an unchanging reality, not with the ephemera of causal creation (*māyā*). An *avatāra* whose function is to establish *dharma* in the world would be an extension of divinity, but one which magically descends into the realm of *māyā* and by descent participates in *māyā*. *Avatāra* is by definition not complete divinity, but an extension (*aṅga*) or a part (*aṃśa*, *kalā*) of it, which makes it less significant; and here the *avatāra* of the age, the *yugāvatāra* is a concomitant cause of Kṛṣṇa's incarnation, a coincidence in time and space with a more significant, i.e., complete form. The mechanism that is used to execute the work of the *yugāvatāra*, to institute this new *dharma* of devotion, will be found in the descent of the *pañca tattva* of Caitanya, Nityānanda, Advaitācārya, Gadādhara, and Śrīvāsa, who represents the remaining members of the community. Here Kṛṣṇadāsa incorporates the popular doctrine stated most eloquently by Kavikarṇapūra in his *GGUD* as the organizing principle of *CC* 1.1-8. For all its effectiveness, however, the *yugāvatāra* in this instance merely accompanies (*anusaṅga*) the appearance of Kṛṣṇa as *svayaṃ bhagavān*, the Lord Himself. The primary reason, the inter-

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nal reason, is far more significant, and is motivated from within the godhead, not dictated by outside circumstance: Kṛṣṇa chose this time to descend in order to taste the love experienced by Rādhā; everything else is secondary.

The work of the *yugāvatāra*—in this case spreading love (*prema*) through the power of the Name—involves an undeniable martial aspect: evil and its progenitors must be destroyed, for the institution of the proper *dharma* automatically implies the destruction of *adharma* or evil, i.e., anything that stands against Kṛṣṇa's will. Kṛṣṇadāsa recognizes this function in the person of Caitanya as Viśvambhara; his given name—He Who Bears the Universe—is a title which reflects the supreme lordship (*aiśvarya*) of the sovereign ruler Nārāyaṇa (1.4.32-37; 1.4.224). But, says Kṛṣṇadāsa, this sovereign figure does not generate among his devotees a response that satisifies Kṛṣṇa, for these devotees are filled with an awesome respect and deferential obsequiousness for his supernal form as sovereign lord. Kṛṣṇa prefers, perhaps even craves, the emotional closeness of the love afforded by the dwellers of the Vraja region of his youth, especially that offered by the cowherd girls, the *gopīs*. Says Kṛṣṇa in *CC* 1.4.16-17: "All the world is caught up in the desire to know my majesty; but I am not satisfied with *prema* toward my lifeless majesty. When one considers me as *īśvara* and himself as insignificant, I am not won over by him; for I am won by love (*prema*)."

The "internal" cause of the *avatāra*, then, was to taste that intimate sweetness (*mādhurya*) of *prema rasa*, and in so doing, to propagate a new devotional form, the *rāga mārga*, the way of passionate love (1.4.14). Kṛṣṇa's preference for love stems from the fact that passionate attachment is far more complete and satisfying than the awed respect that would be exhibited by a subject toward a king or even a servant toward his master. The love of the *gopīs* and other denizens of Vraja ranges through all possiblities; they act toward Kṛṣṇa as friends and lovers, children and parents, and occasionally even with the respect of subjects. Most importantly, the *gopīs*' love is unpremeditated, it is unpredictable, and because it is unpredictable, it cannot be controlled. The compelling nature of such love is its "leftness" or *vāmatā*, an endlessly entertaining waywardness that is reminiscent of the *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa himself.

Rādhā, as chief of the *gopīs*, expresses best this playful, erotic love; and her love for Kṛṣṇa is completely unmediated and pure. Rādhā's love, like a mirror, reflects back Kṛṣṇa's own and magnifies it, which in turn increases his pleasure, and which is reflected back, increased, to Rādhā, and so forth, in a magnifying spiral. In each case of this exchange, however, Kṛṣṇa realizes that it is Rādhā who benefits most; she experiences the highest love imaginable, for she savors the ever-growing sweetness of the lord himself, *svayaṃ bhagavān*. Kṛṣṇa, on the other hand, must settle only for its reflection, which even though magnified by Rādhā still offers her a

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greater opportunity for pleasure. This curious anomaly, wherein Kṛṣṇa finds himself incapable of tasting what must be the most pleasurable experience in his vast creation, frustrates him into action. To satisfy this desire of experiencing Rādhā's own pleasure, he decides to come to earth. There are, says Kṛṣṇadāsa, three things Kṛṣṇa sought to discover: first, Kṛṣṇa wanted to know just how great was Rādhā's love (1.4.89-92); second, how great was his own sweetness (1.4.119-35); and third, and most significant, how great was Rādhā's happiness and pleasure resulting from her experience of Kṛṣṇa (1.4.136-78).

In the first instance (1.4.105-18), Kṛṣṇa finds himself maddened by Rādhā's love, even though the fundamental metaphysical truth of the cosmos, he himself is replete with full *cit* (consciousness) and *ānanda* (bliss). Rādhā's love overwhelms him, making him "dance in many strange and wonderful ways." Even though Rādhā's love is all-pervasive, complete, and eternal, and has no more room for growth, paradoxically it grows greater with each passing moment. Her love is the epitome of profundity, pure and stainless, devoid of all pride and selfishness. Yet it contains the wiliness and unpredictable tendencies that characterize the godhead itself—and this unpredictable nature gives it an unparalleled satisfaction. As the chief object of Kṛṣṇa's affections, she is the receptacle of highest love, the container of the ultimate bliss of *prema*.

Second, Kṛṣṇa realizes that when she interacts with him, Rādhā enjoys a far greater satisfaction than anything he himself possesses. His sweetness draws people to him, making the hearts of men and women restless and uneasy; yet Kṛṣṇa himself cannot taste this overpowering sweetness because it is coterminous with his own being, not separated from him in a condition of duality than would enable him to encounter it. In order to make it possible to taste himself, he must first experience a separation from himself, but the very act of separating himself makes it impossible for him to know fully that sweetness, for he is then divided from the experience of it. How Kṛṣṇa resolves this need to be both simultaneously distinct from and identified with himself is the wonderful mystery of the Caitanya *avatāra*.

Kṛṣṇa's third and final desire follows logically from the two previous. He wants to know just how great must Rādhā's experience be, her pleasure and happiness from tasting Kṛṣṇa's sweetness. The way this was possible, says Kṛṣṇadāsa, was revealed by Svarūpa Dāmodara. According to Svarūpa (*CC* 1.4.137-48), Rādhā's experience must be radically distinguished from all ordinary experience. Rādhā's love, and that of the *gopīs*, is completely selfless, focused exclusively on giving pleasure to Kṛṣṇa; it is devoid of any base satisfaction of personal bodily senses, so it is called *śṛṅgāra*, the complete erotic love. The *gopīs* exist solely for Kṛṣṇa's personal pleasure; and because it depends so exclusively on him as its object, he is unable to

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experience this totally selfless love. Not being able to experience it, he cannot return it. Each time he tries to reciprocate, their own experience augments that much more, reflecting back an even greater *prema*. There is only one possible solution: to become a *gopī*, but not just any *gopī*, but the greatest of all, Rādhā herself (1.4.179-82):

> 179 Taking the *bhāva* of that Rādhā came the *avatāra* Caitanya, and preached *nāma* and *prema*, the *dharma* of the age. 180 In that *bhāva* [Kṛṣṇa] fulfilled his own desires, which is the root-cause of the *avatāra*. 181 Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya is Vrajendrakumāra; the *mūrti* of Kṛṣṇa is full of *rasa*; he is *śṛṅgāra* [love] incarnate. 182 To taste that [*śṛṅgāra*] *rasa* he descended as an *avatāra*, and, as an accompanying cause, he propagated all the *rasa*s.

And so Kṛṣṇa descended to earth by assuming the dual form with Rādhā. Caitanya was this androgyne, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in the embrace of eternal union, making their experience one, yet separate to allow Kṛṣṇa mysteriously to taste this love both as himself and, most importantly, as Rādhā.

The form of this androgyne is subtle: Kṛṣṇa descends by assuming the emotional condition (*bhāva*) and the body of Rādhā, producing Gaurāṅga, the golden-limbed Caitanya. Caitanya experiences the emotional life of Rādhā and because of it, he displays her color, even though he retains the physical body of a man. His androgyny hinges on both personality and action. He is overtly Kṛṣṇa in body, but suffused with the coloring and beauty of Rādhā; he is overtly Rādhā in attitude and action, while covertly tasting the experience as Kṛṣṇa. The two identities are experienced simultaneously, possible only through the magic of Kṛṣṇa's *māyā* and his creative power, *śakti*. He is always in union with Rādhā and always separate from her; but logic cannot possibly penetrate such divine mystery, which dissolves the analytic dualities of human cognition. Says Kṛṣṇadāsa of Caitanya (1.17.293-97):

> 293 That one was blue-black in color, a flute in his mouth, the lover of the *gopī*s; this one is golden, sometimes *brāhmaṇa*, sometimes *saṃnyāsin*. 294 Thus in himself Prabhu held to the *gopī bhāva*, and called Vrajendranandana as "lord of my heart." 295 He was Kṛṣṇa, he was a *gopī*—the highest paradox; most impenetrable are the unimaginable actions of Prabhu. 296 Let no one argue this, or entertain a doubt, such is the *acintya śakti* of Kṛṣṇa. 297 The actions of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya are unthinkable and wonderful; marvelous are his *bhāvas*, his qualities, and his activities.

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Kṛṣṇa's manifestation in this dual form embodies the truth of the *bhedābheda* philosophy followed by the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas. From Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa is simultaneously distinguished or differentiated (*bheda*) and not distinguished or undifferentiated (*abheda*), in a mixture which proves for humans to be ultimately inscrutable (*acintya*). Just as musk and its scent are not separable, so Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa remain in a single symbiotic form, divided only to taste the *rasa* of love.

According to the biographies (and only the later ones at that), Caitanya did not come to realize his fundamental identity as Rādhā until after he had renounced the householder's station and became an ascetic. Prior to that he had had received hints that he possessed her emotional condition, the Rādhā-*bhāva*, but it began to assert itself most clearly after the meeting with Rāmānanda Rāya mentioned by nearly all of the biographers,[231] though except for Kavikarṇapūra's limited attempts in the *KCCM* and *CCN*, no one but Kṛṣṇadāsa (*CC* 2.8) ventures to expand on the substance of their discussions. As we have seen (Sect II above), according to Kṛṣṇadāsa, Caitanya was en route to the south of India at the beginning of his great pilgrimage when he met Rāmānanda at the behest of Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya. Their discussion, says Kṛṣṇadāsa, covered the abstruse topics of *bhakti-tattva* (2.8.54-105), *kṛṣṇa-tattva* (2.8.106-114), and the all-important *rādhā-tattva* (2.8.115-45). They touched on other topics, including lengthy discussions about the appropriate forms of ritual practice (*sādhana*) and worship (2.8.197-213). After several days of intense exchange, with Caitanya pressing Rāmānanda harder and harder, the latter admitted that when he first looked upon Caitanya, he saw him as the dark-colored cowherd Kṛṣṇa, but as he watched, that image had faded into the glow of the golden radiance of Rādhā. Caitanya attempted to deflect this observation as the exuberance of Rāmānanda's devotion—the devotee seeing just what he wanted to see—but Rāmānanda would have nothing of it (2.8.225-28). He then begged Caitanya to reveal to him his true form, which he had finally apprehended to be dual, for he had, says Kṛṣṇadāsa, uncovered the very secret of Caitanya's *avatāra*. In what could be properly marked as the climax of the book, Caitanya reluctantly acceded to his devotee's wish to reveal his divinity (2.8.229-42):

> 233 Then smiling Prabhu showed to him his true form: Rasarāja [= Kṛṣṇa] and Mahābhāva [= Rādhā], the two in one form. 234 And when he saw this Rāmānanda was faint with joy; he could not control his body, and fell to the earth. 235 Prabhu with a touch of his hand brought him back to consciousness; and seeing him as a *saṃnyāsin*, [Rāya] was astonished. 236 Embracing him Prabhu comforted him. "Except for you, no one has seen this form. 237 It is

231 See *KCC* 3.15.1-5; *KCCM* 13.34-49; *CCN* 7.11-18; *JCM* 5.11.10-22 and *LCM* 4.2 (p. 185).

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because of your perception of the *tattva* of the *rasa* of my *līlā* that I have shown this form to you. 238 The golden-colored body is not mine, but is the touch of the body of Rādhā; she touches no one except the son of Gopendra. 239 I experience in my heart and soul everything she feels; then I taste the *rasa* of the sweetness of myself. 240 None of my acts are secret to you. Even though I have hidden them, by the power of your *prema* you understand the secret meaning of everything. . . ."

After this revelation, Caitanya's public actions begin to reflect this shift to Rādhā's persona, for her emotional experience soon dominated his life. As Kṛṣṇadāsa so vividly describes it in the last six chapters of the *antya līlā*, the *bhāva* of Rādhā so overwhelmed Caitanya that he required the constant care of a coterie of devotees. He was frequently absent from their mundane world, lost in the eternal activities of Rādhā with Kṛṣṇa as he tasted for himself and within himself that elusive love-play. And so it ended in his forty-eighth year. Fittingly, Kṛṣṇadāsa does not record Caitanya's demise; rather, he reminds his readers that these intimate activities of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa that were experienced by Caitanya are eternal, are never-ending, so to speak of their cessation is to obscure their truth, but that truth requires a subtle understanding, and it is to erect a proper framework for interpreting it that Kṛṣṇadāsa devotes most of his literary attention. These propositions apply the Gosvāmin theology to the life of Caitanya through Svarūpa's concise formulation, and in that application become the theological standard for the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava community. With scholarly skill he fitted every popular theory of Caitanya's divinity into a comprehensive scheme that defined their relationship in a clear hierarchy of meanings; but it is not the interpretations that are new, only their arrangement.

The theory of the dual incarnation, however, required Kṛṣṇadāsa to modify the mechanism of the *avatāra*, the *pañca tattva*. When Kṛṣṇa descended as Caitanya to carry out his desires, he brought with him his realm, his *dhāma*, the key figures of which were the same as those previously counted: Nityānanda, Advaitācārya, Gadādhara, and Śrīvāsa as the first among the rest. Through these four, Caitanya spread his *prema bhakti*. Following the outline of Kavikarṇapūra, but incipient in every biography, Kṛṣṇadāsa acknowledges these central figures and lineages of devotees in *CC* 1.5-12. But because Rādhā is embodied in the person of Caitanya himself, according to the theory of the dual incarnation, Gadādhara is demoted from that role, yet retains his position as the first among the female companions to Rādhā (*sakhīs*). By acknowledging this popular *pañca tattva* theory—which Kavikarṇapūra had attributed to Svarūpa Dāmodara—Kṛṣṇadāsa hierarchizes the three most widely-

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accepted theologies into an all-inclusive, comprehensive system. The result is a way of looking at Caitanya which has something for everyone: the primary reason for Kṛṣṇa's descent was the dual-incarnation, his secondary reason was to be the *avatāra* of the Kali age, and the mechanism for effecting both was the *pañca tattva*. The details of these intricate ideas the reader will discover directly from Kṛṣṇadāsa, especially in the *ādi līlā* and in *madhya līlā*, chapter 8.

The masterful way in which Kṛṣṇadāsa systematizes these apparently competing beliefs extends beyond the realm of theological ideas; he actively positioned his biography as the complement to the earlier ones. Vṛndāvana Dāsa, in his *CBh*, was known as the Vyāsa of the Caitanya *līlā*, but he focused almost exclusively on Caitanya's early life as a householder devotee. Kṛṣṇadāsa, in the *CC*, consciously supplemented this narrative by examining Caitanya's life after renunciation. Where Vṛndāvana Dāsa recorded in awe the magnificent public spectacle of Caitanya's divinity, his *aiśvarya*, Kṛṣṇadāsa concentrated on his inward emotional or psychic life, the *bhāva* of Rādhā which nurtures the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa, his *mādhurya*. Kṛṣṇadāsa physically constructed the *CC* to parallel Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *CBh*, so each contains three divisions of roughly commensurate length; and there are many such instances of complementarity. In short, Kṛṣṇadāsa wrote with a clear sense of finishing what Vṛndāvana Dāsa and others started, and he says as much (e.g., 1.8.29-45; 1.13.45-48; 3.20.73-94). His extraordinary theological training, the vast numbers of texts he cites, and the eminence of his own *gurus*, all combine to make his arguments authoritative. For these reasons Kṛṣṇadāsa's book endures as the classic biography of the tradition; and for these same reasons, especially its interpretive strategies that link together the texts, the *CC* is arguably the best commentary on this biographical tradition.[232] It has been so effective that there have been few significant new formulations of Caitanya's divinity since; but so convincing is this theology that after reading the *CC*, one is invariably led to ask if this work is about Caitanya at all, or is it really about Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa? The ambiguity is, of course, inherent in the conception of the androgynous incarnation: to talk of Caitanya is to talk of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. For this reason, it is necessary to examine in some detail the basic concepts which govern the larger habitus of the Vaiṣṇava devotee; and to those we now turn.

[232] For more on the strategy by which Kṛṣṇadāsa positions his text and uses it to comment on the tradition, Stewart, "One Text from Many: The *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* as 'Classic' and 'Commentary'." Vide Sect. V.2, n. 101 above.

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VII. TOWARD AN UNDERSTANDING OF VAIṢṆAVISM

Among the virtues of the *CC*, theological clarity stands out. Therefore to do more than comment on one or two areas where misunderstanding might be possible, or to give more than a general outline to help the reader follow what Kṛṣṇadāsa has put forth systematically and in great detail, would be both presumptuous and redundant. The following comments and short essays, therefore, are somewhat random. They attempt to anticipate questions which might be raised by western readers of the *CC* text. These will be largely questions of interpretation and of unfamiliar detail; to the western reader, the basic emphasis on theological dualism and on devotional love toward God as the essential means and condition of salvation will hardly be unfamiliar. But this statement in itself raises corollary problems, for what is the Christian term "salvation" doing in this context?

1. *Sin and Salvation*

It is not lightly that one should transport terms, especially technical terms, from one culture to another. To say "medieval India" is to run the danger of summoning up images of bannered castles and knights on great white horses, as well as libraries of manuscripts diligently copied by devoted and religious men. To call Śacī the mother of Caitanya the "holy Mother," as some translations and devotional texts have done, is to invite a vision of halos and the color blue, a stable in ancient Palestine and tears on an icon in a gothic church, as well as tenderness and love. There is a common meaning, but the reference is not one to one.

The term which has been most often translated "sin" is *pāpa*. *Pāpa* is sin not as western Christianity usually means that term: either a racial heritage which requires atonement or an act which goes against the edicts of God. In the Vaiṣṇava context, the term means a kind of intellectual blindness, an inability, or a lack of

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desire, to see what exists as the true relationship between the self and God, reciprocal love. If sin is blindness, salvation is light; and indeed, this is one of the images which the Vaiṣṇavas commonly use. The soul, the individual creature, the *jīva*, is stumbling about in the darkness of the material world, deluded in the darkness into thinking that what is not real is real, that the rope is a snake, that the things of the world and of the flesh are man's true ends. And then the moon rises: Caitanya is born, and the darkness of ignorance is driven away, and man is saved from making the awful errors which would condemn him to the suffering of many births. Man has eyes to see; it is the world around him that is dark.

The Vaiṣṇavas often put this another way. Life is the sea, and the body the boat which takes one across that sea, to the farther shore. The sea is often heavy, and the waves high and deep; the body is beset by the temptations of the world and of the flesh. The soul, the *jīva*, is drowning; and only God, through the *guru* who is the clever helmsman who knows how to handle a boat in the stormy water, can save him. To save is *nistāra*, to pull the *jīva* from the water and transport him safely to the other shore. The storm is not man's fault, it is natural to the sea. But man needs help; unless he is the wise helmsman, he cannot save himself.

The Vaiṣṇavas say there are three kinds of people: those who are by their nature "saved," those who have "their faces turned toward Kṛṣṇa," and those who have "their faces turned away from him." The first category is a category of one: Caitanya, whose very nature makes him the model devotee. The second category consists of those who want to know, who want to see, who realize their paucity of strength and are humble in the knowledge; they take God's hand, offered in love and compassion. But even when the boat is righted and the helmsman at the steering oar, the *jīva*'s responsibility remains; the helmsman does not row the boat. The oarsmen have a long and arduous pull, and if their strength gives out the boat founders, despite the hand at the helm. The third category consists of those beyond the pale; they continue in error, even when the darkness has been dispelled. They are those who are deluded as to the measure of their own strength, and refuse the helmsman's helping hand. The three categories are much like those posited by the Gnostics. To quote Henri-Charles Puech:

> Only the "psychic men"—the intermediary category who are neither saved by nature like the "pneumatics," nor fatally damned like the "hylics"—require an education to achieve salvation, require a succession of efforts and good works, hence a progress in time or through a series of reincarnations.[233]

[233] Henri-Charles Puech, "Gnosis and Time" in *Man and Time*, edited by Joseph Campbell, Bollingen Series 30, "Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks," vol. 3 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 79.

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Most of what follows will be about those who desire *bhakti* and who need "education"—training and discipline—to attain it. What of those who "have their faces turned from him?"

The Vaiṣṇavas present that paradox in the context of "tolerant" Hinduism, the active missionary. As earlier Hindus tried to solve the problems of the Buddhist heresy by absorbing the Buddhists, and the Buddha as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, the Vaiṣṇavas say that all can be saved from the stormy waters if they will only look up, that all can be rescued from the darkness, if only they will see the light. The light, of course, is the lamp of truth in the hand of Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya. Truth is *bhakti*, so says the *BhG*. But the *BhG* also says that the way of knowledge (*jñāna mārga*) and the way of training and discipline (*yoga mārga*) and the way of works (*karma mārga*) all have their satisfactions. The followers of these paths have their faces turned upward, they are religious people; can they see the light? Yes, say the Vaiṣṇavas, they can see the light, but dimly. The pure brilliance of the truth, of *bhakti*, can be seen only with the eyes of the *bhakta*. Some followers of the *jñāna mārga*, in the dimness, will continue to stumble, they will continue to misinterpret the texts and in their delusion to seek release in order to realize what they consider to be the natural and true unity of their selves with the *brahman*; they think this is truth, but they are mistaken. But there are other *jñānin*s, to whom the light is brighter, and they will follow a path of *jñāna* mixed with *bhakti*, a path of knowledge and devotion together, and they will know a lower truth, but which is still a truth. So too with others. The *yogin* seeks his attainment of power, of eternal life; if he sees, even dimly, that this is not the ultimate goal, he too will know a lower truth. If he mixes his discipline with devotion to Kṛṣṇa, he is not lost. And the follower of *karma*, if he dedicates his work, with faith, to Kṛṣṇa, as the *BhG* says to do, he too is not lost.

But the Vaiṣṇavas were surrounded not only with followers of these three paths, but with worshipers of deities other than Kṛṣṇa, both Vaiṣṇava and non-Vaiṣṇava. The Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava reaction was the same: worship of other deities is acknowledged, but can be permitted only insofar as those other deities, even Śiva and Viṣṇu, are considered to be aspects of Kṛṣṇa; if one considers them separate and independent objects of worship, he too is in darkness, and is lost.[234] This is true even of the other great Vaiṣṇava deity Rāma, although always understated; the truth is that Rāma is only an aspect of Kṛṣṇa: in *CC* 2.15.33-35, Caitanya's personality as Rāma

[234] De, *VFM*, 363.

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comes out. Caitanya is the basic truth; Rāma but a part of that, contained in it.[235] *Pāpa* then is also denial of Kṛṣṇa as the highest god, the container of all gods. The light is there, the *BhP* is there, Caitanya is there; those who do not choose to see are fully deserving of what they get. What do they get?

Those lacking proper sight, being in darkness, are bound to stumble over things, to do things which have grievous consequences for themselves. They cannot escape this. And where they do wrong deeds, they will suffer the consequences, for the law of *karma* is inexorable. They may suffer in this life. The story is told in *CC* 3.3.178-201 of the young and handsome Gopāla Cakravartī, whose wrong was to deny the absolute power of the name of Kṛṣṇa to bring salvation from this life. Even though the great *bhakta* Haridāsa forgave him this, "within three days that *brāhmaṇa* became a leper. His long nose melted and fell off. His fingers and toes, which had been like *campaka* and *kalikā* buds, shrivelled up and melted in his leprosy. . . . The nature of a *bhakta* is to forgive a fault committed because of ignorance; and the nature of Kṛṣṇa is not to be able to bear an insult to his *bhaktas*" (vv. 196-200). Ignorance of the divine law is no excuse. And not only may they suffer in this life, but in innumerable lives to come. "Those eternally bound ones," says *CC* 2.22.10-12, "always have their faces turned from Kṛṣṇa; they suffer eternal passage through *saṃsāra*, and the miseries of hell. Because of their faults (i.e., *doṣa*, that which comes of their blindness and impure nature) the *piśācīs* of *māyā* (i.e., demons in the form of temptations of the flesh) torment them; they afflict them deeply, immersing them in the spiritual and the other torments. They are slaves to lust and anger, and receive the blows of their feet."

If the Vaiṣṇavas have such an attitude toward other Hindus, one would expect an even less compromising one toward Muslims. But the feeling seems to have been the same as that toward the *jñānins* and others: if they choose to look, by the light of *bhakti* they will see that their texts are really teaching *bhakti*; and if they see that, salvation is possible. There are several examples of such discussion in the *CC* (e.g., 2.18.175-194), in which Muslims are persuaded by Caitanya that the Qur'ān really teaches *bhakti*, and so are saved. There seems actually to be some basis in fact for these reports, for possibly several of Caitanya's intimate followers were converts from Islam; the case of Haridāsa at least is well documented.[236]

This exclusive attitude led, as might be expected, to reactions. Vedāntin scholars and logicians, like other scholars and logicians, did not like to be told that they

[235] It is interesting to note that Caitanya's first biographer, Murāri Gupta, was a devotee of Rāma. Murāri was upset and afraid to tell Caitanya that he was a Rāma-*bhakta*, but Caitanya explained to him satisfactorily what that really meant. See *KCC* 2.7.10-18.

[236] The main story can be found in *CBh* 1.11 [= 1.16 GM ed.].

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were indulging in sophistry and idle argument, and they were constantly being told that. For the Vaiṣṇavas, like Augustine, believe that "our knowledge hides Him from us; by our ignorance He is known," knowledge being *jñāna*, ignorance being faithful acceptance of the Vaiṣṇava texts. Muslims and Śaivites and others would understandably take less than kindly to the notion that they were intellectually blind and religiously incompetent, misreading their own books and misinterpreting their own traditions. And so, one day when *kīrtana* was going on at the house of Śrīvāsa (*CC* 1.17.32-34):

> 32 Hearing the *kīrtana* from the outside they [the unbelievers] fumed and burned with rage, and discussed how to give sorrow to Śrīvāsa. 33 One day a *brāhmaṇa* named Gopāla Cāpāla, the chief among the disbelievers, a foul-mouthed man and talkative, 34 brought all the paraphernalia for worship of [the goddess] Bhavānī, and in the night he placed them smeared at the door of Śrīvāsa.

The paraphernalia would have included wine and perhaps the remnants of animal sacrifice, abhorrent to a Vaiṣṇava. And the gentle Haridāsa, whose only real desire in life was to sit in his hut and repeat the names of Kṛṣṇa, was on the order of the Muslim governor, whipped through twenty-two market places as a punishment for his apostasy (*CBh* 1.11.17-154 [= 1.16.17-157 GM ed.].[237] And the *brāhmaṇas* of Navadvīpa, offended and shocked by the Vaiṣṇavas, complained to the Muslim rulers: "We do not know whether they drink when they sing and dance . . . [but] he [i.e., Caitanya] has destroyed the *dharma* of the Hindus and is instigating contrary ways. . . . You are the lord of the town; we are all your people. Have Nimāi [i.e., Caitanya] called, and forbid him" (*CC* 1.17.201-206).

[237] For a translation of this episode from the *Caitanya Bhāgavata*, see "The Exemplary Devotion of the 'Servant of Hari'," translated by Tony K. Stewart in *The Religions of India in Practice*, ed. Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 564-77.

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2. *The Power of the Name*

The lamp is in the hand of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya; his hand is outstretched. All people have eyes to see; all people have ears to hear and tongues to speak. As people are able to see the truth, they are able to hear and speak it. The word, throughout the history of Indian religion, is powerful. The name of Kṛṣṇa, heard and uttered by anyone, has the power to save. Caitanya has come to save by propagation of the name.

The Kali is a desperate age, and the people of the age are laden with sin. So laden are they that they are incapable of the arduous forms of religious striving necessary in previous ages, such as the long and complicated vedic sacrifice. And so merciful is Kṛṣṇa that he recognizes that an easier method of salvation is necessary, lest the whole human race be doomed. The utterance of the name is that method. The name is so powerful that when it is uttered even by accident, it is efficacious. The *Haribhaktivilāsa* (11.289) says:

> One name, uttered by anyone, or sent along the path of memory, or heard, whether purely or impurely pronounced, or whether [the syllables] are separated or not, brings salvation. This is true; [but] if that name is cast among impious people who are attached to greed for people and wealth and body [only then] is it not quickly fruitful.

The name is available to all. Haridāsa, who was a foremost exponent of the use of the name, speaks in *CC* 3.3.48-60 of the Muslim who utters by accident the name of Rāma, a mere aspect of Kṛṣṇa, in saying the word *hārāma*.[238] "Even though the meaning is different," says Haridāsa, "and though the intention of the name is other, still the power of the name is unconquerable" (3.3.54).

To some extent, this aspect of the belief has been overemphasized in some modern forms of Vaiṣṇavism, and those forms take on the aspect of *mantrayāna*, the tāntric system which believes that all power is vested in the word itself. It is true that in *CC* 3.7, Caitanya praises Haridāsa for the propagation of the greatness of the name, and for his discipline in repeating the name "three lakhs of times" each day (vv. 35-36). But in that same passage he also praises Sārvabhauma for his

[238] The Bengali *hārāma* is the Persian *ḥarāma*, which as an adjective means unlawful, forbidden, prohibited, illegitimate; as a noun the meanings range from wrong-doing and iniquity to fornication and adultery. The source is the Arabic root -*ḥrm*, with the meanings of "holy," "venerable," and "sacred," which are connected through the act of setting apart, the violation of which boundaries would be criminal or sinful. It is also the source of the English "harem."

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great learning (presumably in the Vaiṣṇava texts, not the *vedānta*) and Rāmānanda for the depth of his understanding of *bhakti* (vv. 18-28). It is also true that *nāma saṃkīrtana*, the singing of the name of Kṛṣṇa, is given as one of the five most important forms of *sādhana bhakti*, the prescribed ritual (*vaidhī*); but equal place with it is given to association with holy men, listening to the reading of the *BhP*, dwelling at Mathurā (Vṛndāvana), and honoring and serving the image of Kṛṣṇa (*CC* 2.22.74-75). The sound of the name enters the ear which is open, and strikes the heart, and the heart is softened. The name can conquer even those who seem like enemies. It is the name, sung in *kīrtana*, which conquers the Muslim Qazi of Navadvīpa who had been so hostile (*CC* 1.17.115-219).

The idea of the power of the word, especially the spoken word, can hardly be said to be new with the Vaiṣṇavas, nor peculiar to Indian culture. The sacred syllable "*oṃ*" [ॐ] is the beginning and end of all things, the alpha and omega; it justifies what has gone before, and empowers what is to follow. The gods and elements are controlled by powerful ritual formulas, which have been revealed, and which must be reproduced exactly as revealed in order to reestablish their power. The name and knower of the name are one, knowledge is identity; one who knows the name of a deity becomes that deity; he controls that deity with all his power. In other times and places, it was through a name that Moses killed an Egyptian (Exodus 2.12), according to tradition; the true name of God is so powerful it cannot be pronounced or even written. It was through their knowledge of the names of demons (or pre-Christian gods) that medieval European sorcerers and alchemists performed their miraculous feats. And Jesus, according to Arnobius in his *Adversus nationes* possessed his miraculous power, including the power to fly, because he had stolen the names of certain gods from Egyptian temples, and had them secreted about his person.

What the Vaiṣṇavas add is the idea that the power of the name is available to all. One need not be a *brāhmaṇa*, in the Vedic tradition, to have access to the power. One need have no esoteric knowledge. Kṛṣṇa's ready revelation of his name in all its forms is an aspect of his mercy to all those who will pay heed.

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3. *The* Jīvan-mukta

The fate of those who do not take advantage of his mercy is well known, and as with the handsome Gopāla Cakravartī, often painful. But what of those who do? Reaching the other shore of the sea of life, they dwell eternally in the place of Kṛṣṇa. And some, whose arms are strong and determination firm, may reach that shore before the body dies. These are released from the bondage of the world, their salvation is accomplished; but still the world surrounds them. The question is both doctrinal and social: for we have seen how the Vaiṣṇava conviction of salvation has led to sometimes strained relations between *bhaktas* and those around them.

Although he seems to have irritated some of those around him, the *bhakta*, says the CC (1.17.23-25) is:

> 23 . . . humble as grass, he will take the name of Hari [i.e., Kṛṣṇa] incessantly; he will be modest, and honor others. 24 The Vaiṣṇava will be patient as a tree; though he be beaten and cursed, he will say nothing, 25 as a tree says nothing even when it is cut. A tree does not beg for water, even when it dries and shrivels up in the sun.

And Kṛṣṇadāsa takes it further (2.22.44-47):

> 44 All these qualities are the signs of a Vaiṣṇava: . . . 45 compassion, doing no injury or malice, the essence of truth, treating everything equally, freedom from fault, generosity, gentleness, purity, indifference to the world, 46 benefaction to all, peacefulness, having refuge only in Kṛṣṇa, freedom from passion or desire, freedom from longing, being steadfast, having conquered the six passions, 47 eating moderately, abstinence, honoring all things, not having pride in self, gravity, mercy, friendliness, poesy, skill, and silence.

He acts in this admirable fashion because, in his state of salvation, there is no other way he can act. He acts in this way because Kṛṣṇa has driven him mad; and by calling this madness, a deviation from the norm, the Vaiṣṇavas comment on the rest of society. But the divine madness also manifests itself in more traditional ways. "In taking the name of Kṛṣṇa," says Caitanya (1.7.74-85):

> 74 . . . my mind becomes distracted. 75 . . . I become as mad: I laugh, I weep, I dance, I sing, as if drunk on wine . . . 79 . . . my *guru* smiling said to me, 80 'This is the nature of the great *mantra* of the Kṛṣṇa-name . . . 84 It is the

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nature of *prema* to agitate the body and mind, and . . . 85 . . . the *bhakta* laughs and cries and sings and dances and being mad runs here and there. . . .'

The *bhakta*, leaving himself open to Kṛṣṇa, becomes possessed by Kṛṣṇa.[239] And when this happens, he may be in this world, but he is no longer of it. The madness of the Vaiṣṇava was incomprehensible to those around him. Those who had reached the state could not explain, because they were beyond the everyday world. The *līlā*, the divine play, of Kṛṣṇa, seems like random play only to those who do not participate in it. To those who do, it has a meaningful pattern. The *bhakta* participates in it. His madness is in fact that seemingly random *līlā*, expressed in the world.

For this is one of many ways in which the finite and infinite meet and interact. The Vṛndāvana *līlā*, described in the *BhP*, was of this world and yet is infinite: it is the same and not the same. As in the relationship of fire to flame, the saved *bhakta* is on this earth and beyond this earth; and Caitanya is both a man and not a man, a *bhakta* but Kṛṣṇa himself; Kṛṣṇa is both within and beyond.

4. *The Concept of Time*

Time present and time past
Are both perhaps present in time future,
And time future contained in time past.
If all time is eternally present
All time is unredeemable.

(T. S. Eliot, *Burnt Norton*)

The Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal would very much have liked Eliot's sentiment, as they would have liked Dylan Thomas' idea that death is inherent in conception, for, while they do not spend a great deal of time exploring philosophically such paradoxes and ironies, the paradox *bhedābheda*, simultaneous immanence and transcendence, is central to their thought. It allows for the idea that the earthly Vṛndāvana, upon which Kṛṣṇa and the *gopīs* actually walked, is identical with the heavenly Vṛndāvana, which is eternal and unchanging. And, later, it allows for the idea that the *avatāras*

[239] The question of possession is a complex one. See the commentary on *CC* 1.7.86-93; 1.17.5; 2.2.62; 2.8.135; 2.18.151-74; 2.23.31-32; see also 1.10.54; 3.2.2-4.

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of the godhead may differ in form, in time, and in space, while remaining fully godhead, existing eternally in a single divine essence. It allows Caitanya to say that, on the level of the real, what surrounds him is not sixteenth century Bengal but the eternal Vṛndāvana. And it allows the followers of the nineteenth century saint Ramakrishna to observe that their Master is Caitanya, and therefore also Kṛṣṇa.[240] Time and space have collapsed.

The thought of the Vaiṣṇavas about time is not overt, in the sense that they systematized it in their texts, and yet certain very basic tenets can be explained only in terms of what they understood about the matter. At the root of Vaiṣṇava belief, as it is at the root of many Indian ways of thinking, is the distinction between what Eliade calls "mythic" or "sacred" time and "profane" time. In the Vaiṣṇava context, of course, "mythic" time is the eternal Vṛndāvana, while "profane" time, strange as it seems to use that term, encompassing as it does the earthly historical Vṛndāvana, is that "moving multiplicity" which yields pain and pleasure, death and life, and many other differentiations so seemingly integral to our paltry existence. The crucial observation made by the Vaiṣṇavas is that these two types of time are related to each other, and to some extent even overlap one another, though "profane" time does not, in the Vaiṣṇava view, lead as it does in the linear Christian view to a culmination in which it will be abolished and merge with the sacred. "Profane" time, to Vaiṣṇava and to much other Indian thought, moves in lesser and greater cycles: the tiny ones of sun and moon, the greater ones of life and death and rebirth and redeath, and the vast ones of creation, destruction, and re-creation.[241] It is from what Eliade calls the "terror" of this time, the anguish of the eternal return and all its pain, that the Vaiṣṇava, together with many of his fellow Hindus, seeks escape.

Unlike the Gnostics who in some ways hold parallel views, the Vaiṣṇavas do not express a loathing or revulsion for this life. They would rather put it more positively, and say that the joys of this life—love, for example—will be experienced to an infinitely greater degree, in time and in quality, in the heavenly Vṛndāvana. But the central distinction is the same. The basic image is of man, as Puech says of the Gnostics, plunged into pure time, into absolute change and into the various

[240] M[ahendranath Gupta], *The Gospel of Sri Ramakrishna*, translated by Swami Nikhilananda (New York: Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Centre, 1942), 330. The complex and difficult doctrine of *acintya-bhedābheda* is explored by Dimock in an article "On *Māyā*" in *The Journal of Religion* 71, no. 4 (1991): 523-37.

[241] Mircea Eliade, "Time and Eternity in Indian Thought," in *Man and Time*, edited by Joseph Campbell, 173-200, is a good brief discussion of the matter.

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pains engendered by that, as opposed to the immutable joy of "the eternal moment" of the myth.[242]

Nor do the Vaiṣṇavas speculate extensively on the creation or on the origins of evil. As in many other things, they simply accept the standard theories of the succession of ages (*yuga*) and their gradual degeneration, placed within the larger cycles. They do however assume simultaneous realities, and although their ideas have little to do, in speculative purpose or in history, with those of Plato and the Gnostics, it might help clarify the matter to put them against such a backdrop. The conceptions of Plato, as they are found in the *Timaeus*, and of the Gnostics, are alike in that to both the material universe, including time, is an imitation, a replica, of eternity. Says Timaeus:

> The nature of the Living Being was eternal, and it was not possible to bestow this attribute fully on the created universe; but he determined to make a moving image of eternity, and so when he ordered the heavens he made in that which we call time an eternal moving image of the eternity which remains for ever at one.[243]

The creation is thus a faithful replica of what is true, and thus is not in itself painful or evil; these sensations come from a "disease of the soul." To the Gnostics, however, to quote Puech again, the Demiurge

> is separated from the pleroma by a gap, a profound caesura. Hence truth escapes him, and, in the replica which he presumed to create, the eternity, stability, and infinity of the superior Ogdoad take the degraded form of a moving multiplicity, consisting of successive moments, years, centuries which compose and divide time. . . . the time which results from the work of the Demiurge is no longer the most perfect image; it is no longer—according to its own rank—the most faithful imitation of eternity, but a *pseudos*, a lie—an imposture and caricature verging on illusion.[244]

In the lie is the source of the Gnostic revulsion, and of his yearning for reunion with the stable, peaceful, source of Light.

242 Puech, "Gnosis and Time," 74-84.

243 Plato, *Timaeus*, translated by Desmond Lee (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1965), 50-51 (sect. 7).

244 Puech, "Gnosis and Time," 72.

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The Vaiṣṇava conception is close in some ways to the Platonic one, for although its source seems to be pre-existent and not created, here too is the faithful replication of the heavenly Vṛndāvana upon the earth. The Vaiṣṇava idea, though, goes a little further, for it is that by participation in the earthly replica the *bhakta* also participates in the eternal *līlā*, for the temporal penetrates the atemporal. The display of proper emotion and conduct in ritual and in social life, in the temporal realm, creates an atemporal, reified and essential experience, a *rasa*, to which idea we shall return shortly. And since the material world is, while not exactly real in the Platonic sense, at least a faithful imitation, and since the temporal does penetrate the atemporal, ritual activities are reenactments in time of what is happening eternally. At a certain point in his development the *bhakta* sees this relationship, and in doing so moves entirely into the atemporal realm: he is a *jīvan-mukta*. This is the pattern for all *bhaktas* except Caitanya himself, who is both a *bhakta*—the model for all devotees—and Kṛṣṇa himself—*svayaṃ bhāgavan*.[245] Caitanya already participates fully in the atemporal world, his actions are already real. In the temporal world he seems to be acting like Caitanya; the truth is that his acts are the acts of Kṛṣṇa.

Kṛṣṇa too is both in time and beyond it, as the *brahman* is the formed and the formless, corporeal and incorporeal, the mortal and the immortal.[246] In a hymn to Kṛṣṇa the poet Vidyāpati wrote:

> I call you Lord,
> the infinite and finite,
> my salvation.[247]

But this is of course itself a view from the temporal world, in which things can be understood only by the making of distinctions. When one truly knows, he knows that fluid time and the "eternal now," as Eliade calls it the *nunc fluens* and *nunc stans*, are really one and the same; there is no distinction between them. Thus Caitanya himself, and the perfected *bhaktas* around him, look and see both sixteenth century Bengal and what sixteenth century Bengal really is, the eternal Vṛndāvana. They themselves are beyond change, and they see what is beyond change. Their

[245] See Stewart, *BIKC*, ch. 2. For a discussion of the *bhedābheda* theory, see also Dimock, "On *Māyā*."

[246] *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 2.3.1.

[247] Dimock and Levertov, *IPK*, 69.

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minds are at rest, and as the *caryā* writer says, "Time enters only the unsteady mind."[248]

This seems to lead to a somewhat different view of the *vāsanās* than that held, for example, by some of the yogic systems. The *vāsanās*, in yogic thought, have to do with memory, and not only memory within a single life, but the unconscious memory of previous existences as well. The *yogin*'s task, in his attempt to conquer time, includes destroying these links to time. The Vaiṣṇavas too seek to transcend temporality, but when Caitanya says that he "remembers" (*smaraṇa*) his nature as Kṛṣṇa, it seems that the *vāsanās*, or something similar to them, in fact provide the link between the temporal and the atemporal now. The distinction, of course, is that the usual conception of the *vāsanās* suggests a passage of linear time—or a segment of a cyclical time so small as to seem linear—while Caitanya's remembrance is spatial, opening the profane to the infusion of the sacred. Perhaps it is as one "remembers" a person who may be present in time but not in space: that person may be far away, but very much "there."

5. *Saṃnyāsa* and *Bhakti*: Some Aspects of the Doctrine of *Bhāva*

The doctrine of *bhedābheda* infuses not only the Vaiṣṇava ideas of time, but in fact every corner of both religion and theology. It would in fact be possible to characterize the whole system as one which conjoins seeming opposites (a position which one ordinarily thinks of as a characteristic of the *tantras*, and which in fact allowed a Sahajiyā or tāntric interpretation of Vaiṣṇavism).[249] An understanding of this eliminates the need for certain obvious questions, for example: how is it possible for someone like Caitanya to be a *saṃnyāsin*, a mendicant ascetic in the Vedānta tradition of intellectualism and discipline, and at the same time be a *bhakta*, mad with the presence (and particularly with the absence) of Kṛṣṇa, controlled by religious passion—everything, in other words, that a *saṃnyāsin* is not supposed to be? One has to realize that to Vaiṣṇava thinking there is only a series of continuums, between human and divine, between male and female, religion and esthetics, and between *bhakti* and *saṃnyāsa*. These continuums exist, of course, only within the context of *bhakti*, and the pure *jñānin* does not see the interplay between human and divine. But *bhakti* is truth, and if one is a *bhakta* false distinctions are wiped

[248] *Caryāpada* 1 of Lui-pā in *Caryāgītikoṣa*, edited by Nilaratana Sena (Simla: Indian Institute for Advanced Study, 1977), 2, folio 1-B.

[249] See Dimock, *PHM*, passim.

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away. This works itself out in a variety of ways, and central to the working out is the doctrine of *bhāva*.

Bhāva is, as we shall see again, like *rasa* a term drawn from poetics. In both contexts it means the raw material out of which the ultimate experience, religious or esthetic, is shaped. *Rasa* is that ultimate experience, an abstract, universalized experience that cannot be defined except in terms of itself. But it is experience, and to be comprehensible as such it must relate in some way to experience on a more mundane and particular level. *Rasa* is the enjoyable experience of poetry. It is not particularized experience, for if it were one would not be able to say that one had enjoyed a poem the theme of which was tragic. Yet if one had not known the particular experience of pain, the poem would be incomprehensible. The experience is related to the poem, for otherwise the poem could not arouse it. So it is with the Vaiṣṇava religious perception. *Rasa* is the full, blissful religious experience of the *bhakta* when he has attained direct relationship to Kṛṣṇa. It is an experience which is related to the human and particular experience of love, but infinitely beyond it. Particular love is the state, the condition, the *bhāva*, which is raised by religious striving, by *sādhana*, to the state of *rasa*.

The story told by the *BhP* is the description of the absolute and eternal condition of Kṛṣṇa; and those who populate the *BhP* story participate in various ways in Kṛṣṇa's *līlā*. There are those who serve him. There are those who, like the cowherd boys, laugh and play and wrestle with him, and have affection for him as a comrade. There are those who have parental affection toward him, his foster parents Yaśodā and Nanda, and the elders of the village. And there are those *gopīs* who have passionate love for him, who leave their homes and give up their comfortable places in society to meet him, and who are heartbroken when he goes away. Common to all is some kind of love. And common to all people is the experience of one or more of these kinds of love: one serves or has been served, one is a child or parent, one knows or has known sexual passion. And to all people now, depending upon temperament, time of life, and mental condition, one or another of these states is dominant.

It is obvious that if love is the proper relationship between man and God, the more intense the love the more intense the religious experience and satisfaction. Being pragmatists, the Vaiṣṇavas observe that of these kinds of love relationships, passionate love is the most intense. This, then, is the *bhāva*. But it is equally obvious that passionate love for a male is the only one among these relationships which is not typically available to a male worshiper in particular experience. So *bhāva* also means the transformation of one's self into the condition of a *gopī*. And this

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is where *sādhana*, ritual and religious discipline, comes in. One concentrates all one's activity and power of mind on one or another of the characters of the *BhP* story, preferably a *gopī*. And with the constant application of sixty-four types of discipline, meditation, chanting, listening to the *BhP*, serving the image, etc., a change takes place in the psychic state. One knows one's self as that *gopī* upon whom one has been concentrating; and knowing is becoming.

This knowledge, this transformed state, is the madness which the *bhakta* displays. He is simultaneously in two worlds. He walks around in this one, performing bodily and social duties, as Kṛṣṇadāsa says, "by memory and habit." But his real existence is even now in the eternal Vṛndāvana, face to face with his beloved Kṛṣṇa. The separation between human and divine has been wiped away. The state in which the *bhakta* is still striving for complete transformation is called *vaidhī*, injunctional, *bhakti*; when he has attained his goal and knows pure abstracted bliss in Kṛṣṇa's presence, his *bhakti* is *rāgānugā*, ruled by pure passion.

The question may be asked: when social distinctions are wiped away, as they are when the *bhakta* has attained his goal, and even when he is striving, does this imply a kind of egalitarianism? It is true that throughout the texts, and in the *BhP* itself, the feeling is common that socially a *brāhmaṇa* is a *brāhmaṇa* because of an accident of birth; the *bhakta* is the true *brāhmaṇa*. Caitanya, a *brāhmaṇa* by birth, is always embracing *śūdra*s and Muslims, and even, when he is transported, allowing a woman to touch his person. The transformed *bhakta* knows no differentiation, social or otherwise. But it seems that the habits of the world, now mechanical, which are the last to go, are those which relate to caste. Before Caitanya is transported completely, in periods of lucidity, he observes conventions. When he no longer participates in the world at all, the question does not arise.

6. *The Religious Experience:* Rasa *in Poetry and* Bhakti

Seeing a relationship between poetic and religious experience is peculiar to the Vaiṣṇavas, though it is not strange in the context of the system. It is an interesting proposition: a person sitting in a museum gazing transfixed at a painting, or in a concert hall listening to a piece of music; he or she is much like the *yogin* sitting in contemplation on his mountain top, totally absorbed in the experience, totally oblivious of everything that is going on in the vicinity. It is a thought which fascinates Kṛṣṇadāsa, as it fascinated his *guru* Rūpa. Rūpa in fact wrote two major works

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on the subject, the *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*[250] and the *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi*.[251] These books, given Rūpa's "zest for formal definitions and nice and hair-splitting distinctions," as De calls it, are incredibly detailed classifications of the theme of the love of Kṛṣṇa and the *gopīs* in terms of poetic theory. The man of sensibility, the *sahṛdaya*, the man who alone can truly appreciate the fine points of poetry and the arts, becomes the *bhakta*, who alone can taste the ultimate experience of joy which the worship of Kṛṣṇa brings. Kṛṣṇa himself becomes the incarnate poem, the object of all the senses, that through which the experience of *rasa* comes. The sound of his flute enchants the ears, the grace and color of his body delight the eye, the perfume of his body thrills the nose, and so on.

An understanding of this implies an understanding of the meaning of the term *rasa*, which is in actuality far more complicated than was suggested above. Like most

[250] There are many editions of this and the following text, two of which are generally deemed standard as attested by the many printings each has enjoyed: *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* of Rūpa Gosvāmin, edited with Bengali translation by Rāmanārāyaṇa Vidyāratna, with the commentary *Durgasaṃgamanī-ṭīkā* of Jīva Gosvāmin, 5th ed. (Murshidabad: Rāmadeva Miśra at the Rādhāramaṇa Press of Baharampura for Haribhaktipradāyinī Sabhā, 1340 BS); and that edited with Bengali translation by Haridāsa Dāsa, with the commentaries *Durgasaṃgamanī-ṭīkā* of Jīva Gosvāmin, *Artharatnālpadīpikā* of Mukundadāsa Gosvāmin, and *Bhaktisārapradarśinī-ṭīkā* of Viśvanātha Cakravartin, 3d ed. (Mathura: Haribol Kuṭīra from Śrī Kṛṣṇajanmasthāna, 495 GA). Earlier editions of this second text were printed in Navadvīpa. All references will be to this latter Haridāsa Dāsa edition, hereafter cited as *BhRS*.

S. K. De's summary is an excellent survey, introduction, and analysis of the text (S. K. De, *VFM*, 170-203). The first part (*vibhāga*) of the *BhRS* was translated into English in 1965, but the translation has remained unfinished to date: translated by Tridaṇḍī Swāmī Bhakti Hṛdaya Bon Mahārāj, with Sanskrit text in *devanāgari*, English transliteration, and English translation with comments, vol. 1 (Vrindaban, UP: Institute of Oriental Philosophy, 1965). David Haberman has included translations of select passages in his dissertation, "Acting as a Way of Salvation: *Rāgānugā Bhakti Sādhanā*" (Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Chicago, 1984), and in the printed edition of this work (see Sect. I, n. 9); he is currently preparing a complete translation of the text.

[251] The *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi*, like its companion the *BhRS* has seen many editions, the two most scholarly and popular being those of the editors noted above: *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* of Rūpa Gosvāmin, edited with Bengali translation by Rāmanārāyaṇa Vidyāratna, with the commentaries *Locanarocanī-ṭīkā* of Jīva Gosvāmin and *Ānandacandrikā-ṭīkā* of Viśvanātha Cakravartī (Murshidabad: Rādhāramaṇa Press of Baharampura, 1304 BS); and edited with Bengali translation by Haridāsa Dāsa, with the commentary *Svātmapramodhinī-ṭīkā* of Viṣṇudāsa (Navadvīpa: by the editor at Haribola Kuṭīra, 469 GA).

Again S. K. De's English summary of the text is the best single statement of its intent and purpose (*VFM*, 203-24). Neal Delmonico is currently preparing a translation of the text and includes many passages in his dissertation entitled, "Sacred Erotic Rapture: A Study of Rūpa Gosvāmin's 'Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi'," (see Sect. V.5, n. 177 above).

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words in poetics, it is difficult to define, because, as S. K. De says in his *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, "its perception is inseparable from its existence; . . . it is identical with the knowledge of itself."[252] The standard example is as follows. One is looking at a performance of the *Rāmāyaṇa* on the stage, and the actors are acting out the scene of the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa. The scene is a painful one, yet the audience does not experience pain in a personal way. If the audience did experience personal pain, one could not say "I enjoyed that scene." The experience is actually twice removed from particularity. Sītā herself felt pain. The actor who acts her part does not feel her pain, he merely transmits certain characteristics of the actuality to the audience. And the audience is once again removed from the actor, experiencing only what can be deduced from his actions. And yet the esthetic experience which one undergoes is not entirely apart from personal experience, for it is through personal experience that one must fill in the actual emotions of Sītā as they are being depicted or transmitted. The audience is led back to something once familiar.

If *rasa* is "identical with the knowledge of itself," then, it must be defined, like God, in terms of what it is not. It is not normal; it is *alaukika*. Normal everyday experience is tied to particulars and to physicality; normal everyday experience is profane. It does not reside in the hero of the drama, nor in the poem, though these are vehicles which exhibit the situations of time, place, circumstance, personality, mood, and so on, which provide the means of establishing the *rasa*. Nor is it in the reader's apprehension, for if it were different feelings would be aroused in different individuals. Presumably one who has had the experience could define it, but this also turns out to be impossible, for as the experience is supernormal, it cannot be discussed in normal terms; one who has seen God cannot describe God, for human language has no means, except perhaps by indirection and in poetry. And finally, *rasa* has no relationship to any individual; it is a Jungian sort of universalized experience, it is a suspension of secular time and usual personal consciousness which goes beneath cognition. It is not difficult to see that this also defines the religious experience of the Vaiṣṇavas as well. Some of the definitions of *rasa* put forward by J. A. Honeywell in an article called "The Poetic Theory of Viśvanātha," in *The Journal of Esthetics and Art Criticism* make the identification even clearer. *Rasa* has a relationship to the real word, but it is not the real world, for the world of esthetic experience is a world of universals, and the real world a world of particulars. Honeywell writes

[252] S. K. De, *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, 2 vols. bound in one (1923 and 1925; reprint, Calcutta: Firma KLM, 1976), 2:137.

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> As long as the reader, in abstraction from his own physical limitations and those of the natural world, can imagine as intelligible possibilities in general the supernatural objects and powers represented, he will have no hesitation in accepting such objects and powers as parts of the poetic world. Such parts will become fully acceptable, however, only if the self-contained poetic world is presented as itself a world in which such objects and powers are intelligible possibilities. Thus the emphasis on the structural unity of the self-contained poetic world, a world which by its nature is different from the natural world, makes it possible to justify and even require as the norm, representations of the supernatural and extraordinary. Thus the poetic world recommended by Viśvanātha is two steps removed from the natural world of particular objects. First, it is a world in which natural objects are represented in their generality rather than in their particularity; second, and only possible because of the first step, it is a world in which supernatural objects are acceptable as natural objects.[253]

The "poetic world" of which he speaks could be the heavenly Vṛndāvana, in which the *bhakta*'s condition of joy or bliss is a generalized one; it is a joy like that of human love, but it is far beyond human love. *Rasa* "cannot be dissociated from its object";[254] *rasa* cannot be known apart from Kṛṣṇa. In *rasa*, the "reader enters into a state of community with the hero":[255] Kṛṣṇa is the *nāyaka*, the hero of the drama, and is called such, and the *bhakta*'s joy comes from participating in the drama of Vṛndāvana in Kṛṣṇa's company. And this is universalized, for if the *bhakta* participated in particular experience with Kṛṣṇa himself, he would be the same as Kṛṣṇa, and that is impossible. *Rasa* is "joy and thought";[256] Kṛṣṇa is made up not of the material elements and qualities (*guṇa*), but of *cit* (consciousness) and *ānanda* (joy or bliss). As *rasa* is abstract and universalized, it is common to all people of taste and sensibility,[257] as we have seen that all people who have the proper attitude and can see the light are potential *bhaktas*. And the poetic world is the real one.

The experience of Sītā, then, in *rasa*, becomes the experience of woman. As there is a difference between loving a woman and loving women, or between loving a man and loving mankind, so *rasa* is not the same as, but it is related to, personal experience. If one has never loved, it would be impossible to know what the term

[253] J. A. Honeywell, "The Poetic Theory of Viśvanātha," *The Journal of Esthetics and Art Criticism* (Winter 1969): 174.
[254] Ibid., 168.
[255] Ibid., 169.
[256] Ibid., 170.
[257] Ibid.

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"love" means; universalized love is based on a feeling toward a single individual. And it is the situation of loving an individual, a situation of frequent pain as well as pleasure, of separation as well as union, of anger as well as tenderness, which is called, in *bhakti* and in poetics, a *sthāyi bhāva*, a "permanent emotion." It is permanent in the sense that it is one of several human emotions powerful enough to be dominant over others, and it is a condition which can be raised, by the poet's skill and the reader's sensibility, to the state of *rasa*, in which even pain, separation, and anger are pleasurable. As Freud says, "many things which if they happened in real life could produce no pleasure can nevertheless give enjoyment in a play—many emotions which are essentially painful may become a source of enjoyment. . ."[258] Thus in *prema*, in true love, which is *rasa*, the pain of separation, when Kṛṣṇa goes away, is pleasurable, for the context is poetic; it has Kṛṣṇa as its source.

From the poetic point of view, the *sthāyi bhāva* is raised to the status of *rasa* by the clever and artistic manipulation of the tools of the trade. In the case of love, the *śṛṅgāra rasa* or the *madhura rasa* as the Vaiṣṇavas sometimes call it, the scene is spring, a garden with a lake filled with lotuses and water-birds, a bower of flowers:

> My moon-faced one,
> I am waiting
> to make our bed ready,
> to gather lotus petals—
> your body will press them,
> hidden from even friendly eyes . . .
> Come,
> the sweet breeze from the sandalwoods
> censes our trysting place . . .[259]

The garden is filled with blue peacocks, or covered with the dark raincloud about to bring fertility to the land and happiness to the people. The woman, going to the tryst, may be anxious lest her lover be not there, or angry with him for forcing her to leave her home in the darkness, full of dangers, or trembling with her eagerness to meet him, and the lover too may be full of self-reproach, or burning with the fever of love. The poet may enhance his presentation of the scene with clever and punning innuendo, with alliteration and internal rhyme, all of a nature

[258] Sigmund Freud, "The Relation of the Poet to Day-dreaming," in *On Creativity and the Unconscious* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1958), 45.

[259] Dimock and Levertov, *IPK*, 55. The poem is by Rāmānanda Rāya.

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designed to set and enhance the mood. And the reader or listener, alive to the poet's skill and of sufficiently wide experience to understand not only the conventions but the meaning in human terms of the poem, will supply what is wanting; for a single poem cannot cover the whole range of experience even of a single subcategory. By these means, from a condition of *sthāyi bhāva*, the experience of *rasa* is gained.

All of this is marvelous in its complexity, and Kṛṣṇadāsa and Rūpa delight in making and naming categories and subcategories of the states of mind of hero and heroine, all possible settings, all possible manifestations of emotion, and all combinations of these. So neat are these divisions, and so well-trained the man of taste, that the poet's hint will suggest the whole range of experience. The heroine trembles; the man of taste, the *sahṛdaya*, knows that her condition is one of fear or anticipation. She is in a garden; the *sahṛdaya* knows that she trembles in anticipation of her lover's coming. There are hundreds of variables, and the *sahṛdaya* must be trained to understand them. The *sahṛdaya* is the *bhakta*, and his *sthāyi bhāva* is *rati*, love. The *bhakta* must be trained to separate out all emotions and conditions of mind which might interfere with the raising of that *bhāva* to the state of *rasa*, to interpret experience in the light of real, or poetic, truth. To train him so is the task of the *guru*, the poet. The *guru* is one who has himself experienced *rasa*, but who, since he is still a man, cannot tell in didactic language his pupil what the experience is. But he can show him how to gain it.

The Vaiṣṇavas suggest that their system can be divided into three essential categories: that which is to be gained (*sādhya*), the means of gaining it (*sādhana*), and he who is to gain it (*sādhaka*). In doctrinal terms these are Kṛṣṇa or *prema*, *bhakti*, and the *bhakta*. In poetic terms they are *rasa*, poetry, and the *sahṛdaya*. Consider the following oppositions: the poem is in time, the experience of the poetry is timeless. From the point of view of the listener, the poem is an experience; the effects of that experience, if the poem is a work of true art, reach into the universal; they go far beyond the immediate confines of the time taken to read or listen, and far beyond the lines of the page. The poem in that way becomes part of the psychological makeup of the appreciator of the poem, and as such enters into far more than particular experience. The experience of the poem is beyond time, is perfect. To Vaiṣṇava thinking, in fact, there are no such oppositions as time and timeless, perfect and imperfect, because the poems cannot be separated from the experience they convey. Since perfection is defined as the experience of Kṛṣṇa, the poem does not merely convey that experience, it is an inseparable part of that experience. In philosophical terms this is somewhat deviant from the more standard schools such as the Vedānta, for what it says is that *cit*, pure consciousness, eternal spirit, can-

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not be separated from *māyā*, which the Vaiṣṇavas call the material creation. It says that the material senses, hearing and sight, which can also be touch, and taste (which is one literal meaning of the word *rasa*), and which are the means of esthetic experience, are also used in religious or perfect experience; imperfect man thus relates to eternal and perfect consciousness and spirit.

This is of course perfectly in keeping with the view of the manifest (*prakaṭa*) and unmanifest (*aprakaṭa*) *līlās* of Kṛṣṇa: the idea that the *līlā* which took place within earthly time and which is reported in the *BhP* is not a metaphor of, but actually is the eternal *līlā* which takes place in the infinite Vṛndāvana. Caitanya is at the same time a *bhakta* of Kṛṣṇa and Kṛṣṇa himself. And Kṛṣṇa is at the same time Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. The flame is not the fire, but is not different from the fire. The poem is not *rasa*, but is indistinguishable from *rasa*.

And if this were to be carried one step further, the poet is not his poem, but is inseparable from his poem (as the saved *bhakta*, the potential *guru*, is not Kṛṣṇa but is inseparable from Kṛṣṇa). And at this point, the two systems, *bhakti* and poetics, blend in yet another way. In the last section of the *CC* (3.5.87-149) the following situation takes place: a poet has brought his drama to be read to Caitanya. It was customary for Svarūpa Dāmodara to read first all verses brought to Caitanya, for "if there was an artificial *rasa*, or any opposition to the ultimate truths, Prabhu could not bear it, and became angry" (v. 94). Svarūpa was the censor. As it happened, he did not like this drama, and he said to its author (3.5.99-102):

> 99 "... in the words of indifferent poets there is seeming *rasa* [i.e., *rasābhāsa*, a technical term meaning that which seems at first to be able to give the experience of *rasa*, but which on examination turns out not to be able to do so, because of the faulty usage of techniques designed to stimulate *rasa*], and it gives me no joy to listen to opposition to the truths. 100 Those who cannot discriminate between *rasa* and that which seems like *rasa* can never gain the shore of the sea of *bhakti-siddhānta* [i.e., perfection in relation to Kṛṣṇa]. 101 They do not know grammar, they do not know [poetic] ornamentation (*alaṃkāra*) ... 102 such worthless people do not know how to describe the Kṛṣṇa *līlā* ..."

Svarūpa is using the two categories of poetic analysis—*śabda* (word, form, prosody) and *artha* (meaning)—to criticize the poem. Its meaning is faulty because the poet has said that Caitanya is the spirit in the image of Jagannātha, while the truth is that Caitanya and Jagannātha are fully identical. Its form is faulty as well, because the poet has not used alliteration and the other formal devices skilfully. The implication is clear: a proper devotional poem must be both doctrinally accu-

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rate and formally perfect, or else *rasa* (of either kind) will not be generated; no distinction is made between the religious and the esthetic. Or, put another way, a poem cannot be formally perfect if it is not doctrinally correct. As Edwin Gerow has written, the only proper offering to God is of a gem as beautifully cut and as highly polished as the poet can make it.[260]

The Vaiṣṇava attitude is one which does away with the problem which vexes so many of the critics of Metaphysical poetry: the seeming inappropriateness of Donne's wit and formal consciousness, for example, to his devotional subject matter and his psychological realism. Donne's "comparing (his beloved) to a perfect equilateral triangle"[261] would have seemed not at all out of place to the Vaiṣṇavas. For the Vaiṣṇavas, as for the poets who subjected themselves to the Ignatian spiritual exercises in order to make the context of their poetry real and immediate, intellect and poetry do not conflict. The subject of Vaiṣṇava poetry is reality, and the world of that poetry is real; as Ignatius said, "the composition will be to see with the eyes of imagination the corporeal place where the thing I wish to contemplate is found."[262] The eternal Vṛndāvana is available to all *bhaktas*; but his particular place in it depends upon the object of the individual *bhakta*'s contemplation. Beauty is truth; art reflects the divine pattern. "One of poetry's greatest potential values was that God could employ it as a means through which man might perceive those relationships."[263] To employ poetry for less than that approaches blasphemy. Religious and poetic truth are identical.

The true poet, the true *bhakta*, could not of course employ poetry for anything other than religious expression, for the world in which he moves is that of truth. That world and the creation of his poem are inseparable. If he employs hyperbole, if all things in his world are larger than in the real one, that is because Kṛṣṇa and the infinite world in which he moves are that much larger than things in this petty one; and no hyperbole can ever reach the end of it. Even the poet cannot express the grandeur of it. But the poet has the power to suggest; he is, in Eliot's view, "one who perceives and distinguishes vibrations beyond the range of ordinary

[260] Edwin Gerow, "The Sanskrit Lyric: A Genre Analysis," in *The Literatures of India: An Introduction*, edited by Edward C. Dimock, Jr., et al. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1974), 150.

[261] The remark is Rupert Brooke's in his essay "John Donne," quoted by J. E. Duncan, "The Background of Eliot's [Donne] Criticism" in *The Metaphysical Poets: Key Essays on Metaphysical Poetry and the Major Metaphysical Poets*, edited with and introduction and commentary by Frank Kermode (Greenwich: Fawcett, 1969), 139.

[262] *Spiritual Exercises*, quoted in Louis L. Martz, *The Poetry of Meditation: A Study in English Religion and Literature of the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), 27.

[263] J. H. Summers, "Herbert's Conception of Form," in Kermode, ed., *The Metaphysical Poets*, 236.

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men."[264] The poet transforms the immediate into the metaphysical. The *bhakta*'s petty human love becomes a love for God. Dr. Johnson said in his "Life of Waller" that "contemplative piety, or the intercourse between God and the human soul, cannot be poetical."[265] Rūpa Gosvāmin differs, and in so doing has suggested some of the ways of grasping the always slippery and easy movement between physical and metaphysical, so problematically accepted in much of Indian thought.

7. *The Poetry*

Paul Tillich, in his *Systematic Theology*, wrote that

> Unbelief, in the view of the Reformers, is not the unwillingness or the inability to believe in the doctrines of the church, but, like faith, it is an act of the total personality. . . . "Unbelief," for Protestant Christianity, means the act or state in which man in the totality of his being turns away from God. In his existential self-realization he turns toward himself and his world and loses his essential unity with the ground of his being and his world. . . . Unbelief is also the empirical shift from the blessedness of the divine life to the pleasures of the separated life. . . . It is the first mark of estrangement, and its character justifies the term "estrangement."[266]

To this way of thinking, love is that condition in which man's "center" belongs in the divine center, in which "self-love and love for God are united." Thus, "Unfaith is ultimately identical with un-love; both point to man's estrangement from God."[267] The separation of man from his true center in divine love seems to be the beginning of a process which leads inevitably to the condition of estrangement. And to draw the opposite conclusion, which Tillich does not in this place do, love or faith seems to constitute the first stage in a process of reconciliation or reunion of man's center with the center of divine love.

264 T. S. Eliot, "What Dante Means to Me" in *To Criticize the Critic* (New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux, 1965), 134.

265 Samuel Johnson, "Life of Waller" in *Lives of the English Poets*, edited by George Birkbeck Hill, 3 vols. (NY: Octagon Books, 1967), 1:291, no. 136.

266 Paul Tillich, *Systematic Theology*, 3 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), 2:47-48.

267 Ibid., 2:48.

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This manner of thinking would be most congenial to the Vaiṣṇavas. The condition of "self-love and love for God united" is *prema*, and the experience of it is *rasa*. Separation from God and turning toward immediate and worldly things is *kāma*, self-love, sexual desire, passion which seeks the satisfaction only of the self. And the indefinable longing which arises in the condition of separation is *viraha*, which the *gopīs* feel when Kṛṣṇa leaves them to go to Mathurā, and which man feels when he is not in his pure and natural state of loving relationship to God.

Of the two basic states of the love relationship, the Vaiṣṇavas, like the Sufis and others who use poetry as doctrinal expression, place the primary emphasis on separation. The idea of actual union of man and God, of the *bhakta* and Kṛṣṇa, is not acceptable to the dualistic Vaiṣṇavas. And yet, with their ideas of the simultaneous immanence and transcendence of Kṛṣṇa, union is latent in the condition of separation, as separation is in union. The poetic imagery then can be interpreted in either way; only when one applies the stated doctrinal position to it can it be properly interpreted. This potential ambiguity has been exploited by other dualistic religions as well. The Persian Sufi poet writes of his Beloved, whose long tresses, often hiding her face, are dark as the mysterious night, whose lips are rubies, whose body is the cypress tree in the nightingaled garden, whose eyes are fonts of life and pools to drown in. St. John of the Cross hears his soul, the Bride, sing:

> There in my festive breast
> walled for his pleasure-garden, his alone,
> the lover remained at rest
> and I gave all I own,
> gave all, in air from cedars softly blown.[268]

And the great troubadour Bernard de Ventadour, somewhat more bluntly, sings:

> If only she were bold enough
> to lead me one night there,
> and naked take me in her arms . . .[269]

The type of imagery is present in the Christian tradition right down through Gerard Manley Hopkins and Coventry Patmore. Although it suggests union, it is essen-

[268] John Frederick Nims, *The Poems of St. John of the Cross* (New York: Evergreen Press, 1959), 21.

[269] Moshé Lazar, *Amour cortois et Fin'amors*, Bibliothèque Française et Romane, Série C: Etudes Littéraires 8 (Paris: Librarie C. Klincksieck, 1964), 72.

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tially a poetry of separation, a love poetry which states man's longing for his original and true state of what Tillich would call belief. It is in most ways unthinkable that Hafiz or St. John or Bernard or Patmore were considering actual sexual union with the deity (as do, for example, the extreme monistic Tāntrics of Hinduism or Buddhism), or with Christ. Devotional religion means dualism; if it did not, as the Vaiṣṇavas are quick to point out, one would end up worshipping one's self. The love of man for God and the expression of this must employ the erotic image, for the range of analogy in human experience is limited; this is the *sthāyi bhāva* which is raised to the condition of experiencing *rasa*. And separation is as much a part of the condition of love as is union; more so—for if there were no separation there could be no dynamic coming together, no reconciliation, to use Tillich's term. This is why Kṛṣṇa separated himself into two.

Their lyric poetry and song is a major contribution of the Vaiṣṇavas to literature, and so much a part of their devotional attitude that even the scholarly Kṛṣṇadāsa occasionally gives voice to it. The lyrics make up a cycle, describing in a general way the life of Kṛṣṇa, and within that in great detail the love affair between Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā: the initial infatuation and fright, attraction and dislike, pique and passion, union and separation, when Kṛṣṇa leaves the fields of Vṛndāvana, with the *gopīs* grieving, in order, so it is stated, that by their longing and their grief true love for him will grow. A look at three poems from different parts of the cycle will indicate their character and how they express the central religious ideas. The first is spoken by Rādhā or one of the *gopīs*, as she describes her love for Kṛṣṇa to one of her friends:

As water to sea-creature,
moon-nectar to *chakora* birds,
companionable dark to the stars—
my love is to Krishna.

My body hungers for his
as mirror image hungers
for twin of flesh.

His life cuts into my life
as the stain of the moon's rabbit
engraves the moon.

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As if a day when no sun came up
and no color came to the earth—
that's how it is in my heart when he goes away.

Vidyāpati says, Cherish such love
and keep it young, fortunate girl.[270]

Two of the images of the poem are primarily conventional. First of all, the poetic conceit is that the moon is full of nectar; and *cākora* birds are those fictitious creatures which are said to live on moonbeams. Secondly, the stain on the moon, the man in the moon, is in the Indian convention a deer or a rabbit. And along these lines, such traditional similies and metaphors are developed as "her face is like the moon" and "the moon seems stained, when seen beside her face," which of course is flawless.

On the most simple structural level, the poet presents us with a progression from the darkness of the sea, the darkness of night made darker by the stars, through the brightness of the mirror, the pure light of the moon, with emphasis on the purity of the face of the beloved through mention of the stain; and in the fourth verse there is a sudden reversal, moving again from light to darkness, from hope to desolate loneliness. The poem is a love poem; it is also a religious poem. The first verse is a statement of the existential relationship of Kṛṣṇa to his *bhaktas*: he is necessary for life, as water is to fish; he is desired and fulfilling, as moonbeams are to *cākora* birds; he makes life visible and meaningful, as darkness does to stars. And the second verse is an almost theological statement. That which is non-physical has neither shadow nor image. Rādhā is then saying that Kṛṣṇa is the true reality, and that she is a reflection of this, without substance. She is also however saying, more importantly, that she and Kṛṣṇa are somehow one, as an entity and its reflection are inseparable from one another. And the third verse says that Rādhā, or the devotee, is indelibly marked with the touch of Kṛṣṇa; it is because of the touch that he is mad. But perhaps the most important point is suggested by the last two lines, the *bhaṇitā* or signature, a custom of poets of the period. In the poem itself, Vidyāpati has been speaking as Rādhā or one of the other *gopīs*. In his *bhaṇitā* he speaks to her. Throughout he participates fully in his poem. This is *bhāva*; the poet has taken on the nature of Rādhā or one of the *gopīs*.[271]

270 Dimock and Levertov, *IPK*, 17.

271 For a discussion of poetry as devotional expression and the poet as devotee, see Edward C. Dimock, Jr., "On Religious and Esthetic Experience" in *The Sound of Silent Guns* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989), 11-20.

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The second poem is from the section of the cycle called *māna*, the irritation and jealousy of Rādhā when Kṛṣṇa has been with other girls. She speaks:

> The marks of fingernails are on your breast
> and my heart burns.
> Kohl of someone's eyes upon your lips
> darkens my face.
> I am awake all night;
> your eyes are red.
> So why do you entreat me, Kān,
> saying that you and I have but one heart?
> You come with choking voice
> while I want to weep.
> "Only our bodies are apart."
> But mine is light,
> and yours is dark.
> Go home, then,
> says Govindadāsa.[272]

The poem is tight and complex. One or two superficial things ought to be noted. According to the *Kāma Sūtra*, fingernail marks on the breast are highly erotic, both in meaning and in stimulus. Kohl is the dark collyrium used by women as a cosmetic around the eyes, and by children as a medicinal ointment. Kān or Kānu is a pet name for Kṛṣṇa. And Rādhā's body is golden in color, while Kṛṣṇa's is *śyāma*, a dark emerald or deep blue-green; this yields such highly erotic images as "the emerald set in the ring of gold."

The *bhāva* of the poem seems to be that of Rādhā, although there is a slight ambiguity: when Govindadāsa says "Go home," he may be speaking as Rādhā to Kṛṣṇa, as a companion to Rādhā, or as a friend to them both. Given the ritual practices prevalent among the more adept Vaiṣṇavas at the time this poem was written, one would be inclined to see the author in the role of Rādhā's companion, a *mañjarī*; but Govindadāsa will not be the only Vaiṣṇava to participate in the poem's *rasa*, so the ambiguity serves an important function, opening the poem to a range of emotional perspectives dependent on the reader. This malleability contributes greatly to its power and elegance. And the poem must be read on several levels. The first is that characteristics of another are attributed to the self, and this

[272] Dimock and Levertov, *IPK*, 45.

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is of course what *bhāva* means. The second is somewhat more subtle, and is like the mirror-image in the first poem: Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are in some indefinable way one, and what happens to one happens to the other. Yet, if there is to be a true love-relationship, the two cannot really be one. "Only our bodies are apart": for a dynamic coming together, for a restitution of the relationship of true love, there must be two parts. The poet says that those parts are not at the same time a whole.

The third poem, structurally a very simple one, adds a new dimension. It seems to be spoken by Rādhā, and again describes her longing in *viraha*:

> Let the earth of my body be mixed with the earth
> my beloved walks on.
> Let the fire of my body be the brightness
> in the mirror that reflects his face.
> Let the water of my body join the waters
> of the lotus pool he bathes in.
> Let the breath of my body be air
> lapping his tired limbs.
> Let me be sky, and moving through me
> that cloud-dark Shyāma, my beloved.
>
> Govindadāsa says, O golden one,
> Could he of the emerald body let you go?[273]

The images are conventional. The elements which are spoken of are the five elements of material nature, and on this level, which is borne out by the signature line, it seems that Rādhā, in her pain, either longs for dissolution or feels herself in the penultimate state in a case of true love, about to die. Another level is purely erotic, and the force of the last four lines is inescapable. But the poem says deeper things. The images are extremely intimate: water washing the body, or the body and its breath; but these relationships, intimate as they are, do not signify union. It is again the relationship of the fire to the flame. Govindadāsa is also saying that Rādhā is the material creature, and Kṛṣṇa the immaterial. The implication is that the immaterial needs the material to contain it and make it real and potent. As Kṛṣṇa needs Rādhā, God needs man. It also means that Kṛṣṇa can be known through the material being, that there is a direct link between the physical world,

[273] Ibid., 58.

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including the body, to the deity, and that therefore the physical world, including the body, is real.

Such poems as these are probably not conscious statements of all this. They are reactions to what the *bhaktas* felt, due to the immediacy of their belief and intuition about the nature of Kṛṣṇa and their relationship to him. And in so stating their love ecstatically, they posed the problem which the Gosvāmins and Kṛṣṇadāsa had to face: how to translate this into a system, to state in theological terms what to the poet-*bhaktas* of Bengal was a real, but undefined set of perceptions.

8. *The Theology*

Kṛṣṇadāsa had at his disposal in Vṛndāvana several of the best scholastic minds of his time, especially those in the persons of Rūpa and Jīva Gosvāmin, as well as their writings; Jīva's *Ṣaṭ-sandarbha*[274] is a monument of theological craftsmanship and the most complete analysis of the system developed to explain the implications of emotionalistic *bhakti*. This work has been summarized by S. K. De,[275] and those interested in this theology can easily turn to that text. Nevertheless, a précis of the theology as Kṛṣṇadāsa understood it might smooth the reader's way into the *CC* text.[276]

Aspects of Godhead

There are three aspects of the ultimate reality, which are progressive in the following manner: A is A alone; B includes A, but has an additional quality of its own; and C includes both A and B, but also has an additional quality of its own. These three aspects are called respectively *brahman*, the lowest, *paramātman*, the middle, and *bhagavat*, the highest and complete. *Brahman* is the unqualified, undifferentiated absolute of *advaita* philosophy. It is included in the *bhagavat*, but is not the full *bhagavat*; it is that aspect of the *bhagavat* which provides lustre, grandeur, and

274 Two good editions are *Ṣaṭ-* or *Bhāgavata-sandarbha* of Jīva Gosvāmin, edited by Purīdāsa Mahāśaya, 6 bks. in 2 vols. (Vṛndāvana: Haridāsa Śarmma, 1357 BS); and that edited by Śyāmalāla Gosvāmī (Calcutta: by the editor, 1322 BS). The individual *sandarbhas* of this set (viz. *tattva*, *bhagavat*, *paramātma*, *kṛṣṇa*, *bhakti*, and *prīti*) have been frequently printed independently (see bibliography).

275 De, *VFM*, 254-421.

276 Kṛṣṇadāsa addresses these points primarily in *CC* 2.20.

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splendor to the *bhagavat*'s body. Those who seek identity with it, as the followers of the *jñāna mārga*, for example, are prone to do, are deluded; they can know this identity by following the *jñāna mārga* modified by an element of *bhakti*, but in doing so they know only a partial reality. They seek to know only a part, when they could know the whole.

Paramātman mediates between the *brahman* and the *bhagavat*; it is known by the *yoga mārga*, discipline modified by *bhakti*. But again, those who follow this path, while gaining more than *brahman*, also do not know the whole. The *bhagavat*, the highest reality, personified as *bhagavān*, is divinity in full manifestation. While *brahman* is unqualified and undifferentiated, and *paramātman* is partially qualified and partially differentiated, *bhagavān*'s attributes are innumerable and perfect.

This ultimate reality, in its three gradations, is totally transcendent and thus inoperative. But the infinite qualifications and differentiations of the *bhagavat* include infinite *śaktis*, energies which make the godhead active; and these *śaktis* are essential or intrinsic to the *bhagavat*'s nature. Kṛṣṇadāsa says: "As a beam of light is a part of the sun, or a flame a part of the fire, so the three *śaktis* are of Kṛṣṇa's nature" (*CC* 2.20.102). The *śaktis* are infinite, but are again of three main sorts: *svarūpa-śakti*, *jīva-śakti*, and *māyā-śakti*. To explain their interrelationship, Kṛṣṇadāsa carries further his image of the sun: the *svarūpa-śakti*, the *śakti* of "his own form" is the sun itself; the rays of the sun are among its essential properties, but do not make up the sun itself, and this is *jīva-śakti*; but the rays of the sun carry the light of the sun to the mirror, and are thus intermediaries between the sun and its reflection. This reflection of the sun is *māyā-śakti*; the reflection is an aspect of the sun, and does not exist without the sun, but it is not connected to the essential sun. *Māyā-śakti* is thus considered related to the *bhagavat*, but extrinsic (*bahiraṅga*) to it.

The rays of the sun carry the sun's light and warmth to the earth, and its reflection is the sun on earth. *Māyā-śakti* is thus the aspect of divinity which relates to the earth; it is the principle of creation, and it controls men and all material nature. Thus the world is related to the *bhagavat*, but is not of its essential nature. It cannot be said that the world is not real, for the *māyā-śakti* is a function of the ultimate reality, and is therefore itself real. The world is related to the *bhagavat*, the full reality, also through the sun's rays, the *jīva-śakti*. The *jīva-śakti*, as its name suggests, has as its domain, that part of the individual creature such as man which is separate from but imbedded in material nature. *Jīva-śakti*, like the *paramātman*, is an intermediary; being neither fully intrinsic nor fully extrinsic to the *bhagavat*, it provides the means by which the *jīva*, when released from the control of *māyā-śakti*, relates to the *bhagavat*'s *svarūpa-śakti*. For when this release comes, by means

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of *bhakti*, the *jīva* is beyond both *māyā* and *jīva-śaktis*, and is fully related to the *svarūpa-śakti*, the highest *śakti* of the *bhagavat*, *bhagavān* the full divinity.

Nature of the Jīva

The *jīva* is not the body, for the body is mortal and takes different forms in different births; it is not even the subtle body which is gained after death, for that too is material, being destroyed in the great destruction at the end of the world. But it is said that after a man or animal is dead: the *jīva*, life, consciousness, was in that body, and is so no longer. The *jīva* therefore is related to consciousness which, in its infinite form, is one of the qualities of *bhagavat*. The *jīva* is the smallest indivisible part of the *bhagavat*; and as a part it participates in the *bhagavat*, but, unlike the *bhagavat*, is limited. The *jīva* is also discrete; while it relates, as consciousness, to the *bhagavat*, it is not identical with the *bhagavat*, and remains eternally distinct both from the *bhagavat* and from other *jīvas*. The *jīva* is under the control of *māyā* as long as it is deluded into identifying itself with the organic body. Through *bhakti* a perfected body (*siddhadeha*) is gained, and as part of the *bhagavat* the *jīva* is released from *māyā*.

While participating in the *bhagavat*, the *jīva* is discrete from it, and this can be shown by the fact that the *jīva* has a separate existence and because it is before release embedded in a material body liable to the control of *māyā*; for *māyā*, as an extrinsic *śakti*, has no effect on the *bhagavat* itself. This is the *bhedābheda* principle noticed before: the relationship between the *jīva* and the *bhagavat* is both the sameness and difference. The relationship is also *acintya*, not subject to human cognition to the point of being fundamentally incomprehensible.

While under the control of *māyā*, the *jīva* is in a state of separation from the *bhagavat*. But the fact that there is a sameness means that the *jīva*, when released, can approach the *bhagavat* and remain near the *bhagavat* for all eternity. The fact that there is a difference means that this nearness can never be identity. This nearness is the ultimate that the *jīva* can achieve; it is "dwelling near" or "having a form like" the *bhagavat*. It is never "being one with" it.

Form of the Bhagavat

The question of the form of the *bhagavat* then must be faced. For energy, *śakti*, must have a container to be meaningful, to be other than random. The *bhagavat* is infinitely qualified, and one of these qualities must be form or person. This form however is in no sense like the gross physical form of the human being, for the gross

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physical human form is under the control of *māyā*. It is made up of qualities, but these are not the material qualities, the *guṇas*; they are the qualities *sat*, "truth" or "existence," *cit*, "consciousness," and *ānanda*, "pure and absolute bliss." These constitute the essence of the *bhagavat*; and his essence is also his form. But this does not define the actual shape which they take. The *BhP* and the *BhG* suggest that the true form of the *bhagavat* is in shape like, but not identical with, the human form. Unlike the human form, the divine form is not subject to change. And these texts suggest that that true form is the two-armed, *śyāma*-colored Kṛṣṇa.

The *bhagavat* has had many appearances (*avatāra*) upon the earth, and he showed his true form (*svarūpa*) as the Kṛṣṇa of the *BhP*. But his choice of form is infinite, and all forms are essential to him. It is here that many of the biographers of Caitanya found their way, for Caitanya was perceived early to be an *avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa. When Kṛṣṇa chooses to show his true form, that like the human body, it must be remembered that that form is in no way subject to the limitations of the human body. He is all forms, and the assumption of one in no way limits his true form, his *svarūpa*, his eternal existence, nor does it in any way imply a change in his nature. Any *avatāra* is real and eternal, a function of the *svarūpa*, and as the *svarūpa* totally untouched by the phenomenal world. In this same way, Kṛṣṇa the *bhagavat* can assume any number of forms simultaneously, the *svarūpa* remaining unchanged; Kṛṣṇa appears between each two *gopīs* at the *rāsa*-dance, and each Kṛṣṇa is fully real (*BhP* 10.29). The possibilities of manifestation are endless, but the Gosvāmins and Kṛṣṇadāsa sought to systematize them, to establish the full range of possible forms in a coherent structure, including in it all previous Vaiṣṇava conceptions of *avatāra* (see Figure 1).

Kṛṣṇa is identified with the *bhagavat* because of such texts as *BhP* 1.3.28, in which the phrase "*kṛṣṇas tu bhagavān svayam*" appears: Kṛṣṇa is himself the ultimate truth, the *bhagavat*, the full godhead, *bhagavān*. Kṛṣṇadāsa takes this up: "Kṛṣṇa is *svayaṃ bhagavān*; his other name is Govinda. He is full of all divine qualities, and his eternal dwelling place is Goloka" (*CC* 2.20.133). "From whose god-quality derives the god-quality of others, is the meaning of the word *svayaṃ bhagavān*" (1.2.74); he possesses the six qualities which define his full divinity: infinite knowledge, infinite power, infinite strength, infinite splendor, infinite energy, and infinite magnificence. He possesses none of the lower material qualities. As Kṛṣṇa is himself *svayaṃ bhagavān*, he can be called an *avatāra* only of himself; Kṛṣṇa is in fact the container of all *avatāras*, and those who call him an *avatāra* of Nārāyaṇa, for example, are mistaken (1.2.58-89). As himself the full divinity, the supreme principle, he contains *brahman* the radiance and *paramātman* who is the

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soul of souls, who indwells in all things, but is beyond them. And only by *bhakti* can Kṛṣṇa himself be gained. Says Kṛṣṇadāsa (2.24.60-65):

> 60 The unqualified *brahma* is revealed by the *jñāna marga*, and the indwelling *svarūpa* by the *yoga mārga*. 61 ... By *rāga bhakti* [the path of love] *svayaṃ bhagavān* in Vraja is gained.... 65 Apart from *bhakti*, no *sādhana* [ritual approach] can produce results; but *bhakti* by itself can give all results.

Kṛṣṇa's form is *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*. Of these, *ānanda*, pure bliss, is most important. Associated with it is a *śakti*, the *hlādinī-śakti*, which empowers Kṛṣṇa to give and to receive bliss. Kṛṣṇadāsa states (1.4.53): "*Hlādinī* causes Kṛṣṇa to taste bliss [*ānanda*]. By *hlādinī* he nourishes his *bhaktas*." This *hlādinī-śakti* is Rādhā; and thus she is an inseparable part of the *svarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa. The *svarūpa*, in its *ānanda* aspect, consists of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in an eternal relationship of love (1.4.59-60):

> 59 The essence of *hlādinī* is *prema*; the essence of *prema* is *bhāva*, the highest state of *bhāva* is called *mahābhāva*. 60 The true form [*svarūpa*] of *mahābhāva* is Rādhā Ṭhākurāṇī, the treasure-house of all qualities, the crest-jewel among all the lovers of Kṛṣṇa.

Not only is Rādhā a part of him, but all the other *gopīs*, the cowherd boys, the cows, the river, his mother and father—all these make up Kṛṣṇa's *dhāma*, and his *dhāma* is also inseparable from him. And all these give him pleasure. It is here that the popular traditions regarding Caitanya's immediate companions—especially the four chief followers who round out the elements of the *pañca tattva* noted previously in the biographies of Caitanya—find theological support; everyone and everything surrounding Caitanya appeared as part of his *dhāma*. It is into one of these privileged positions that the successful *bhakta* is transformed in *bhāva*. In the transformed state, thus, the *bhakta* is both part of Kṛṣṇa and not part of Kṛṣṇa. As he is part of Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa gives him delight; and as he is not part of Kṛṣṇa, he worships, giving Kṛṣṇa delight. The *ānanda* of Kṛṣṇa and of the *bhakta* thus increase one another: the more that is given, the more longing for it grows, and so on to infinity in a process which must be first initiated by Kṛṣṇa.

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Kṛpā *and the Nature of the* Guru

As has been suggested, there is an element of grace (*kṛpā*) in the thought of the Vaiṣṇavas: God does not have to hold the lamp which illuminates the truth, nor does he have to take the tiller of the foundering boat. "No one can know the truth of God [*īśvara*]," says Kṛṣṇadāsa, "except by his grace" (2.6.81). Yet there is a question of logic here. For the *jīva*, before his release, is under the control of *māyā*, and *māyā*, while real, in no way affects the *svarūpa*, Kṛṣṇa himself. Kṛṣṇa is totally transcendent, entirely removed from the world. How then does he extend his grace?

There are on the earth saintly men, *bhaktas* who have gained release from the bondage of *māyā*, who have reached the other shore while still alive. These men, though themselves in perfected bodies which can no longer feel the effects of *māyā*, remember what the bondage is like. Like the Buddhist *bodhisattvas*, they have compassion on those still struggling for release. They have themselves gained the *svarūpa*; they know the way. They live on both levels, and they are the channels of Kṛṣṇa's grace. They are proper *gurus*; they lead the *jīva* upward. And they bring Kṛṣṇa down. It is said in *BhG* 4.7-8 that when he is needed, Kṛṣṇa will descend as an *avatāra* for the sake of the world. The transcendent Kṛṣṇa knows when he is needed through these intermediaries. Thus he was called down as Caitanya (*CC* 1.13.65-69):

> 65 But seeing all the people with faces averted from Kṛṣṇa, seeing people immersed in worldly affairs, [Advaitācārya] was very sorrowful. 66 He reflected on a source of salvation for the people, how all these people could be saved. 67 "If Kṛṣṇa himself descends and propagates *bhakti*, then the people will be saved." 68 So the Ācārya prayed that Kṛṣṇa descend; he performed Kṛṣṇa-*pūjā* with *tulasī* and Gaṅgā water. 69 He summoned Kṛṣṇa with a loud outcry, and Vrajendrakumāra was attracted by the shout.

The *guru* is thus to be revered as a part of Kṛṣṇa himself, as Kṛṣṇa's agent on the earth. To demonstrate for the weary and sinful people of earth, Caitanya includes in himself the function of *guru* and model devotee when he appears; he is Kṛṣṇa, and the *guru*, in the person of Advaitācārya, is part of his *dhāma*. But, as Kṛṣṇa, Caitanya is far more than that.

Kṛṣṇa is both indivisible and infinitely divisible. In the Vraja *līlā*, as that *līlā* is described in the *BhP*, his *hlādinī-śakti* Rādhā was separately embodied from him while, as a *śakti*, remaining a part of him. By this separate embodiment, it is said, Kṛṣṇa knew both internally and externally the full experience of bliss (*ānanda*), the *rasa* of *prema*. But, it is also said, even this was not fully satisfying, for the longing

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for the taste of *rasa* always grows; and as the reflector and amplifier of Kṛṣṇa's *prema*, Rādhā must be the recipient of the most joyous experience of this *rasa*. Thus, when Kṛṣṇa came to earth as Caitanya, he came as Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa separately, but in one body, to know the doubled pleasure of Rādhā, the taste of himself through the joy of two in one—subject and object constantly joined, yet ever separate. He was Rādhā in the color of his body and in his constant longing and grief in separation; he was fully Kṛṣṇa, in his power and radiance and majesty. This is the doctrine of Caitanya's dual-incarnation first propounded by Rāmānanda Rāya.[277] At the end of that famous meeting (*CC* 2.8.233):

> 233 Then, smiling, Prabhu showed to him his true form [*svarūpa*]—Rasarāja [i.e., Kṛṣṇa] and Mahābhāva [i.e., Rādhā], the two in one form [*rūpa*].

And it is somewhat of a departure of Kṛṣṇadāsa from the writings of his *gurus*. He might be recording what he learned from them; but in their writings—save the short, eulogistic *stava* and *stotra* literature—the Gosvāmins seem more concerned with Kṛṣṇa of the *BhP* than with the Kṛṣṇa they had known. But Kṛṣṇadāsa was writing for Bengal, where Caitanya's memory was green, and where parts of his manifest *dhāma* still remained.

We have come full circle, back to our starting point of the biographical image of Caitanya. To describe Kṛṣṇadāsa's theology in greater detail would be to paraphrase his own statement of it, and he should be allowed to speak for himself. Besides, as Kṛṣṇadāsa says, "the book grows too long." The western reader will not in some places find the *CC* an easy book to understand. He will, we think, find his effort rewarded.

277 Vide Sect. VI.2 above; Dimock, *PHM*, 54. The encounter between Caitanya and Rāmānanda Rāya is recounted in *CC* 2.8. For a detailed analysis of this position, see Stewart, *BIKC*, ch. 5, 383-99.

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Figure 1
The *Avatāra* System

Source: Stewart, *BIKC*, 372-74. This chart summarizes the *avatāra* system, compiled and completed by Kṛṣṇadāsa and found primarily in *CC* 2.20, with one subsection (*puruṣa avatāra*) developed from *CC* 1.5. Kṛṣṇadāsa clearly based his speculation on Sanātana Gosvāmin's *Bṛhadbhāgavatāmṛta*, Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*, and Jīva Gosvāmin's *Ṣaṭ-* or *Bhāgavata-sandarbha*. The framework seeks to systematize all *avatāra* theories that were current among the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal, going back to early Pañcarātra speculation. The reader will recognize many purāṇic and other theories, such as the *līlā avatāras* (which include the well-known *daśāvatāras*), *yuga avatāras*, the *manvantara avatāras*, etc., and of course the earlier Pañcarātra *caturvyūha*, which includes in it the cycles of time as well. For the meanings of these technical categories, the reader is referred directly to Kṛṣṇadāsa's text.

Much of this information can also be gleaned in English from an article written by S. K. De entitled "The Doctrine of *Avatāra* (Incarnation) in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism" in *S. Kuppuswāmī Śāstri Commemoration Volume* (Madras: by the committee, 1936), 25-37. The article was later reprinted in a collection of essays by De, titled *Bengal's Contribution to Sanskrit Literature and Studies in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism* (New Delhi: Today and Tomorrow's Printers and Publishers, 1974), 125-35. De's outline contains minor variations due to his reliance on the Sanskrit sources, but the overall classification scheme remains essentially the same as that proposed by Kṛṣṇadāsa.

Since the chart was constructed, we have discovered a similar chart drawn by Bhaktikusuma Śramaṇa Mahārāja in his *Caitanyopadeśaratnāmala*, 2d ed. (Māyāpura, WB: Śrī Caitanya Maṭha, 490 GA), inserted between pp. 36-37. Compare also the chart by Bemandas Majumdar appended to the introduction of *Lord Sree Gouranga's Teachings to Rupa Goswami on Bhaktirasa (or Sweet Sentiments of Devotion)*; vide Sect. V.4, n. 151 above.

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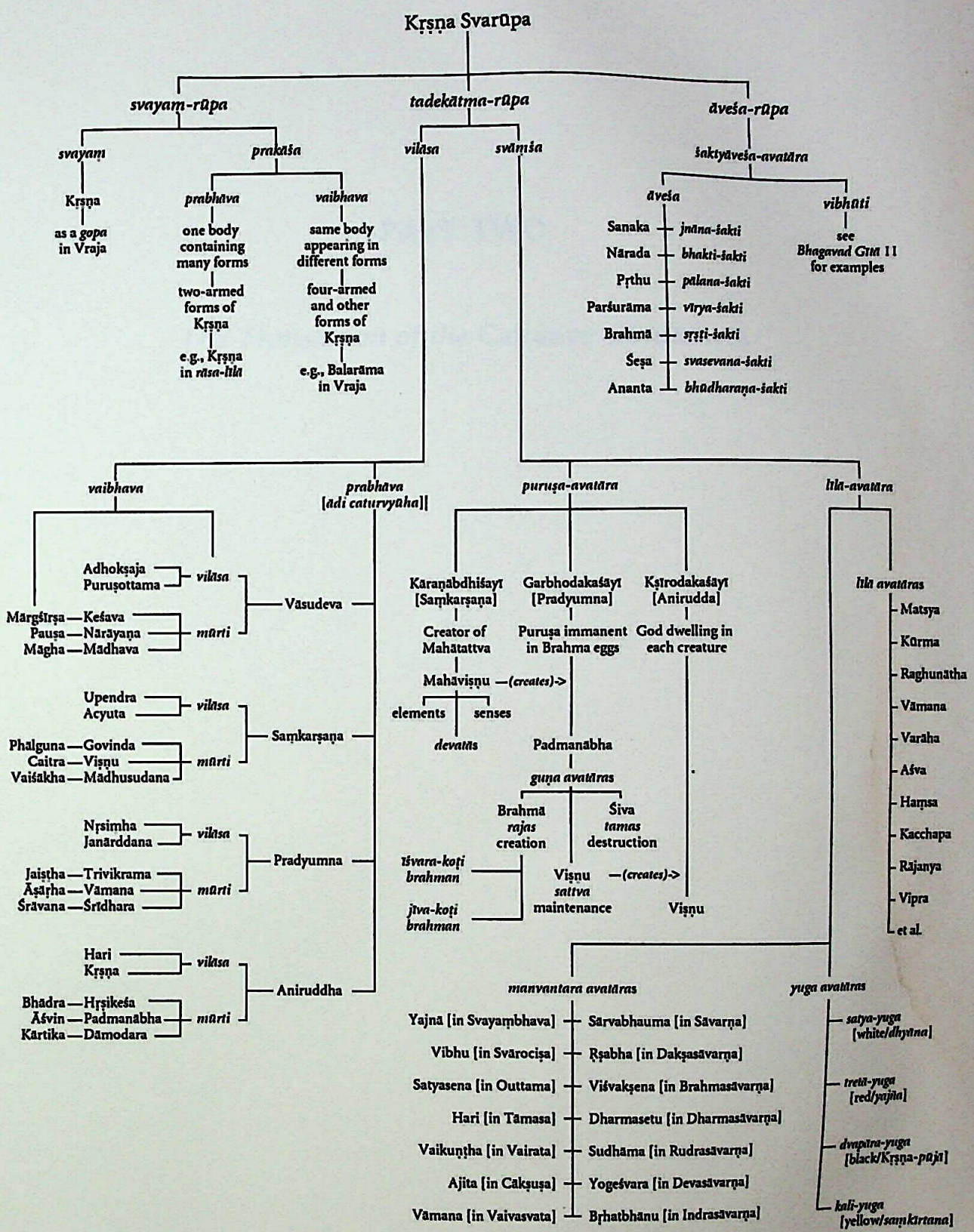

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PART TWO

The Translation of the Caitanya Caritāmṛta

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Ādi Līlā

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Ādi Līlā
Chapter 1

Śloka 1.

To my *gurus*, to the *bhaktas* of the Lord, to the *avatāras* of the Lord, to his manifestations, and his *śaktis*, to the Lord whose name is Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, I make obeisance.

Śloka 2.

I make obeisance to Kṛṣṇa Caitanya and to Nityānanda, the sun and the moon most wonderful, who destroy the darkness and bestow their blessings, flowering as they rise together over the horizon of Gauḍa.

Śloka 1. *Śloka* 1 is expounded in 1.1.17-44a. For a discussion of the *gurus* of Kṛṣṇadāsa, see Introduction, Sect. III. The *pañca tattva* is the subject of 1.7.2b-22; see also 1.1.*śl.*14 and commentary. The first documented explicit explanation of this popular theory is found in Kavikarṇapūra's *Gauragaṇoddeśadīpikā* (*GGUD*), reference to which will appear from time to time in this commentary. These five—*guru*, *bhakta* (devotee), *avatāra* (descent or incarnation), *prakāśa* (manifestation), and *śakti* (power)—are considered to be the *pañca-tattva*, or five essential principles of the sect, and in relationship to Caitanya they are personified: *guru* is Caitanya himself, *bhakta* is Śrīvāsa, *avatāra* is Advaitācārya, *prakāśa* is Nityānanda, and *śakti* is Gadādhara Paṇḍita. *Gurus* are of two kinds: *mantra-guru* or the *guru* who gives initiation, and *śīkṣā guru*, who teaches; see 1.1.17.

These introductory *ślokas* are called the '*maṅgalācaraṇa*' (cf. 1.1.5 below), eulogistic or dedicatory *ślokas*. The six factors which they praise set the pattern for the whole *ādi līlā* of Kṛṣṇadāsa's work, for as will be seen the whole book is an extensive commentary on these first several verses.

Śloka 2. The image is a common one in Vaiṣṇavism, as will be seen throughout the book; the darkness is of course the darkness of ignorance, especially the ignorance propagated by philosophical discussion. The image from this point of view has a nice irony, for Nadīyā (Gauḍa) was the center of the great school of logic, the *navya-nyāya*. *Śloka* 2 (=1.1.*śl.*36 and 2.1.*śl.*2) is expounded in 1.1.44b-61.

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Śloka 3.

That which in the Upaniṣads is [called] the non-dual *brahma*, that [*brahma*] is the radiance of his body; that which is [called] *puruṣa*, the indwelling *ātman*, is the manifestation of a particle of him; that which is [called] here *pūrṇa bhagavān*, endowed with the six divine attributes, is [Caitanya] himself. In this world there is no supreme principle superior to Kṛṣṇa as Caitanya, who is the highest truth.

Śloka 4.

In order to bestow the wealth of *bhakti* for himself, which for a long time had gone unbestowed, a *bhakti* of elevated and radiant essentiality, Hari has descended in the Kali age out of compassion, with the beautiful sheen of gold and blazing like a *kadamba* [flower]; and Śacīnandana must forever sparkle in the hollow of your heart.

Śloka 3. Śloka 3 (=1.2.*śl.*3) is expounded as the subject of the entire chapter 1.2. The reference of the *śloka* is to the three paths of *sādhana* put forward in the *BhG* and in other texts: the *jñāna mārga*, the path of knowledge, the *paratattva* or highest principle of which is, according to the Vaiṣṇava interpretation at least, called *brahma*; the *yoga mārga* or path of discipline, the *paratattva* of which is the *paramātman*; and the *bhakti mārga*, the path of devotion, which is of course the path propagated by the Vaiṣṇavas, the *paratattva* of which is the full godhead, the *pūrṇa bhagavān*. *Bhakti* is of two kinds, essentially: *aiśvaryātmika*, that which has as its essence divine majesty, and *mādhuryātmika*, or that which has as its essence the "sweetness" aspect of the godhead—the pleasure which Kṛṣṇa gives and which he experiences. The deity representing the *aiśvaryātmika bhakti* is Nārāyaṇa, and that representing the *mādhuryātmika* is of course Kṛṣṇa. It should be stressed from the beginning that in this form of Vaiṣṇavism Kṛṣṇa is not considered to be an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, but as the full god himself; and Caitanya is, as the *śloka* points out, identical with Kṛṣṇa. These are concepts vital to Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism, and Kṛṣṇadāsa will go into great detail on them in the fourth chapter of the *ādi līlā* of his work.

Śloka 4. Śloka 4 (=1.3.*śl.*2 and 3.1.*śl.*16) is expounded as the subject of the entire chapter 1.3. The text quoted is the drama (*nāṭaka*) *Vidagdhamādhava* (1.2) by Rūpa Gosvāmin. It was Rūpa who was so concerned with the relationship between the religious and the esthetic experiences, and in fact a large part of his *UNM* explains *bhakti* as a *rasa*, or the ultimate esthetic experience (see Introduction, Sect. VII.6). Kṛṣṇa is of course the container of *rasa*, allowing his *bhaktas* to experience that state, and is at the same time the ultimate *rasika*, himself experiencing that state. The *śloka* is based on the concept that in his previous *avatāra*, namely as the two-armed cowherd Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana, Kṛṣṇa had divided his previously undivided self into two, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, in order to experience fully the love relationship. For obviously unless there can be a dynamic coming together, as well as separation, there can be no experience of love, and this implies two units, each containing the other. But it was said that even then Kṛṣṇa did not have the experience to the full, for while he was Rādhā, she was separate from him, and he did not experience fully what she was experiencing. Thus, in the Kali age, Kṛṣṇa comes as Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, still separate but now in a single body, that of Caitanya. In this way he knows to the full both his own love and that of Rādhā. "Out of compassion" refers to the famous verses in *BhG* 4.7-8, in which Kṛṣṇa comes "in age after

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Śloka 5.

Rādhā is the manifested form of pure love for Kṛṣṇa; she is his *hlādinī-śakti*. Because of this they had previously assumed different bodies on earth, although really one, but now they have become manifest under the name of Caitanya in order to attain to non-duality and oneness: I praise the true form of Kṛṣṇa enveloped in the radiance of the *bhāva* of Rādhā.

Śloka 6.

How great is the greatness of the love of Śrī Rādhā, which can be savored only by herself, how great the marvelous sweetness of mine in consequence? And how great is this happiness of hers which results from experiencing me?—Out of desire to discover this, Hari the Moon, rich in *bhāva* for her, was born in the river of the womb of Śacī.

Śloka 7.

May Nityānanda Rāma be my refuge, of whom Saṃkarṣaṇa, Kāraṇatoyaśāyī the dweller in the causal ocean [the first *puruṣa*], Garbhodaśāyī the dweller in the primeval womb [the second *puruṣa*], Payobdhiśāyī the dweller in the ocean of milk [the third *puruṣa*], and Śeṣa are but parts.

age," to uphold *dharma* and to conquer evil-doers. It represents however what seems to be a contradiction in Vaiṣṇava thought, for it is also said that the true and ultimate form (*svarūpa*) of Kṛṣṇa is totally beyond *māyā*, which controls the world and all material nature.

Caitanya's complexion, like that of Rādhā, is golden, thus lending itself to frequent comparisons with *kadamba* flowers. The *kadamba* tree also blossoms suddenly, appearing "like a sudden porcupine of light," a halo. Śacīnandana means "son of Śacī," Śacī being the name of his mother. Again, he is spoken of as identical with Kṛṣṇa, bearing the name "Hari." Rādhāgovinda Nātha, in his Bengali commentary on the *śloka*, suggests that the etymology of the name is either "lion" or "stealer," i.e., Kṛṣṇa steals the minds of the women of Vraja and of his worshipers, and steals away the inauspiciousness from the world; the lion lives in mountain caves, Hari in the hollow of the heart (*hṛdaya-kandare*).

Śloka 5. See commentary on *śloka* 4 above. *Śloka* 5 (=1.4.*śl.*8) is expounded in 1.4.1-87.

Śloka 6. See commentary on *śloka* 4 above. *Śloka* 6 (=1.4.*śl.*44) is expounded in 1.4.88-227.

Śloka 7. *Śloka* 7 (=1.5.*śl.*2) is expounded in 1.5.2-6. *Ślokas* 8-11 amplify and explain *śloka* 7.

As was pointed out in the Introduction, there is some justification for biographers suggesting that Nityānanda was Caitanya's brother, though not in the literal sense; for when his blood brother took *saṃnyāsa*, it seems that Nityānanda almost took his place in the family. The fact that he is frequently called Caitanya's brother in any case accounts for the fact that in the doctrinal system he is Balarāma, the brother of Kṛṣṇa. And by further extension, he is identified with all five forms of Balarāma.

Saṃkarṣaṇa is the second *vyūha* of Nārāyaṇa, lord of Paravyoma. Kāraṇatoyaśāyī is Mahāviṣṇu, the first *puruṣa-avatāra*, the cause of creation of the material world. Garbhodaśāyī is the second *puruṣa-avatāra*, thousand-headed and indwelling in the creation. Payobdhiśāyī is Viṣṇu, the third

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Śloka 8.

I take refuge with that Nityānanda Rāma, whose form named Saṃkarṣaṇa, which pervades the Vaikuṇṭha-world, which is beyond *māyā* and, filled with sovereignty, shines forth amidst the four *vyūhas*.

Śloka 9.

In that Nityānanda Rāma of whom *ādideva śrīpumān*, whose body is the refuge of all Brahmā-eggs, the manifest lord of *māyā*, who lies in the ocean of creation, the *ādi puruṣa*, is but a part, do I take refuge.

Śloka 10.

I take refuge in him, the lotus of whose navel has for stalk all fourteen worlds, and is the birthplace of Brahmā the creator; in him of whom Garbhodaśāyī is but a part of a part—in that Nityānanda Rāma do I take refuge.

Śloka 11.

I take refuge in him of whom Viṣṇu, the nourisher of all things, Dugdhābdhiśāyī, appears as the *parātmā*, but as part of a part of a part, of whom Ananta, the holder of the worlds, is a part—in that Nityānanda Rāma do I take refuge.

Śloka 12.

That Mahāviṣṇu, who by *māyā* has created this world, the maker of creation, his *avatāra* is the Īśvara Advaitācārya.

puruṣa-avatāra, lying on the sea of milk. And Śeṣa is the thousand-headed serpent, representing eternity and forming the couch and canopy of Viṣṇu in the intervals between creations.

Śloka 8. Śloka 8 (=1.5.*śl.*3) is expounded in 1.5.10-42a. Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha are the four manifestations (*vyūha*) of Puruṣottama or Viṣṇu. There is a slight ambiguity in the verse: whether Saṃkarṣaṇa is all-pervasive in Vaikuṇṭha, or whether he is in all-pervading Vaikuṇṭha depends upon whether one takes *vyāpi* with *rūpam* (improbable) or in compound with Vaikuṇṭha.

Śloka 9. Śloka 9 (=1.5.*śl.*7) is expounded in 1.5.42b-77a. *Māyābharttā* = Brahmā; *māyābhartta-jāraṇḍa* = brahmā-born-egg, i.e., a world. *Ādideva śrīpumān* is the initial cause of creation, the *ādi puruṣa*.

Śloka 10. Śloka 10 (=1.5.*śl.*15) is expounded in 1.5.77b-92a. The reference here is to Mahāviṣṇu.

Śloka 11. Śloka 11 (=1.5.*śl.*16) is expounded in 1.5.92b-135. Dugdhābdhīśāyī is the Viṣṇu lying in the sea of milk; after the creation the *puruṣa* entered into all *jīvas*, and is indwelling in them all; thus he is *parātmā*, within all things.

Śloka 12. Śloka 12 (=1.6.*śl.*2) and *śloka* 13 (=1.6.*śl.*3) are expounded as the subject of the entire chapter 1.6. Mahāviṣṇu, having infused *māyā* with his *śakti*, thus created the world with the help of *māyā*.

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Śloka 13.

Because he is nondifferent from Hari, he is called Advaita; as he is a teacher of *bhakti*, he is called Ācārya. I take refuge in that Advaita Ācārya Īśvara, the *bhakta-avatāra*.

Śloka 14.

I bow to Kṛṣṇa himself of these five natures: *bhakta rūpa*, *bhakta svarūpa*, *bhakta avatāra*, the form called *bhakta*, and him whose *śakti* is the *bhakta*.

* * * * *

Śloka 15.

Though I am slow-witted and crippled, let those who are my refuge, whose lotus-feet are possessions to me, let them, Rādhā and Madanamohana, in their love-play, be glorified.

Śloka 13. There is, as was suggested in the Introduction, some doubt about whether or not this was the reason he was called Advaita; a more likely explanation is that he was formerly a teacher of monistic doctrine.

Śloka 14. See 1.7.*śl*.2. *Bhakta-rūpa* is Caitanya, *bhakta-svarūpa* is Nityānanda, *bhakta-avatāra* is Advaita, the form called *bhakta* is Śrīvāsa, and *bhakta-śakti* is Gadādhara. The verse is expounded in 1.7.2b-22. Rādhāgovinda Nātha in his Bengali commentary, basing himself on Kavikarṇapūra's *GGUD* 11, explains it in this way: Apart from his own form (*rūpa*), Śrī Kṛṣṇa, full Bhagavān, revealed himself in four other forms, because of the power of his own desire—*vilāsa*, *avatāra*, *bhakta*, and *śakti*. Even though commonly these four forms are felt to be separate from Śrī Kṛṣṇa in *līlā*, in true form (*svarūpa*) they are not separate from Kṛṣṇa. In four forms they are four *tattvas*, but in his true form (*svayaṃ-rūpa*) they are one *tattva* . . . In the Navadvīpa-*līlā* the true form, Śrī Kṛṣṇa the son of Nanda, was incarnated as Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya; and as he accepted the *bhāva* of a *bhakta*, he himself had the form of a *bhakta*; this was the basic principle in Navadvīpa—that because of the power of his own desire, he revealed himself in the form of four other *tattvas*: the form of *svarūpa*, which was the form of the *vilāsa* of the Kṛṣṇa-*avatāra* . . . the *bhakta-avatāra* Śrī Advaita, who in the former *līlā* was Śrī Sadāśiva . . . the *bhakta-ākhya* (*bhakta*-name) Śrīvāsa and others . . . and the *bhakta-śakti* Śrī Gadādhara.

Śloka 15. Madanamohana: "he who enchants Madana (i.e., Kāmadeva the god of love)," i.e., Kṛṣṇa. The previous fourteen *ślokas* constitute the *maṅgalācaraṇa*, and state the matter with which the author will deal in the next several chapters. He uses the personal note here to mark the transition to the more general material of the next three *ślokas*. It is usual to get right into the matter of the book after the *maṅgalācaraṇa*, and the addition of these three *ślokas* marks something of a departure from tradition. As Rādhāgovinda Nātha suggests in his commentary, *Gaurakṛpātaraṅgiṇī ṭīkā*, there are several explanations possible; the most reasonable is that the Gosvāmins themselves, the *gurus* of Kṛṣṇadāsa, frequently did it this way. And he goes on to make the interesting suggestion that in the three *ślokas* Kṛṣṇa is described successively as Madanamohana, Govindadeva, and Gopinātha. These were the names of the three images served by the Bengali community of devotees in Vṛndāvana. The *bhaktas* in Bengal might well not have known of these; so in a sense

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Śloka 16.

I meditate upon Rādhā and Govindadeva, as they sit on a throne in the beautiful jeweled chamber, beneath the wishing tree in the forest of the heavenly Vṛndāvana, served by most beloved female friends.

Śloka 17.

May that blessed Gopīnātha, the sound of whose flute attracted the *gopīs* to him, as he sat at the foot of the banyan tree, beginning the *rāsa-rasa*, be the source of blessings unto us.

* * * * *

1 Glory be to Śrī Caitanya, and to Nityānanda; glory to Advaitacandra and the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*. 2 These three lords have made Bengalis their own; I

Kṛṣṇadāsa is establishing his own deities at the very beginning of his text. [An equally plausible explanation, however, is that *ślokas* 15-17 themselves function as a formulaic or secondary *maṅgalācaraṇa*, which by their repetition mark the beginning of each major section of the text (1.1.*śl.*15-17 = 2.1.*śl.*3-5; 3.1.*śl.*3-5). This formal structural marker would suggest that the first fourteen *ślokas* of *ādi līlā* are in effect a general table of contents or preface to the book as a whole. TKS] In this *śloka* also is the interesting suggestion that Kṛṣṇadāsa, being "crippled" and "slow of wit," is expressing his hope that the lotus feet of his deities will be the ones to carry him through his book; as will be seen, at the very end of his work, which must have taken him several years of his very old age, he also stresses his infirmity, and a kind of relief that he has been able to finish before his death.

Śloka 16. The content of this verse is expanded in 1.5.194-97. See also commentary on *śloka* 15.

Śloka 17. The *rāsa* is that circular dance in which Kṛṣṇa appeared in the center of the ring of *gopīs*, and also between each two *gopīs*. See *BhP* 10.29. This episode had great significance for the Vaiṣṇavas, and will be discussed at length in the appropriate place. See also commentary on *śloka* 15.

1. This couplet (*payāra*) recurs at the beginning of each of the Bengali sections of each of the chapters through the book, with only slight variation in certain chapters in the *madhya* and *antya līlās*. It has almost the effect of a *mantra*, in its repetitive, hypnotic quality, and perhaps also in the focus it gives to the fact that this is a text of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava school. Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out that in some MSS it does not occur in this place at all, that in fact the "three lords" referred to in v. 2 mean the three forms of Kṛṣṇa in *ślokas* 15, 16, and 17, deities in Vṛndāvana served by the Bengalis there, and not Caitanya, Nityānanda, and Advaita at all; more likely it refers to both sets.

2. I.e., Madanamohana, Govindadeva, and Gopinātha, the three forms of Kṛṣṇa, have accepted the service of people of Bengal living in Vṛndāvana. Traditionally, Madanamohana was served by Sanātana Gosvāmin, Govindadeva by Rūpa Gosvāmin, and Gopinātha by Madhu Paṇḍita, all three of them, at least loosely, Bengalis. There is a curious episode, attested by Hindi texts of the Vallabha school, which says that the leader of the Vallabha *sampradāya* of the time, Gopināthji by name, assigned these deities to the Bengalis, and that there was a problem with certain jealousies stemming from allegations of temple mismanagement, etc. (see Richard Barz, *The Bhakti Sect of Vallabhācārya* [Faridabad: Thomson Press (India), Ltd., 1976], 215-22). The couplet is ambiguous, due to the inclusion of couplet 1, and it could be that Kṛṣṇadāsa is saying that Caitanya and the others have conquered Bengal, which of course meant East and West Bengal, Bihar, Assam, and

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make obeisance to their feet. They are my lords. 3 Here at the beginning of my book, I make my reverent salutation to these three: *guru*, Vaiṣṇava, and Bhagavān. 4 From remembrance of these three comes the destruction of all obstacles and the effortless fulfillment of one's own desires. 5 These *maṅgalācaraṇas* are of three kinds: first, for determination of principle, second, for blessing, and third, for obeisance. 6 In the first two *ślokas* is obeisance to the *iṣṭa-deva* in both general and specific ways. 7 In the third *śloka* I have stated the subject matter, from which our inquiry into the highest truth will begin. 8 In the fourth *śloka* I have given a blessing to the world, and prayed for the grace of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya. 9 In that *śloka* also I have stated the external cause of the *avatāra*. In the fifth and sixth I have stated the basic or root purpose [of it]. 10 In these six *ślokas*, then, I have stated the basic truths of Caitanya; in the next five *ślokas* the greatness of Nityānanda, 11 and in the following two *ślokas* I have described the nature of Advaita, and in the following one have given a description of the five principles. 12 In these fourteen *ślokas* I have made *maṅgalācaraṇa*, and in them have described the whole subject matter [of the book]. 13 To all those listening Vaiṣṇavas I make salutation; of all these *ślokas* I shall now explain the meaning. 14 Listen attentively, all you Vaiṣṇavas, to the definition of Caitanya Kṛṣṇa, according to the *śāstras*. 15 As Kṛṣṇa, *guru*, *bhakta*, *śakti*, *avatāra*, and *prakāśa*—in these six forms does Kṛṣṇa perform *līlā*. 16 I make obeisance at the feet of these six principles; and at first I make a general *maṅgalācaraṇa*.

Orissa. The phrase is *gauḍiyāke kariyāchen ātmasātha*; *gauḍiyā* seems to refer to all Bengal, not that small section in the west later known as Gauḍa. The three may also refer to the three in the following verse.

3. *Maṅgalācaraṇa*, reverent salutation, is both to clear the path of obstacles and bring auspiciousness to the undertaking, and to focus attention.

4. "Remembrance" is rather a simplified translation of the Bengali *smaraṇa*, which means remembering with such intensity and absorption that a recreation of a former event, or a transformation, actually takes place.

6. I.e., in the first *śloka* was the general obeisance to the five *tattvas* of the author's *iṣṭa-deva*, or personal deity, and in the second *śloka* the particular or special obeisance to Caitanya and Nityānanda.

9. I.e., the external (*bāhya*) cause was that stated in the *BhG*: the establishment of *dharma* and the destruction of evil. The basic purpose, however, was for Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā to be able to taste the *rasa* of pure love in the single body of Caitanya.

10. I.e., 1.1.*śl.*1-6 in praise of Caitanya; 1.1.*śl.*7-11 in praise of Nityānanda.

11. I.e., 1.1.*śl.*12-13, and 1.1.*śl.*14.

15. See the commentary on verse v. 1 and v. 22 of this chapter.

16. After this verse Rādhāgovinda Nātha inserts the opening *śloka* (1.1.*śl.*1) which is unnumbered and not part of the text. Kṛṣṇadāsa explains this *śloka* in 1.1.17-44a.

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17 I bow myself down at the feet of my *mantra-guru* and to my many *śikṣā-gurus*. 18 Śrī Rūpa, Sanātana, Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa, Śrī Jīva, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, and Raghunātha Dāsa— 19 these six *gurus* are my *śikṣā gurus*. To their lotus-feet I make a crore of bows. 20 And to the lotus feet of all the *bhaktas* of Bhagavān, among whom Śrīvāsa is foremost, to them also, a thousand obeisances. 21 And a crore of times do I bow to the lotus-feet of Advaita Ācārya, the *aṃśa-avatāra* of the Lord. 22 And Nityānanda Rāya, the manifestation of the true form of the Lord—I am bound tightly to his lotus feet, and am his slave. 23 And at the lotus feet of Gadādhara Paṇḍita and the rest, the *śaktis* of the true self of the Lord, I make obeisance a thousand times. 24 Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, the Lord, is *svayaṃ bhagavān*; to his lotus feet let there be infinite obeisances.

25 Having thus made salutation to Prabhu [the Lord Caitanya] and his companions, I shall explain how these six are [Prabhu] himself. 26 Even though my *guru* is the servant of Caitanya, I know that he is the manifestation

17. *Mantra-guru* is *dīkṣā-guru*, who at initiation gives the personal *mantra*, the *iṣṭa-mantra*, into the ear of the initiate. He is of course one, while *śikṣā gurus*, who instruct in doctrine, can be many.

21. I.e., Advaita is a part (*aṃśa*) of Mahāviṣṇu; Mahāviṣṇu is a part of Kṛṣṇa; thus Advaita is an *aṃśa-avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa or of Caitanya.

22. *Svarūpa prakāśa*: manifestation of the true form; the reference is to the third of the *pañca tattva*. Rādhāgovinda Nātha says, "If one *svarūpa* shows itself in many *mūrtis*, and if among these many *mūrtis* there is no difference in color and other characteristics, then all those forms are called *prakāśa-rūpa*. But if there are differences among them, the forms are called *vilāsa-rūpa*; thus Balarāma was a *vilāsa* of Kṛṣṇa, for Balarāma was light in color, and Kṛṣṇa dark. Thus in color there was a difference, but in *svarūpa* or true essential form, no difference, and this is *vilāsa*."

23. Of the infinite *śaktis* of Kṛṣṇa, three are chief: *cit-śakti*, which is intrinsic, *jīva-śakti*, which is neither intrinsic nor extrinsic; and *māyā-śakti*, which is extrinsic. *Cit-śakti* also has three chief kinds: *hlādinī*, *sandhinī*, and *saṃvit*; see Introduction, Sect. VII.8. Thus Gadādhara and the rest are *svarūpa-śakti*, *cit-śakti*, which is the *śakti* of the true form. In refinements of the system, these *śaktis* were identified with the *gopīs*, Rādhā's companions or *sakhīs* (for Kṛṣṇa could not have had illicit relations with women if the women were really extensions of himself); thus in texts such as Kavikarṇapūra's *GGUD* there is the suggestion that Gadādhara was in the Vṛndāvana-*līlā* Rādhā herself; in this and other texts he is also sometimes Lakṣmī, or Lalitā, one of the foremost among Rādhā's *sakhīs*.

24. [The term '*svayaṃ bhagavān*' is theologically significant in that it refers to the complete or full lord, not a simple part or manifestation. The concept of '*svayaṃ*' is usually implied when Caitanya is called by the shortened epithet 'Bhagavān,' which occurs frequently. That Kṛṣṇa is *svayaṃ bhagavān*, see 1.2.passim. TKS]

25. Prabhu: the Master or Lord, i.e., Caitanya. [The six, noted in v. 15, are Kṛṣṇa, *guru*, *bhakta*, *śakti*, *avatāra*, and *prakāśa*. TKS]

26. In the same way that Kṛṣṇa or Caitanya can be both worshiper and worshiped, both the object of *bhakti* and a *bhakta*. These couplets and the following *śloka* 19 refer to the *dikṣā-guru*. *Ślokas* 20-21 will treat the *śikṣā-guru*.

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of him. 27 The *guru* is a form of Kṛṣṇa, according to the *śāstras*. In the form of *guru*, Kṛṣṇa spreads his mercy to all his *bhaktas*.

Śloka 18. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.17.27:
Know the *ācārya* to be myself; never dishonor him, nor demur against him by considering him as a [mere] man. For the *guru* consists of all the *devas*.

28 I know, too, that the *śikṣā-guru* is the true form of Kṛṣṇa, indwelling [in the heart]; [he is also] the best of *bhaktas*—these are his two forms.

Śloka 19. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.29.6:
Lord, not in a lifetime as long as Brahmā's do the poets diminish in their ample joy as they dwell upon your feats. You are embodied in the *ācārya* or temple, internal and external; you drive off and make distant inauspicious things of the embodied, and make manifest your own cause.

Śloka 20. *Bhagavad Gītā* 10.10:
O Arjuna! I give to those who, always disciplined, worship me in love, the means of wisdom by which they gain me.

Ślokas 21-26. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.9.30-35:
As Bhagavān, after having himself taught Brahmā, experienced: 21 Accept from me the supremely mysterious wisdom, accompanied by lower knowledge, complete with mystery and auxiliaries, which I have declared. 22 By my grace, may you have knowledge of the truth of my deeds and qualities and form, and the experience of that and the magnitude of it. 23 Knowledge such as of how much I am, what I am like, and of what form, virtue, and acts are mine; such knowledge of truth must be yours by my favor. I was in the beginning, and there was nothing else, whether existent, non-existent, or beyond both; afterwards I

Śloka 18. Rādhāgovinda Nātha interprets *ācārya*, more usually meaning "teacher," as *dīkṣā-guru*.

28. The term *antaryāmī*, "indwelling," would suggest the Kṣirodaśāyī Nārāyaṇa mentioned in *śloka* 11, where the interpretation is *paramātman*, indwelling in all *jīvas*.

Śloka 19. See 2.22.*śl.*18.

Śloka 20. See 2.24.*śl.*59; 2.24.*śl.*70.

Śloka 21. See 2.25.*śl.*18.

Śloka 22. See 2.25.*śl.*19.

Śloka 23. See 2.24.*śl.*23; 2.25.*śl.*20.

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am that which there is; I am the one who will remain. 24 That which is understood apart from content, but which within itself is not understood—know that as my *māyā*; how it is light and how darkness. 25 Just as the prime elements pervade the higher and lower creatures but are not themselves pervaded, so I am within those humble people who bow down to me. 26 That much is the object of knowledge of him who wishes to know the nature of the self, what exists in any place, in any time, according to positive and negative considerations.

Śloka 27. Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala's *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* 1.1:

Glory be to Somagiri, the jewel of the mind, my *guru*. [Glory be] to Bhagavān, my *śikṣā-guru*, in whose hair are peacock feathers, and at whose feet, those blossom tips of the wishing-tree, Jayaśrī revels in the divine pleasure of the play of choosing the groom.

29 He does not simply appear in the *jīva*, but as the *guru*, in the form of *caittya*, the indwelling guidance; Kṛṣṇa as the *śikṣā-guru* appears in the true form of *mahāntas*, noble devotees.

Śloka 28. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.26.26:

For that reason a wise man abandons evil company and becomes attached to true men; pure and holy men by their words will rend this particular addiction of [evilness of] mind.

Śloka 24. See 2.25.*śl.*21. This *śloka* has also been translated by Sheldon Pollock as: "When something is cognized in itself without objectively existing, and while existing objectively, is not cognized." See Dimock, "On *Māyā*," *Journal of Religion* 71, no. 4 (Oct. 1991):524.

Śloka 25. See 2.25.*śl.*23.

Śloka 26. See 2.25.*śl.*22.

Śloka 27. The speaker is Bilvamaṅgala, whose *dīkṣā-guru* was named Somagiri. The *śikṣā-guru* is of course Kṛṣṇa, "ornamented with peacock feathers" being a usual epithet used to describe him. Jayaśrī, however, is somewhat more difficult. '*Jaya*' is simply a word of praise or celebration, and '*śrī*' is beauty or auspiciousness. Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out that in many places throughout the doctrinal books, Lakṣmī, whose name is also Śrī, is spoken of as a part (*aṃśa*) of Rādhā, Rādhā thus becoming the container of beauty and auspiciousness. He feels therefore that the term Jayaśrī here refers to Rādhā herself; and it does fit the context. "Choosing the groom" is *svayaṃvara*.

29. Caittya: indwelling in the mind (*citta*); *mahānta*, "the great-hearted one," "the best of *bhaktas*," is ascribed these attributes in *BhP* 5.5.2-3: "Who looks upon all creatures alike, in whose mind there is no guile, whose intelligence is firmly fixed on *bhagavān*, who is sympathetic to all and devoid of anger, who follows the holy path, who considers love toward *bhagavān* as his end in life, and considers nothing else as his end, who earns a livelihood only to satisfy his *sādhana* and keep himself alive, who rejects all things which are for the gratification of the flesh, and who has no

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Śloka 29. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.25.24:
Such tales, full of the knowledge of my greatness, are heard from the exalted company of holy men, and are potions to my heart and ear. By cultivating such discourse, *śraddhā*, *rati*, and *prema-bhakti* will quickly proceed on the way to highest bliss.

30 The *bhakta* is the site of the true form of Īśvara; in the heart of the *bhakta* Kṛṣṇa eternally has refuge.

Śloka 30. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 9.4.68:
Holy men are my heart, and I am the hearts of holy men. They know no other except me, and I know nothing at all apart from them.

Śloka 31. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.13.10:
Bhāgavatas like you are themselves the true forms of pilgrimage places; they make pilgrimage to all the pilgrimage places by means of Gadādhara who is situated in their own hearts.

31 Those *bhaktas* are manifested in two kinds: one is the community of the devout, the other is seeker.

love for those who are concerned with material things, and who has no fondness for women or sons or wealth, and who if he gets wealth uses it for religious purposes."

Śloka 29. See 2.22.*śl.*38; 2.23.*śl.*7. *Śraddhā*: "devotion"; this can also be translated as "faith," and seems to have almost the Christian connotation of that term. *Prema bhakti* is devotion in pure and unselfish love. *Rati*: "love"; this is an unusual usage, and needs some comment. It usually means passionate or sexual love, but in the Vaiṣṇava context it signifies the raw material, a basic attraction similar to sexual attraction, which by careful nurture is transformed into *prema*. See *PHM* 161-164.

30. For the intents and purposes of the Vaiṣṇavas, Īśvara means Bhagavān, Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 31. See 2.10.*śl.*2; 2.20.*śl.*2. Gadādhara: "Holder of the club," an epithet of Kṛṣṇa.

31. Pariṣada: "attendant community of the devout," those *bhaktas* who remain always in the retinue of Bhagavān, part of his *dhāman*. These again are able to be divided into two kinds: *nitya siddha*, or "eternally perfect," those who have been in the retinue of Bhagavān from eternity, assisting in *līlā*, and who do not enter the rounds of rebirth; some are parts of the true self, such as Saṃkarṣaṇa, and some are *vilāsas* of the *śakti* of the Bhagavān, like the *gopīs* of Vraja; and *sādhana siddha*, or those who are caught in *māyā* and suffer the rounds of rebirth, and afterwards, because of worship and the grace of the deity gain perfection, and enter the retinue of Kṛṣṇa. *Sādhaka bhaktas* are those who remain in the world and perform *sādhana bhakti* through the body. Rādhāgovinda Nātha comments that the progression of the attainment of *prema* through *bhakti sādhana* is the following: faith (*śraddhā*), then association with holy men, then attraction to worship, then passion (*rati*) toward Kṛṣṇa, and finally *prema*. He comments further that the *guru* must of necessity be of

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32 The *avatāras* of Īśvara are of these three kinds: *aṃśa-avatāra* [incarnation of a part], *guṇa-avatāra* [incarnation of qualities], 33 and the third is *śaktyāveśa-avatāra* [incarnation of powers]. The *aṃśa-avatāras* are the *puruṣas*, the Fish, and the rest. 34 Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva—these three are *guṇa-avatāras*. And the *śaktyāveśas* are the Sanakas, Pṛthu, and Vyāsa Muni. 35 The manifestations of Bhagavān are of two forms: the first is *prakāśa* [manifestation], the other *vilāsa* [appearance]. 36 When one divine nature has many forms, among the forms there is no division, for there is only one true form: 37 as [it was] when, at the wedding of the *mahiṣīs*, and when he performed the *rāsa-līlā;* this is called the chief *prakāśa* of Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 32. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.69.2:
It is indeed a wonderful thing how he, alone, with a single body, in different houses simultaneously and separately married sixteen thousand women.

the *sādhaka bhakta* group, since *pāriṣada bhaktas* are totally cut off from material nature, and are already in the retinue of Kṛṣṇa.

At this point, Kṛṣṇadāsa, having disposed of the matter of the *guru*, moves on to discuss the doctrine of *avatāra*. [The *avatāra* theory is expanded in 2.20; also see the Introduction, pp. 142-43 for a summary chart of this *avatāra* theory. TKS]

32. Aṃśa avatāra: a part of the true self of Kṛṣṇa; the Kāraṇārṇavaśāyī, Garbhodaśāyī, and Kṣirodaśāyī *puruṣas*, and the fish, tortoise, and other incarnations are *aṃśa avatāras*. *Guṇa-avatāra* is explained in this way by Rādhāgovinda Nātha: from the second *puruṣa*, Garbhodaśāyī, to control the *sattva* and *tamas guṇas*, and to mediate the creation, preservation, and destruction of the world, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva appeared; because they control the *guṇas*, they are called *guṇa-avatāras*: Brahmā the *rajas guṇa*, Viṣṇu the *sattva guṇa*, and Śiva the *tamas guṇa*.

33. He who absorbs or is gripped by (*āveśa*) the power of the *bhagavat*, is like a man possessed by madness. Rādhāgovinda Nātha gives two types of examples of this possession: those like Nārada, Sanaka, and others, who absorb power and consider themselves independent of Bhagavān; and those *ṛṣis* and seers who have absorbed such great power that they consider themselves as Bhagavān. Thus *śaktyāveśa* is one who has absorbed and is controlled by and controls divine power. For *puruṣa*: see *śloka* 7 and commentary.

35. Prakāśa is of three kinds, appearance (*āvirbhāva*), blossoming or unfolding (*vikāsa*), and revealing (*prakaṭya*). See commentary on v. 22.

37. In the Dvārakā-*līlā*, Kṛṣṇa married sixteen thousand women and was with them all simultaneously, and among the sixteen thousand *mūrtis* of Kṛṣṇa there were no differences in form, color, etc.; they were all the one *svarūpa*, and thus all his queens had the full Kṛṣṇa and not a replica. So it was too in the story of the *rāsa-līlā* as told in the *BhP*: Kṛṣṇa was in the center of the circle and beside each of the *gopīs* at the same time.

Śloka 32. See 2.20.*śl.*25.

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Śloka 33. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.33.3:
The *rāsa* celebration, adorned by a circle of *gopīs*, was begun by Yogeśvara Kṛṣṇa, between each pair of women who were embraced by him as he approached them, while each woman thought him to be her own.

Śloka 34. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta, pūrva khaṇḍa* 1.21:
The manifestness of one single body in many places at one time, identical in all characteristics with the basic form, that is called *prakāśa*.

38 When, then, there is one *vigraha*, but different manifestations of different shapes, *vilāsa* is its name.

Śloka 35. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Laghubhagavatāmṛta, pūrva khaṇḍa* 1.15:
That [one] true form of him which for the sake of *līlā* is in another separate shape, generally identical to the self, is called *vilāsa*.

39 So Baladeva, Paravyoma, Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva, Pradyumna, and the rest up to Saṃkarṣaṇa [are *vilāsas*].

40 The [highest] *śaktis* of Īśvara are of three kinds. One is [like] the *lakṣmīs*, the second the *mahiṣīs* in Pura, 41 and, foremost among them all, the third, the *gopīs* in Vraja. To them Vrajendranandana is himself the full god, *svayaṃ bhagavān*. 42 The *kāyavyūhas* are true forms of Kṛṣṇa, equal to him. His retinue is among his *bhaktas*. 43 Therefore I make obeisance to everyone, the *bhaktas* and the rest, omitting none. Such obeisances are the cause of all blessings.

Śloka 33. Yogeśvara: "lord of *yogins*," the great magician.

38. Vigraha: image, form, shape.

40. Īśvara contains three *śaktis*: *cit-śakti*, *jīva-śakti*, and *māyā-śakti*. And *cit-śakti*, which is intrinsic, is also of three kinds: *hlādinī*, *sandhinī*, and *saṃvit*. By *hlādinī*, Kṛṣṇa experiences bliss (*ānanda*), and causes his *bhaktas* to experience it; by *sandhinī* he preserves the being of all creatures; and by *saṃvit* he knows himself and causes all creatures to know. The *vilāsas* of the *hlādinī-śakti* are also of three kinds: the *gopīs* who love Kṛṣṇa in Vraja, the queens of Kṛṣṇa in Dvārakā, and the *lakṣmīs* in Vaikuṇṭha to which this verse and the next refer. Pura: Dvārakā.

42. The first part of the couplet explains in what way the *gopīs* are superior to the other two classes of *śakti*: they are *kāyavyūha*; Rādhāgovinda Nātha interprets this to mean all (*vyūha*) the bodies (*kāya*) of the true self of Kṛṣṇa, and interprets it in the *svākiyā* sense: as there is no division between the own body (*svadeha*) of Kṛṣṇa and the *kāyavyūhas*, so there is no difference between Kṛṣṇa and the *gopīs*; the *gopīs* are the *svarūpa-śakti* of Kṛṣṇa, and as there is no difference between *śakti* and the possessor of *śakti* (*śaktimān*), so there is no difference between Kṛṣṇa and the *gopīs* (see Dimock, "Līlā," *History of Religions* 29, no. 2 (November, 1989): 159-73. Rādhāgovinda Nātha also defines retinue as both *nitya-siddha* and *sādhana-siddha bhaktas*. (See commentary on v. 31.)

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44 In the first *śloka*, then, I have made a general obeisance. In the second *śloka* my obeisance is special:

Śloka 36.

I make obeisance to Kṛṣṇa Caitanya and to Nityānanda, the sun and moon most wonderful, who destroy the darkness and bestow their blessings, flowering as they rise together over the horizon of Gauḍa.

45 Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma in former times played and sported in Vraja, their splendor greater than that of crores of suns and moons. 46 Those two, in great mercy toward the world, have appeared rising over the eastern mountains in the land of Gauḍa as 47 Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya and the Lord Nityānanda, in whose appearance is the joy of all the worlds. 48 And as the sun and moon drive away all darkness, so they, being manifested, promulgate *dharma*. 49 Like [the sun and moon], the two brothers dispel the ignorance of all living creatures, conquering the darkness and giving the gift of the light of true knowledge. 50 The darkness of ignorance is called by the name *kaitava*, desire for selfish ends, all deceit, of which *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, *mokṣa* are primary.

Śloka 37. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.1.2:

In the *Śrīmad Bhāgavatam*, composed by the hermit, there is found the

Śloka 36. This *śloka* (=1.1.*śl.*2 and 2.1.*śl.*2) is explained in 1.1.44b-61.

45. The second half of the couplet is literally: "the *dhāma* of the selves of both of them conquering a crore of suns and moons." The term *dhāma/dhāman* usually refers to the total environment of Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana—the cows and *gopīs* and Yamunā and the rest. Here, however, it seems to be merely "radiance" or "splendor," but also suggests that their followers, i.e., the inhabitants of their *dhāman*, are more numerous than crores of suns and moons.

50. I.e., the four values or goals of man as usually stated. *Kaitava* is literally fraud or deceit, and it is among the positions of the Vaiṣṇavas that men are deluded by other systems, such as the Vedānta. Rādhāgovinda Nātha defines *dharma* here as *varṇāśramadharma*, belief in the traditional system of *varṇas* and stages, by which one may gain heaven and again return in the rounds of *saṃsāra*; *bhakti* of course brings one entirely out of this system. By *dharma*, in other words, is not meant the ends of morality, or perhaps even the caste system as such; for as will be clear, Vaiṣṇavism is somewhat ambiguous on this point. *Artha* is the gaining of wealth and power. *Kāma* is defined as the search for the satisfaction of the self. And *mokṣa* is defined as blending with the unqualified *brahma*; this is abhorrent to the dualistic Vaiṣṇavas, as worship is to them the end of man, and by definition one cannot worship what is essentially one's self. The line could also be read: "*Dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and desire for *mokṣa*—all these are *kaitavas*, and the desire for *mokṣa* is chief."

Śloka 37. See 2.24.*śl.*31; 2.25.*śl.*40. The "three griefs" are usually defined as *ādhyātmika*, "spiritual or metaphysical," *ādhibhautika*, "proceeding from material causes," and *ādhidaivika*, "arising from divine agency"—these are three forms of ignorance (*avidyā*).

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supreme *dharma*, free from any falsity, of good people who are devoid of jealousy; the very object to be known is its substance, auspicious and destroying the three kinds of grief; what use are other books? The Lord is instantly and at once caught in their hearts by students who have done their tasks.

51 Among the [*kaitavas*] the desire for *mokṣa* is the primary *kaitava*, and because of it Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti* disappears.

Śloka 38. Śrīdhara Svāmin's *Bhāvārthadīpikā* commentary on *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.1.2:
By the very proclamation of the syllable '*pra*,' the desire for release is lost.

52 *Karma*, both good and bad, is also an obstacle to Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*. That *karma* is the *dharma* which is the darkness of ignorance of the solitary *jīva*. 53 He by whose grace that darkness is destroyed, in destroying darkness reveals truth. 54 The highest truths are Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*, *prema*, and *nāma-saṃkīrtana*—all these are the true forms of *ānanda*. 55 The sun and moon destroy the external darkness. They reveal [only] external material objects, [like] the earthen pot and clothing. 56 But the two brothers wash away all the darkness of the heart; they bring about a meeting with the two *bhāgavatas*. 57 One is the great *Bhāgavata*—the *Bhāgavata śāstra*. The other is the *bhakta*, the receptacle of

Śloka 38. Śrīdhara Svāmin is the name of the primary commentator on the *BhP*, whose commentary is accepted by the Vaiṣṇavas as well as by others as being definitive. The reference is to the previous *śloka* of the *BhP*, where the term '*projjhitakaitava dharma*' (*pra-ujjhita-*) is defined as "the *dharma* which is the abandonment [of desire for the satisfaction of the self]."

52. I.e., deeds done for the sake of *puṇya*, merit, by which one will gain heaven, essentially selfish, and evil deeds. Another translation might be "that, [*karma*], is the result of the darkness of ignorance."

54. *Tattva*: truths; *nāma saṃkīrtana*: the singing of the names of Kṛṣṇa; there are five devotional acts which are above all others efficacious (see 3.4.65-66) and of these *nāma saṃkīrtana* is best. As will be seen, the taking of the name of Kṛṣṇa is by itself an act which leads to salvation. "True forms of *ānanda*" is a difficult phrase. The Bengali is *ānanda svarūpa*, and it might also be interpreted as "the true form (of Kṛṣṇa), which is *ānanda* (bliss)"; it is true that Kṛṣṇa is the *svarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa, not any of his other forms; it is also true that *bhakti* for Kṛṣṇa, and *prema*, put the devotee into direct relationship to that *svarūpa*, and that the devotee then becomes part of the *dhāma* of Kṛṣṇa and in a way a part of the *svarūpa*. That the *nāma saṃkīrtana* is also the *svarūpa* is an interesting statement, for it implies the identity of word and object: that by the uttering of the name, that which is named is gained. This is a position common in the Tantras also.

56. The two *bhāgavatas* are the *BhP* and the devotee, the *bhakta*. The text is of course the cornerstone of the whole system, and association with true *bhaktas* is one means by which the ultimate experience of Kṛṣṇa is gained.

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bhakti-rasa. 58 These two *bhāgavatas* prompt *bhakti-rasa* and their hearts are controlled by *prema* to them. 59 One wonder is the simultaneous manifestation of both. The other wonder is that they destroy the darkness of the cavern of the heart. 60 These two, the sun and moon, have the greatest mercy. It is to the great good fortune of the world that they have appeared in Gauḍa. 61 I make obeisance, therefore, to the feet of those two lords, by whom all impediments are destroyed, and in whom all desires are fulfilled.

62 In these two *ślokas*, then, I have made auspicious obeisance. Hear now, all people, the meaning of the third *śloka*; 63 but in fear of superfluity of words, in fear of expanding too greatly this book, I shall not describe it at length, but shall state the whole meaning in a few syllables:

Śloka 39. [Anonymous]:
And it has been said by the ancients who were adept at beginningless usage of words: succinctness and pithiness of expression is eloquence.

64 If one listens, he will have great *prema* toward Kṛṣṇa, he will gain satisfaction and contentment, and the faults, of ignorance and the rest, of his mind will be dispelled. 65 Of Śrī Caitanya, Nityānanda, and of Advaita—of their magnificence, and of the truth of *rasa*, *prema*, *nāma*, *bhakti*, and the *bhakta*, 66 I have written separately. I have explained that he who hears these things will know the whole and final truth.

67 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

58. The Bengali is somewhat ambiguous. Interpreting "them" and "their" as Caitanya and Nityānanda would seem to be in accordance with the following lines, but frequently there is no distinction of number, and the reference might well be to Kṛṣṇa. [Theologically, of course, they are the same, so it is perhaps a moot point. For control of the godhead, see 1.4.216; 1.7.138; 1.17.71, 1.17. *śl.*5; and 2.23.26. TKS]

61. Impediments, that is, to the gaining of *prema*.

64. According to the commentary of Viśvanātha Cakravartin, "ignorance and the rest," *ajñānādi*, means "non-revelation of the *svarūpa*," *viparyyāsa* or "opposition," the consideration of the self, the body, etc.; *bheda*, "division," desire for enjoyment; *bhaya*, "fear," fear of interruption of the desire for enjoyment; and *śoka*, "grief," because of things and possessions lost or destroyed. Rūpa's *BhRS* (1.130), has the *doṣas* (faults) as eighteen in number: *moha*, enchantment; *tandrā*, dullness or lassitude; *bhrama*, delusion or error; *rukṣarasatā*, sternness or cruelty; *ulvaṇakāma*, desire for anything too much; *lolatā*, unsteadiness; *mada*, drunkenness; *mātsaryya*, envy; *hiṃsā*, malice or injury; *kheda*, vexation; *pariśrama*, exhaustion; *asatya*, untruth; *krodha*, anger; *ākāṅkṣā*, expectation of things; *āśaṅkā*, fear; *viśvavibhrama*, error about the world; *vaiṣamya*, inequality; and *parāpekṣā*, reliance on others.

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Ādi Līlā
Chapter 2

Śloka 1.

I bow down to Caitanya Prabhu, in whose mercy even a child crosses over the sea of doctrine, which is filled with the alligators of various opinions.

Śloka 2.

O sea of compassion Śrī Caitanya, may the flood of the nectar of your frolicking *līlā*, bedecked by the lotuses of the arts of praising, singing, and dancing about Kṛṣṇa, the playground of the flocks of wild geese and *cakravāka* birds and swarms of bees in the form of the hosts of good *bhaktas*, and melodiously gladdening the ears, flow on the desert of my tongue.

1 Glory be to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 I shall now explain the meaning of the third *śloka*, the *maṅgalācaraṇa* in the form of the determination of the matter [of the text].

Śloka 3.

That which in the Upaniṣad is [called] the non-dual *brahma*, that [*brahma*] is the radiance of his body; that which is [called] *puruṣa*, the indwelling *ātman*, is the manifestation of a particle of him; that which is [called] here *pūrṇa bhagavān*, endowed with the six divine attributes, is [Caitanya] himself. In this world there is no supreme principle superior to Kṛṣṇa as Caitanya, who is the highest truth.

Śloka 1. Siddhānta-sāgaram: "sea of doctrine."
Śloka 3. See 1.1.*śl.*3. This entire chapter is devoted to an explanation of this *śloka*.

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3 *Brahma, ātmā, bhagavān*—these three are known. The luster of the body, the part, and true form—these three are the marks of the predicate. 4 Let me state the known and afterwards establish the predicate. I shall state the meaning—hear the explanation of the *śāstras*. 5 Kṛṣṇa is *svayaṃ bhagavān*—Kṛṣṇa is the highest truth—with full knowledge, with full *ānanda*, the highest great truth. 6 He who is called Nandasuta in the *Bhāgavata*, that very Kṛṣṇa has appeared as Caitanya Gosvāmī. 7 In each particular manifestation he holds three names—*brahma, paramātmā*, and *pūrṇa bhagavān*.

Śloka 4. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.2.11:

The truth-knowing wise men call the ultimate truth that which is non-dual knowledge. It is called *brahma, paramātmā*, and *bhagavān*.

3. Kṛṣṇadāsa in 1.2.62 himself defines *anuvāda* as "that which is known" (*jñāta*) and *vidheya* as "that which is not known," the predicate of a proposition. Rādhāgovinda Nātha comments on this: Various *sampradāyas* have various forms of worship. Some worship *brahma*, some worship the *paramātman* who is indwelling in *jīvas*, and again some worship Bhagavān. All know of these three divisions of worshipers; but not all know what the real meaning of this is . . . and in the *śloka* the real meaning is stated. For the *svarūpa* of *brahma* is the luster of the body of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, the *ātmā* is a part of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, and Bhagavān is the undivided *svarūpa* of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya.

4. For, as Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out, only after that which is known has been established, is it possible to discuss what is unknown. He goes on to say: In the proposition 'That *brahma* which is mentioned in the Upaniṣads, is the luster of his body,' the word '*brahma*' is mentioned first, and afterwards 'luster of the body.' In this way in the second quarter of the verse, the word '*ātmā*' is *anuvāda*, and the word '*aṃśa*' is *vidheya*, and in the third quarter the word 'Bhagavān' is *anuvāda*, and the word '*saraiśvarya pūrṇa*' [full of divine qualities] is *vidheya* . . . Thus, 'luster of the body, *aṃśa*, and *svarūpa*,' constitute the unknown matter . . . Thus, 'That is *brahma* which is the luster of the body of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya,' is the meaning congenial to the *śāstras*; but 'that which is the luster of the body of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, is *brahma*' is not correct.

6. Nandasuta: the son of Nanda, Kṛṣṇa.

7. *Prakāśa*: "manifestation."

Śloka 4. *Jñānamadvayam*: "undivided knowledge." Division or separation is of three kinds: division among things belonging to the same species, division among things belonging to different species, and divisions within a unit. Men differ from one another, but have a commonality—this is *sajātīya-bheda*. There is distinction between men and trees, or between the physical and the mental, and this is *vijātīya-bheda*. And *svagata-bheda*, or that which is within the self, is in a sense indivisible: for although the ears function to hear, the eyes to see, etc., and these functions are divisible from one another, there is never conflict among them. The *śloka* then says that knowledge (*jñāna*) is by its nature devoid of *svagata-bheda*; and if knowledge is self-evident or self-contained, it is devoid of *sajātīya-bheda* also; and if it is a class by itself it is devoid of *vijātīya-bheda*. Thus it can be called *advaya*. This pure, undivided knowledge is called by three names, according to its appearances: *jala, bāri*, and *salila*, all three terms meaning water, indicate the same substance. But ice, water, and steam are not the same, and have differing properties. So with the names *brahma, paramātmā*, and *bhagavān*; distinction is because of their special properties, not by their common one. See 1.2.*śl*.12; 2.20.*śl*.21; 2.24.*śl*.22; 2.24.*śl*.25; 2.25.*śl*.27.

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8 On his body is a pure halo of light; the Upaniṣads call this stainless *brahma*. 9 As with the naked eye, the sun is seen as undifferentiated [light], so one is not able to see the differentiation of Kṛṣṇa by the path of knowledge.

Śloka 5. *Brahma Saṃhitā* 5.40:

That *brahma* whose magnificence is manifest in crores and crores of Brahmā-worlds, that *brahma*, differentiated in all the manifestations of all the elements of earth, etc., endless, undivided, and total—I worship that Govinda as the *ādi-puruṣa*.

10 That magnificence of *brahma* in crores and crores of worlds, that *brahma* is the splendor of the body of Govinda. 11 I worship that Govinda—he is my Lord. Through his grace is my power of creation.

Śloka 6. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.6.47:

*Saṃnyāsin*s, constantly involved in meditation, wind-clad, painstaking [toward the highest things], self-restrained and controlled, free of desire and passion, pure of heart, they gain your *dhāma* called *brahma*.

8. This text, and others of the sect, have the habit of terming all *śruti*s which are used by the *advaitavādin*s as "Upaniṣads." *Sunirmala* is defined by Rādhāgovinda Nātha as "untouched by *māyā*, beyond *māyā*." The distinction is between that which has form and that which does not have form, or between that which is qualified and that which is not qualified. It is usually considered that the sun has form, while its radiance is formless. Kṛṣṇa is the sun, and *brahma* is the sun-beams, the halo of light, without form. This is given also in Rūpa Gosvāmin's *BhRS* [*pūrva-vibhāga*, *sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.278.

9. Kṛṣṇa is infinitely differentiated, but those deluded by seeking the truth on the path of knowledge (*jñāna-mārga*) will not see him so, and will consider that the radiance of the sun is the sun itself.

Śloka 5. The problem is of course that the god Brahmā is commonly accepted as the creator of the world, and has here been equated with the non-dual *brahma* as the radiance of the body of Kṛṣṇa; the radiance of Kṛṣṇa's body has thus become the creator of the world, or the cause of the creation. By its infinite divinity the glory of Kṛṣṇa's body has divided itself into infinite forms. The *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* (2.6) says that the source of creation was the desire of the creator to become many, and names Govinda as the cause of creation; the *Brahma Saṃhitā* suggests the same. Jīva Gosvāmin, as quoted by Rādhāgovinda Nātha, explains Brahmā's claim as creator in this way: it is the radiance (*prabhā*) of Govinda which is the effective doer; for the purpose of manifesting this, *brahma*, as his radiance, is called the cause of the creation. Brahmā-world is literally Brahmā-egg (*brahmāṇḍa*). See 2.20.*śl.*22.

10-11. "My" refers to Lord Brahmā, who speaks these two couplets, and who is of course associated with creation.

Śloka 6. Rādhāgovinda Nātha interprets *dhāma* as "radiance" (*teja*), and says that the *śloka* means that those ascetics who, following the way of mortification in order to gain union with *brahma*,

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12 He who is called "indwelling in the soul" in the *yoga śāstras*—he is but the majesty-part of Govinda. 13 As one sun appears like an infinite number of crystals, so the *aṃśa* of Govinda appears manifested in living beings.

Śloka 7. *Bhagavad Gītā* 10.42:
O Arjuna! What is the point of your knowing much about all such matters? I, by one single part, support this whole universe!

Śloka 8. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.9.42:
I have come to know this unborn One, who resides in the hearts of all embodied creatures which are imagined to be selves like the one sun appearing in many ways; and my delusion of duality is gone.

14 And that very Govinda is manifest as Caitanya Gosvāmī. There is none other, so gracious and merciful, to save *jīvas*. 15 In [the heaven called] Paravyoma sits he whose name is Nārāyaṇa—he is full of the six divine qualities, the husband of Lakṣmī, Bhagavān. 16 In the Vedas, *Bhāgavata*, *upaniṣads*, and *āgamas*, he is called "the full truth"—there is none equal to him. 17 Through *bhakti-yoga* the *bhaktas* perceive him just as the *devas* see the sun in its real form. 18 All those who worship by the *jñāna-* or *yoga-mārgas*, experience him as [in the form] of *brahma* and *ātmā*.

19 In various kinds of worship, the greatness of Īśvara is known and this is why

are indeed united with *brahma*, which is however "your radiance," the *dhāma*. The *śloka* is spoken by Uddhava to Kṛṣṇa.

12. Ātmāntaryāmī, paramātmā: "indwelling in the soul." *Aṃśa-vibhūtī*: "majesty-part," majesty or divinity as a part.

Śloka 7. See 2.20.*śl.*24; 2.20.*śl.*62.

14. Nistārite: "to save," literally meaning "to bring safely across" the river of life or the rounds of rebirth.

15. There are other forms of Bhagavān than Kṛṣṇa, and of each of them there is an eternal spiritual abode; the name of all these abodes collectively is Paravyoma, "above the sky." The lord of Paravyoma is Nārāyaṇa, and his consort there is Lakṣmī.

17. The *devas*, living in the place of the sun (*sūryaloka*), see the sun itself, not merely its diffused radiances; likewise the *bhakta*, unlike the follower of the *jñāna-mārga*, penetrates the effulgence of Paravyoma and beholds Nārāyaṇa. *Vigraha*: image or form.

18. Jñāna-mārga leads to knowledge of the divinity as *brahma* or radiance; and *yoga-mārga* leads to knowledge of the divinity as the *paramātman* or the indwelling principle in all *jīvas*.

19. Worshipers know one or another aspect of Bhagavān according to the type of worship which they follow.

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the comparison of him with the sun is given. 20 He is Nārāyaṇa—of undivided true form with Kṛṣṇa—only one true image, but various shapes. 21 This [Kṛṣṇa] has two arms and that [Nārāyaṇa] has four hands; this one holds the flute, and that the discus, etc.

Śloka 9. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.14.14:

Are you not Nārāyaṇa? You are the soul of all embodied creatures, O Lord! You are the overseer of all the world. Because you dwell in the water and in the hearts of *jīvas*, you are Nārāyaṇa. He who is Nārāyaṇa is your body; this alone is truth, not your *māyā*.

22 [The meaning of this *śloka* is that] when Brahmā made offence and stole the boys and calves, he begged forgiveness for his fault. 23 "My birth arose from the lotus of your navel. You are father and mother. I am your son. 24 Father and mother do not take offence at the faults of their son. Forgive my offence—be gracious to me." 25 Kṛṣṇa said, "O Brahmā, your father is Nārāyaṇa. I am a cowherd boy. How can you be my son?" 26 Brahmā said, "Are you not Nārāyaṇa? You are Nārāyaṇa. Hear the reasons for this: 27 In creation material and immaterial, however many forms of *jīvas* [there are], you are the basic *svarūpa*, the *ātmā* of them [all]. 28 As the earth is the source and the cause of all earthen pots, you are the cause of *jīvas*—you are the refuge of all. 29 In the word '*nāra*' is the totality of all *jīvas*; in the word '*ayana*' is their refuge. 30 Thus you are the root Nārāyaṇa. This is one argument; hear now of the second reason: 31 Īśvara of *jīvas*,

20. Or, Nārāyaṇa is a *vilāsa-mūrti* of Kṛṣṇa; see ante, 1.1.38; see also v. 47 of this chapter. *Ākāra*: shape; *vigraha*: form, image.

21. In his four hands, Nārāyaṇa holds conch-shell, discus, club, and lotus.

Śloka 9. The context of the *śloka* is an episode in the *BhP* in which Brahmā one day steals away all the cowherd boys, except for Kṛṣṇa, and all the calves which they were tending; afterwards, understanding his offence, Brahmā begs forgiveness at the feet of Kṛṣṇa. See 1.3.*śl.*13; 1.6.*śl.*4.

27. *Ātmā* is here the pervading principle, the *paramātman*.

28. Causes (*kāraṇa*) are of two kinds: material cause (*upādāna-kāraṇa*), as earth is the material cause of earthen pots, and the effective cause (*nimitta-kāraṇa*), as the potter is the effective cause of earthen pots. The commentator considers that "cause of *jīvas*" (*jīvera nidāna*) refers to both types of cause.

29. The verse is a comment on the meaning of the name Nārāyaṇa. The word '*nāra*' means all *jīvas*; the word '*ayana*' means refuge or support. And in the following couplets Kṛṣṇadāsa attempts to show that Kṛṣṇa/Nārāyaṇa is a support for all *jīvas*.

31. [The first *puruṣa* is Kāraṇārṇavaśāyī, the second *puruṣa* Garbhodaśāyī, and the third *puruṣa* Kṣīrodaśāyī. Other *avatāras*, such as *līlā-avatāras*, *manvantara-avatāras*, *guṇa-avatāras*, etc., are implied in the expression "*ādi*," i.e., "the rest." TKS]

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[you are] the *puruṣa*, and other *avatāras*; your divinity is greater than theirs. 32 Thus you are the great Lord, the father of all. It is because of your power that they are the guardians of the world, 33 by which reason you preserve the refuge of man. Thus you are the root Nārāyaṇa. 34 Now, Śrī Bhagavān, hear the third reason—in the infinite Brahmā-worlds and Vaikuṇṭha and the rest— 35 You see as many *jīvas* as there are, and their *karma* of the three times. You are witness. You know every hidden meaning. 36 By your *darśana* is the world of existence established. If they do not see you, can there be unmoving or moving things? 37 You give *darśana* as the support of beings, and in that you are the root Nārāyaṇa." 38 Kṛṣṇa replied, "Brahmā, I do not understand your words. He who rests on the water and in the hearts of creatures is Nārāyaṇa." 39 Brahmā said, "That Nārāyaṇa who is in creatures and on the water, these are all parts of you—this is truth. 40 The Kāraṇābdhiśāyī, the Kṣīrodhaśāyī, and the Garbhodakaśāyī: [these three *puruṣas*] were created by means of *māyā*—therefore, they are all *māyī*. 41 These three water-lying ones are indwelling in all things. He who is called Puruṣa is the soul of all the Brahmā-worlds. 42 Of the Hiraṇyagarbha the soul is Garbhodakaśāyī. The indweller in individual souls is Kṣirodakaśāyī. 43 Because of the glance of all these there is a relationship with *māyā*. But of the Supreme Kṛṣṇa there is no relationship to *māyā*.

35. Three times: past, present, and future.

36. The verse seems to be simple eulogy, and no commentator sees fit to interpret it. "Establishment" or "existence" (*sthiti*) can also suggest steadfastness, and it is a tenet that steadfastness of mind is both a cause and an effect of *bhakti*. *Darśana*, "witnessing," is an important concept in Vaiṣṇavism as in other forms of Hinduism: to see an image, a great man, or a ceremony, by itself has efficacy.

38. The other etymology, though according to Monier Williams tenuous, is "he who lies upon the waters." See the commentary on v. 40 below.

40. The three *puruṣas* created with the help of *māyā*, and therefore are in relationship to *māyā*, which is an external *śakti* of Bhagavān. Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out: there are two kinds of *māyā*, *guṇa-māyā* and *nimitta-māyā*. *Guṇa-māyā* is the effective secondary cause of the Brahmā-worlds (lit., "eggs"), the infinite universes which are *māyika*. The Kāraṇārṇavaśāyī *puruṣa*, with a glance, agitated material nature, which has as its essence the three *guṇas* or qualities, and pervaded it with power (*śakti*), and from that the infinite Brahmā-worlds were created. The second *puruṣa* was lying in the womb-water of each Brahmā-world, and from his lotus-navel was born Brahmā the creator of *jīvas*. The third *puruṣa* was indwelling in the heart of each *jīva*.

42. Hiraṇyagarbha: Brahmā. The Garbhodakaśāyī-*puruṣa* indwells in Brahmā, and Kṣirodakaśāyī dwells in the individual souls of the *jīvas*.

43. Kṛṣṇa in his ultimate (*turīya*) form is beyond *māyā*, which is extraneous to him, while it remains one of his *śaktis*. *Gandha*: relationship, lit., perfume, odor, or smell, which permeates, leading to "connection."

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Śloka 10. Śrīdhara Svāmin's *Bhāvārthadīpikā* commentary on *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.15.16:
Virāṭ, *hiraṇyagarbha*, and *kāraṇa*—these are three separate properties of Īśvara. But that which is devoid of these three is called *turīya*.

44 Though activity [of creation] of the three is through *māyā*, even then there is no touch of it—all are apart from the touch of *māyā*.

Śloka 11. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.11.39:
This is the divinity of Īśvara: even situated in the material, by the qualities of it [he is] never [touched], just as intellect, fixed on the Bhagavat, [is not touched] by the properties of the self.

45 You are the highest refuge of those three. You are the root Nārāyaṇa. Is there any doubt of this? 46 The container of parts of these three is the Paravyoma-indwelling Nārāyaṇa. He is your *vilāsa*; you are the root Nārāyaṇa."

47 Thus in the words of Brahmā, the Paravyoma-Nārāyaṇa is the *vilāsa* of Kṛṣṇa. This is the explanation of the truth. 48 This *śloka* is the essence of the *Bhāgavata*, [defining] the characteristics of the truth. This is primary, everywhere, as a technical term. 49 *Brahma*, [*param*]*ātmā*, *bhagavān*—these are the special manifestations of Kṛṣṇa. Not knowing this meaning, fools give another meaning [to it], 50 [saying] "Container of *avatāras* is Nārāyaṇa; Kṛṣṇa is an *avatāra*. That one is four-armed, this one has the form of a man"; 51 like this in many ways they make arguments. But the verses of the *Bhāgavata* are able to defeat them.

Śloka 12. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.2.11:
The truth-knowing wise men call the ultimate truth that which is non-dual knowledge. It is called *brahma*, *paramātmā*, and *bhagavān*.

Śloka 10. Virāṭ: that substantial world, which is visible to the human eye. Rādhāgovinda Nātha interprets *hiraṇyagarbha* here as meaning the subtle condition of the world before substantial creation, and *kāraṇa* as being the primal condition of matter. Three separate properties: *upādhi*, ways in which God appears, his definitions.

44. Having defined the three *puruṣas* as related to *māyā*, Kṛṣṇadāsa is now obliged to show that they are more than ordinary *jīvas*, which are controlled by *māyā* and subject to it. He makes the distinction, then, between the glance of the *puruṣa*, which affects *māyā*, and the actual touch of *māyā*, which is the relationship of the *jīva* with it. Such is the power of *darśana*.

Śloka 11. See 1.5.*śl*.14.

Śloka 12. See 1.2.*śl*.4; 2.20.*śl*.21; 2.24.*śl*.22; 2.24.*śl*.25; 2.25.*śl*.27.

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52 Hear, O brothers. Reflect upon this *śloka*: There is one primary truth and three explanations of it. 53 The highest truth is non-dual knowledge—this is the *svarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa. [So] *brahma*, [*param*]*ātmā*, *bhagavān*—those are his three forms. 54 About the meaning of this *śloka* you have been rendered speechless. Hear then another word of the *Bhāgavata*.

Śloka 13. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.3.28:
All these are but parts and fractions of parts of the *puruṣa*; but Kṛṣṇa is *svayaṃ bhagavān*. They incarnate themselves in every age to protect the people persecuted by Indra's enemies.

55 Giving the customary signs of all *avatāras*, among them was numbered Kṛṣṇacandra. 56 But Sūta Gosvāmī's mind was filled with fear, [so] he determined which signs [belonged to] whom. 57 All the *avatāras* were the parts, or parts of parts of the *puruṣa*. [But] Kṛṣṇa, *svayaṃ bhagavān*, was the ornament of them all. 58 But the antagonist says, "Yours is a fine explanation. Paravyoma-Nārāyaṇa is *svayaṃ bhagavān*. 59 He has come and made *avatāra* in the form of Kṛṣṇa. I see this meaning in the *śloka*. What is the point of more debate?" 60 But to him [the answer is], "Why do you draw the inference based on bad logic? It is contrary to the meaning of the *śāstras* and is no proof at all."

Śloka 14. Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa*:
He who articulates the predicate first, without having mentioned the subject, support for his words is nowhere established.

61 I do not articulate the predicate without having [first] declared the subject. I discuss the subject before, the predicate afterwards. 62 [The term] '*vidheya*' means the matter which is not known. [The term] '*anuvāda*' means the matter which is known. 63 So I say, "This *brāhmaṇa* is a great *paṇḍita*." The *brāhmaṇa* is the subject, and [his] learning the predication. 64 His brahmanhood is a known, but

53. See ante, commentary on *śloka* 4.

54. Kṛṣṇadāsa is addressing the Vedāntins, saying that the *ślokas* of the *BhP* are irrefutable by them, thus they have been rendered speechless. It should be noted that the *BhP* is considered to be a commentary on the *Brahma Sūtras*; Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's *HBhV* 10.283.

Śloka 13. I.e., the three *puruṣas* are but parts, and parts of parts; the second term for 'part' is '*kalā*,' a minute portion. See 1.5.*śl.*11; 2.9.*śl.*12; 2.20.*śl.*20; 2.25.*śl.*29.

56. The *śloka* is one spoken by Sūkadeva in the *BhP*. His fear, according to the *ṭīkā*, was because in giving Kṛṣṇa's name among other *avatāras*, he was doing an injustice to Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 14. See 1.16.*śl.*4.

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his learning is not known. Thus first the *brāhmaṇa*, afterwards his learning. 65 So these *avatāras* are all known things: But *avatāras* of whom? This matter is not known. 66 In the word '*ete*' is the known matter of the *avatāras*, coming first; and afterwards '*puruṣera aṃśa*' is a communication [about] the predicate. 67 So among the *avatāras*, Kṛṣṇa is known. But particular knowledge of him is unknown. 68 Thus the word 'Kṛṣṇa' comes first as the subject; his true divine nature comes after, as the predicate. 69 '*Kṛṣṇera svayaṃ bhagavattva*' became what was to be known, and '*svayaṃ bhagavānera kṛṣṇatva*' is incorrect. 70 If Kṛṣṇa were a part and Nārāyaṇa the possessor of parts, then the words of Sūta would have been reversed. 71 "That very Nārāyaṇa is possessor of parts, *svayaṃ bhagavān*, and he is Kṛṣṇa"—he would have made the explanation thus. 72 Error, bewilderment, contrariness, and confusion of the senses—none of these faults are present in the speech of *ṛṣis* and wise men. 73 You articulate a contrary meaning, and while saying it, you get angry. In your interpretation the fault is the misplacing of the predicate-part. 74 From whose god-quality derives the god-quality of others, is the meaning of the word *svayaṃ bhagavān*. 75 As from a lamp many lamps are lit—that one lamp is counted as the original or root lamp. 76 So Kṛṣṇa is the cause of all *avatāras*. Hear another *śloka* tearing asunder your wrong explanation.

Śloka 15. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.10.1-2:

In this [book], *sarga*, *visarga*, *sthāna*, *poṣaṇa*, *ūtayaḥ*, *manvantara*, *īśānukathāḥ*, *nirodha*, *mukti*, and *āśraya* [are discussed]. In this *purāṇa* the *mahātmās*, because of desire for the true pure meaning of the tenth [category], easily describe the definition of the nine with the known sense.

66. Ete: the first word of *śloka* 13.

69. Kṛṣṇa is the known, and the fact that he is himself Bhagavān the unknown; *svayaṃ bhagavān* is not the known, and Kṛṣṇa-hood of *svayaṃ bhagavān* the unknown.

74. Bhagavattā: god-quality.

Śloka 15. The logical progression of this series is not entirely clear. Rādhāgovinda Nātha interprets: *sarga*: a kind of general creation, characterized by evolution of the *guṇas*; *visarga*: creation by Brahmā of living things; *sthāna*: the firm Vaikuṇṭha; *poṣaṇa*: the protection of *bhaktas* by God; *ūti*: the *vāsanas* remaining from *karma*; *manvantara*: usually the "period of a Manu," here the conduct of *sādhus*; *īsānukathā*: discourse of *sādhus* following God, and all *bhāgavatas*; *nirodha*: the merging of *jīvas* at the final destruction; *mukti*: gaining purified form; *āśraya*: refuge in God. The Vaiṣṇavas frequently argue a type of progression in which the last item of a series contains all the other items of that series. Thus, of the five types of *bhakti*, the second in the series, *sākhya*, contains the qualities of the first, the third contains the second and third, and the fifth, *śṛṅgāra*, contains not only its own qualities but those of the previous four. Here *āśraya* (refuge) contains the previous nine (v. 77).

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77 So to know this category '*āśraya*,' I give the [other] nine meanings. From the source of these nine is the meaning of *āśraya*, [the tenth]. 78 Kṛṣṇa is the one refuge of all [beings]. Kṛṣṇa is the place of all. In the body of Kṛṣṇa is the abode of all the universe.

Śloka 16. Śrīdhara Svāmin's *Bhāvārthadīpikā* commentary on *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.1.1:
In the tenth [book of *Bhāgavata*] the object to be defined, the tenth principle, the incarnation of the shelter of those seeking shelter, called Kṛṣṇa, the highest place, the refuge of the universe—to him I bow down.

79 Who has knowledge of the true form of Kṛṣṇa and his *śaktis* is not ignorant of Kṛṣṇa 80 In the *svarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa are the six-fold *vilāsas*. In the forms of grandeur and majesty *prābhava* and *vaibhava* are two kinds of manifestations. 81 There are two kinds of *avatāras*—in the forms of *aṃśa* and *śaktyāveśa*; and there are two kinds of *dharmas*, *bālya* and *paugaṇḍa*. 82 Of Kṛṣṇa the true form is *kiśora*—*svayaṃ avatārī*, the innate container of all *avatāras*. He plays in these six forms throughout the universe. 83 In these six forms are infinite divisions; and in these myriad forms there is but one form [*rūpa*], not divided at all. 84 *Cit-śakti* is *svarūpa-śakti*, and its name is *antaraṅgā*. The realms of its infinity of majesty are Vaikuṇṭha and the rest. 85 *Māyā-śakti* is *bahiraṅgā*, the cause of the world. Its infinity of majesty is the multiple Brahmā-eggs. 86 *Jīva-śakti* is called *taṭasthā*, and it has no limit. These three *śaktis* are chief, and their divisions are innumerable. 87 Like this are the qualities of *svarūpa* and the three *śaktis*. Kṛṣṇa is the refuge of all [of them]; all are situated in Kṛṣṇa. 88 Even though the *puruṣas* are the refuge of the Brahmā-worlds, Kṛṣṇa is the basic refuge of all, the *puruṣas* and the rest. 89 "Kṛṣṇa is *svayaṃ bhagavān*"—Kṛṣṇa is the refuge of all. "Kṛṣṇa's is *parama īśvara*"—so all the *śāstras* say.

Śloka 16. See 2.20.*śl.*18.

80. Apart from the *svarūpa* itself, says Kṛṣṇadāsa, Kṛṣṇa has *vilāsa* in six forms, and he lists these in couplets 80-83: *prābhava* (primacy or lordship) and *vaibhava* (glory or divinity) *prakāśas*; *aṃśa* and *śaktyāveśa* (see commentary on 1.1.33) *avatāras*; *bālya* (boyhood) and *paugaṇḍa* (youth), these two *dharmas*. The latter two are *dharmas* in the sense of what is appropriate for the body at a particular time. These will be treated in detail in 2.20.140-160.

82. Kiśora: youth. I.e., the six are apart from the *svarūpa*, the eternal youth Kṛṣṇa himself.

83. Ananta-rūpe: "in infinite form," Rādhāgovinda Nātha interprets it as *ananta-svarūpa* or as *svarūpa*, which is just about the only way the couplet makes sense.

84. Antaraṅgā: intrinsic.

85. Bahiraṅgā: extrinsic.

86. Taṭasthā: situated between (intrinsic and extrinsic).

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Śloka 17. *Brahma Saṃhitā* 5.1:
Kṛṣṇa is the highest Īśvara, the embodiment of *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*, beginningless, yet the beginning of all things, Govinda, the cause of all causes.

90 All these conclusions you know well, but you argue to drive me on.

91 That Kṛṣṇa, Vrajendrakumāra, is the container of *avatāras*. And he himself descended in the form of Caitanya. 92 Therefore, Caitanya Gosvāmī is the ultimate in the highest truth. If I call him Kṣirodaśāyī, where then is his greatness? 93 These are all the words of *bhaktas*—not of those who go astray; all is possible to him who is the container of *avatāras*. 94 In the body of the container of *avatāras* is the place of all *avatāras*. People refer [to him] in different ways, according to their opinions. 95 Some call Kṛṣṇa Nara-Nārāyaṇa. Some say that Kṛṣṇa is the Vāmana incarnation. 96 Some say Kṛṣṇa is the Kṣirodaśāyī-*avatāra*. It is not impossible that everyone's words are true. 97 Some say he is Paravyoma Nārāyaṇa. All is possible to Kṛṣṇa, in whom are all *avatāras*.

98 I bow to the feet of all listeners. Hear now attentively to draw these conclusions I have drawn. 99 Do not be lazy in mind regarding the stated conclusions; from these the mind grows fixed on Kṛṣṇa. 100 I recognize the greatness of Caitanya in all these conclusions. From the realization of [his] greatness, the mind becomes firmly fixed. 101 To speak of the greatness of Caitanya Prabhu, I have spoken of the greatness of Kṛṣṇa and have expanded upon it. 102 The investigation of this truth of Caitanya Gosvāmī proves that he is *svayaṃ bhagavān* Kṛṣṇa Vrajendra-nandana.

103 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

Śloka 17. See 2.8.*śl*.29; 2.20.*śl*.19; 2.21.*śl*.8.

92. *Paratattva-sīmā*: the outer limit or boundary (thus containing everything), i.e., the ultimate, in the highest truth. *Mahimā*: greatness. "Where then . . . ," i.e., the term Kṣirodaśāyī does not describe his greatness.

95. Nara-Nārāyaṇa: Nārāyaṇa born as a man; see *BhP* 1.3.9. Vāmana: the dwarf-*avatāra*, see *BhP* 1.3.19.

96. Kṛṣṇa is all these things, for he is the container of all *avatāras*.

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Ādi Līlā
Chapter 3

Śloka 1.

I bow down to Caitanya Prabhu; by the power of taking refuge at whose feet [even] an ignorant man from the many mines of the *śāstras* gathers fine jewels of truth.

1 Glory be to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 The meaning of the third *śloka* I have explained. Now hear the meaning of the fourth, O *bhaktas*.

Śloka 2. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 1.2:

In order to bestow the wealth of *bhakti* for himself, which for a long time had gone unbestowed, a *bhakti* of elevated and radiant essentiality, Hari has descended in the Kali age out of compassion, with the beautiful sheen of gold and blazing like a [blooming] *kadamba* [flower]; and Śacīnandana must forever sparkle in the hollow of your heart.

3 *Pūrṇa bhagavān* is Kṛṣṇa Vrajendrakumāra. His is an eternal pleasure with [his

Śloka 2. See 1.1.*śloka* 4. This *śloka* is the subject of this entire chapter (1.3). See 3.1.*śl.*16.

3. The two armed, dark-colored cowherd boy Kṛṣṇa is himself the *svarūpa*, *pūrṇa bhagavān*. The hierarchy of heavens in the system is complex; Rādhāgovinda Nātha, in his commentary, describes it this way: Above Paravyoma is a place (*dhāma*), having the form of a thousand-petalled lotus; the name of this is Gokula, and here Kṛṣṇa lives eternally with Rādhā and the *gopīs*, and with his foster-father and foster-mother Nanda and Yaśodā . . . On the outer part of this lotus-shaped Gokula there is a four-cornered place, the name of which is Śvetadvīpa. (See *Brahma Saṃhitā* 5.2, 4, 5, and Jīva's *Kṛṣṇa-sandarbha* 106). The whole of the four-cornered place is not called Śvetadvīpa, but only the outer fringe, which is also called Goloka; and the inner circle is called Vṛndāvana. Goloka is also called Vraja.

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companions] in Vraja in Goloka. 4 Only once in a day of Brahmā, he, having descended, makes manifest *vihāra*. 5 The Satya, Tretā, Dvāpara, Kali—I know these four ages and that these four ages are one *divya yuga*. 6 Seventy-one of each of the four ages are one *manvantara* and there are fourteen *manvantaras* in one day of Brahmā. 7 This is the seventh *manvantara*, named Vaivasvata. Twenty-seven four-age periods are within it. 8 Twenty-eight four-age periods ago, at the end of the Dvāpara [age], Kṛṣṇa appeared within his companions in Vraja.

9 *Dāsya, sakhya, vātsalya, śṛṅgāra*—these are the four *rasas*; how much do the *bhaktas* of these four *bhāvas* win over Kṛṣṇa. 10 With servant, friend, father and mother, or lover, Kṛṣṇa played in Vraja, absorbed in *prema*. 11 Having played as he wished, Kṛṣṇa disappeared and having disappeared he thought to himself—12 "For a long time I have not given the gift of *prema-bhakti*. Without *bhakti* the world has no stability. 13 In all the world they have *vidhi-bhakti* for me. [But] in *vidhi-bhakti* there is no power to gain the *bhāva* of Vraja. 14 All the world is involved in knowledge of my divinity. But my desire is for *prema*, not for this inert divinity. 15 They who worship in *vidhi*, through knowledge of my divinity, go to

4. See commentary on v. 5 and v. 6 below. There are two types of *vihāra* or *līlā*: *prakaṭa*, manifest or apparent (on the earth), and *aprakaṭa*, unmanifest or unapparent. Kṛṣṇa, in the eternal Vṛndāvana, is carrying on *aprakaṭa-līlā* eternally, and once in every day of Brahmā this *līlā* is manifested in finite form in the material world, without however affecting the pure divinity of the *līlā*, which is *svarūpa* and therefore beyond all touch of *māyā*. The last *prakaṭa-līlā* was that related in the *BhP*.

5. The four ages together (*catur-yuga*) are one *divya-yuga*; seventy-one of each of the four ages makes a *manvantara*, and fourteen *manvantaras* make a day of Brahmā; thus in a day of Brahmā are 994 of each of the four ages. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 1.3.14, has a thousand of each of the ages making up a day of Brahmā. In this way, one day of Brahmā is 4,294,080,000 human years, or, according to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, 4,320,000,000 human years.

7. In each day of Brahmā there are fourteen Manus: Svāyambhuva, Svārociṣa, Uttama, Tāmasa, Raivata, Cākṣūṣa, Vaivasvata, Sāvarṇi, Dakṣasāvarṇi, Brahmasāvarṇi, Dharmasāvarṇi, Rudrasāvarṇi, Devasāvarṇi, and Indrasāvarṇi. We are in the seventh of these, Vaivasvata.

9. See 2.19.157-59 and 2.23.26-44 and their commentaries; for the associated *bhāvas*, see the index.

11. This thought extends from v. 12 to v. 21.

13. *Vidhi-bhakti* refers to the injuctions of the *śāstras* and other rituals. See *PHM*, 186-192. It is only by *rāgānugā-bhakti*, absolute love and devotion, lit., a devotion which follows passion, that one can gain Kṛṣṇa in Vraja.

14. Kṛṣṇa's preference here is for passionate worship directed toward his *mādhurya* (sweet) nature, not for the awe and reverence, directed toward his *aiśvarya* (lordly or splendorous) nature, with which the divine is usually approached.

15. Rūpa's *BhRS* 1.4.8, 10; Sanātana's *Bṛhadbhāgavatāmṛta* 2.4.132. Vaikuṇṭha here means a place in Paravyoma. The four kinds of *mukti*, release, are detailed in v. 16. This is obviously a lesser end than direct relationship with Kṛṣṇa in Vraja.

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Vaikuṇṭha, having gained the four kinds of *mukti*: 16 *sārṣṭi*, *sārūpya*, *sāmīpya*, and *sālokya*; *bhaktas* do not look for *sāyujya*, in which is unity with *brahma*. 17 I shall establish *nāma-saṃkīrtana* as the *yuga-dharma*, and by *bhakti* of the four *bhāvas* I shall cause the earth to dance. 18 I myself shall accept the *bhāva* of a *bhakta*; I myself shall practice *bhakti* and shall teach it to others [by that means]. 19 If I do not do it myself the *dharma* will not be established. This conclusion is sung in the *Bhagavad Gītā*:

Śloka 2a. *Bhagavad Gītā* 4.8:
For the protection of the saints, destruction of evil-doers, and the establishment of *dharma*, I am incarnated from age to age.

Śloka 3. *Bhagavad Gītā* 3.24:
If I did not act, this whole world would be ruined. And I would cause class-confusion and destroy my people.

Śloka 4. *Bhagavad Gītā* 3.21:
Whatever better men do, others try to do. That which he does is standard authority for other people to follow.

16. Sārṣṭi: taking on the divine characteristics of the retinue of the *svarūpa*; *sārūpya*: taking on a form like that of the *svarūpa*, i.e., if one is a worshiper of Nārāyaṇa, having four arms, as does Nārāyaṇa; *sāmīpya*: situated nearby the *svarūpa*; *sālokya*: living in the same place with the *svarūpa*. *Sāyujya* or unity with the impersonal *brahma* is to be shunned, and left as an end to lesser men such as the *jñāna-mārgīs*. As the Śākta Rāmprasād Sen said, "I like the taste of sugar, but I have no desire to become sugar." In other words, giving Kṛṣṇa joy through worship, and gaining joy from Kṛṣṇa's joy, is the end of man; this is impossible, if one is identical with the object of worship. The term *mukti* implies here that these four states, while lesser, are permanent states of release. See also 1.4.*śl.*36-37; 2.6.239, *śl.* 23; 2.9.*śl.*24; 2.19.*śl.*24; 3.3.*śl.*12.

17. The chanting of the name of Kṛṣṇa in pure *prema* is the way which is effective in the Kali age. It seems paradoxical, but according to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and other texts, the more degenerate the age the easier to attain is release. The four *bhāvas* are of course *dāsya*, *sakhya*, *vātsalya*, and *śṛṅgāra* or *mādhurya*. The fifth, *śānta*, is not considered a *bhāva*, and is more appropriate to *vidhi-bhakta* than to the efficacious *rāgānugā*.

18. I.e., he will become Caitanya, who is thus the *bhakta*, Rādhā, and fully Kṛṣṇa, all three. [This is a significant feature of Caitanya's divinity in that he provides for the devotee not only the model of devotion and the object of that devotion, but the means for attaining it, i.e., *nāma-saṃkīrtana*. TKS]

Śloka 2a. Rādhāgovinda Nātha has misnumbered the *ślokas*, so this *śloka* is designated 2a to facilitate cross-referencing the remaining *ślokas*.

Śloka 4. See 2.17.*śl.*10.

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20 The *yuga-dharma* cannot be established through [my] *aṃśa*; except for me no others are able to give the *prema* of Vraja.

Śloka 5. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta, pūrva khaṇḍa* 5.37:
Of the lotus-naveled one, there are many *avatāras* in many ways grace-bestowing. But apart from Kṛṣṇa is anyone else the giver of the gift of *prema* even to creepers?

21 So I myself, together with my *bhaktas*, shall make *avatāra* in many playful ways on the earth."

22 So thinking, in the first part of one evening during the Kali age, he was incarnated, Kṛṣṇa himself, in Nadīyā. 23 His *avatāra* was Caitanya the Lion in Navadvīpa, with the neck of a lion, the power and courage of a lion, the roar of a lion. 24 May that lion live in caves of the hearts of [all] creatures and his roar drive away the elephant of sin. 25 In the first *līlā* his name was "Viśvambhara." He filled the people of the earth with *bhakti-rasa*, and captured them. 26 The meaning of the root "*bhṛ*" is "supporting, protecting" and so he supported and protected the three worlds by *prema*. 27 In the final *līlā* he held the name Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya and in causing all the world to know Śrī Kṛṣṇa he blessed it. 28 The sage Garga knew his *yuga-avatāra*, and demonstrated this at the name-giving ceremony of Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 6. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.8.13:
From age to age, there are three colors of him who embodies himself: white, red, and yellow. Now he has become black.

20. [*Aṃśa* is only a part of Kṛṣṇa, and incapable of inaugurating a new *yuga-dharma*. Only Kṛṣṇa himself (i.e., *svayaṃ bhagavān*) can take on this charge, here to introduce the *yuga-dharma* of *nāma-saṃkīrtana* mentioned above. TKS].

Śloka 5. See 3.7.*śl.*3.

26. The name Viśvambhara is *viśva* and the root "*bhṛ*." *Viśva* meaning the world or universe, and according to Rādhāgovinda Nātha, the root "*bhṛ*" meaning to fill, also to protect and comfort; thus Viśvambhara is one who protects the world.

28. Garga-mahāśaya was the name of the family *purohita* of Vāsudeva; learned in astrology, he came to Gokula at the wish of Vāsudeva and performed the naming ceremony of Śrī Kṛṣṇa; Kṛṣṇadāsa is interpreting the *śloka* which follows, the one Garga used at the ceremony, as foretelling the coming of the golden-colored Kṛṣṇa, i.e. Caitanya.

Śloka 6. Kṛṣṇa: "black." See also 2.6.*śl.*3; 2.20.*śl.*48.

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29 White, red, and yellow colors—these three lusters the lord holds in the Satya, Tretā and Kali ages. 30 At that time, in Dvāpara, he was dark-colored. This is the inner-meaning of all the *śāstras*, *āgamas* and *purāṇas*.

Śloka 7. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.5.27:
In the Dvāpara [age], Bhagavān, of dark color, wears yellow clothing and bears his own weapons, characterized by signs like the *śrīvatsa* curl, and by certain marks of his body.

31 The *yuga-dharma* of the Kali age is propagation of the name. For that [has come] the yellow colored Caitanya-*avatāra*. 32 With a luster like molten gold, a colossal body—the depth of the sound of his voice conquers that of the new cloud. 33 By the measure of his own arms, he is four arms high; he is famous as a *mahāpuruṣa*. 34 His name is Nyagrodhaparimaṇḍala; having a body the girth of a banyan tree is Caitanya, the receptacle of qualities. 35 His arms hang down to his knees, his eyes are like lotuses, his nose conquers the flower of the sesame, his face is like the moon. 36 He is of peaceful mind, having conquered his senses, of devoted steadiness in Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*, full of love toward his *bhaktas*, of good character, gentle, and treating all creatures alike. 37 He wears sandalwood armlets and bracelets, and ornaments of sandal—he wears these things at the time of dancing [during] Kṛṣṇa *saṃkīrtana*.

29. The lord: *śrīpati*: the beautiful (*śrī*) lord (*pati*), or the lord (*pati*)of Lakṣmī (*śrī*).

30. The Vaiṣṇavas often discover the inner meaning (*marma*) of the *śāstras*; the implication is of course that all texts have two levels of meaning, the external, which is there for all to gather, and the true or inner meaning, revealed only by the Vaiṣṇava commentators.

Śloka 7. Śrīvatsa: a pattern of hair on the chest, usually a curly lock. See 2.20.*śl.*51.

32. [The 'new cloud' (*navamegha*) signifies the freshly formed thundercloud, its darkness invoking Kṛṣṇa's color, and the monsoon the season for lovers. TKS]

33. I.e., he measured, by the measure of his own arms, four arms or hands (*hatha*) tall; Rādhāgovinda Nātha says that one hand is from the tip of the middle finger of one hand to the tip of the middle finger of the other when the arms are outstretched, but that is clearly impossible. More likely the measure is from the tip of the middle finger to the elbow, an average of eighteen inches. Caitanya, then, was perhaps taller than 6'2", extremely tall for a Bengali of the period. Such great height is one of the marks of a great man, a *mahāpuruṣa*, for so Kṛṣṇa himself is called in *BhP* 10.40.4 and in many other places.

34. Nyagrodhaparimaṇḍala: with the girth of a banyan tree. [The banyan, *ficus benghalensis*, is well-known for its broad trunk and its many roots tht drop from branches, thereby anchoring the tree to extend further. This metaphor will be taken up in 1.9-12 when Kṛṣṇadāsa describes the tree of *bhakti*. TKS] Caitanya's body was said to be two hands—three feet—around.

35. Arms reaching to the knees are also marks of auspiciousness and power. [*Tila*: sesame; the *sesamum indicum* has solitary axillary flowers of yellow or pink which are delicately tapered. TKS]

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38 Taking all these qualities Vaiśampāyana Muni counted his names in *sahasranāma*. 39 There are two *līlās* of Caitanya—*ādi* and *śeṣa*. There are four special names [for him] in each of the two *līlās*.

Śloka 8. *Mahābhārata, anuśāsana-parvan* [*dānadharma*] 127.75 [*Viṣṇu-sahasranāma-stotra*]:

Of a golden body and golden color, of the best of bodies, wearing an armlet of sandalwood, he who will take *saṃnyāsa* is tranquil, equal-minded, devoted to peace, and firmly fixed on God.

40 In the *Bhāgavata* this is expressed again. The *dharma* of the Kali age is in essence *nāma-saṃkīrtana*.

Ślokas 9-10. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.5.31-32:

9 O king of the earth! In the Dvāpara age [all people] thus praise the Īśvara of the world. Now hear how in the Kali age by [following] the precepts of the various Tantras [they worship in that way]: 10 good and wise people indeed worship [him] by sacrifice, [namely] chiefly *saṃkīrtana*, together with his followers and weapons of *aṅga* and *upāṅga*, black-colored yet light-colored in his glory.

41 Hear, O brothers! These are all the greatnesses of Caitanya. In this *śloka* the limit of his greatness is spoken. 42 He, in whose mouth the two syllables "Kṛṣṇa" always are, describes Kṛṣṇa to his own joy. 43 These two meanings are shown in the word "Kṛṣṇa-*varṇa*"—except for "Kṛṣṇa" no other [word] comes from his mouth. 44 If anyone calls him "Kṛṣṇa-colored" [or says] the syllables "Kṛṣṇa," by

38. The reference is to an episode in the *Mahābhārata* in which Vaiśampāyana Muni recites the thousand names of Viṣṇu; Kṛṣṇadāsa's contention is that he was reciting the qualities of Caitanya. *Sahasranāma*: thousand names.

39. Among the thousand names, eight were special; four of these apply to the *ādi līlā*, i.e., the first half of his life, and four to the *śeṣa līlā*, i.e., the second half. The eight are given in the following *śloka*.

Śloka 8. See 2.6.*śl.*5; 2.10.*śl.*5.

Śloka 10. See also 2.6.*śl.*4; 2.11.*śl.*10; 2.20.*śl.*53; 3.20.*śl.*2.

42. The couplet is a comment on the phrase Kṛṣṇa-*varṇa* in the previous *śloka*; *varṇa* means both "color" and "syllable," and Kṛṣṇadāsa takes advantage of the pun.

44. The meaning of the line is based on the Sanskrit of the *śloka*: the phrase is *tviṣākṛṣṇa*, and since the final vowel of *tviṣā* is long, the following word is ambiguous: it can be read either *kṛṣṇa*, "dark colored" or *akṛṣṇa*, "not dark colored," thus meaning either Kṛṣṇa himself or Caitanya, whose complexion was golden.

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the next adjective he refutes that. 45 For in the luster of his body he is non-Kṛṣṇa colored. And by "*akṛṣṇavarṇa*" is meant "light colored."

Śloka 11. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Stavamālā, caitanyāṣṭaka* 2.1:

May that God in the form of Caitanya have the greatest mercy for you whom the wise in the Kali age clearly worship as Kṛṣṇa although his body is not black because of his complexion's high translucency, and who is to be worshiped by those who observe the complete fourth stage of life, with sacrifices consisting of *saṃkīrtana*.

46 In him is manifest the beauty of molten gold, the radiance of which destroys the profound darkness of ignorance. 47 For destroying sin-laden darkness of creatures, he holds many weapons, called *aṅga* and *upāṅga*. 48 That which opposes *bhakti* is action—*karma*, whether it be good or bad. These have the same name: "*kalmaṣa*"—very great darkness. 49 Raising his arms and saying "Hari" he looks with glance full of *prema*. Thus does he conquer *kalmaṣa*, floating in [a sea of] *prema*.

Śloka 12. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Stavamālā, caitanyāṣṭaka* 2.8:

Whose bright smile takes away universally the misery of all the people of the world, whose words blossom into blessings, touching whose feet there is no man who fails to gain the sea of *prema*—may that Caitanyadeva spread his mercy lavishly to us all.

45. [Light-colored is *a-kṛṣṇa-varṇa*, but literally "not-dark/black colored"; the text gives *pīta* (yellow/saffron color) as the synonym of *akṛṣṇavarṇa*, which appears to be a theological statement about Caitanya's color matching Rādhā's. TKS]

Śloka 11. The four *āśramas* or stages are *brahmacarya*: "student"; *gārhasthya*: "householder"; *vānaprastha*: "forest-dweller"; and *saṃnyāsa*: "mendicant." Caitanya is frequently called "crest-jewel of *saṃnyāsins*."

47. Or "*aṅga, upāṅga*, and the name (of Kṛṣṇa)." The word translated as "sin" is *kalmaṣa*, which the commentator defines as "that which is offensive to *bhaktas*." Still commenting on *śloka* 9, Kṛṣṇadāsa says that Caitanya is like Nārāyaṇa, who holds the four weapons, discus, club, lotus, and conch in his hands; hands and feet are often called *aṅga*, and fingers and toes *upāṅga*. Quoting the *Krama-sandarbha* of Jīva Gosvāmin, Rādhāgovinda Nātha says that as ornaments lend luster to the limbs, so the charming fingers and toes lend luster to the limbs of Mahāprabhu.

48. Or "that which is opposed to *bhakti* is *karma, dharma*, and *adharma*." The point however is the same: *karma* which follows *dharma*, leads to release, and that is not the purpose of *bhakti*; *karma*, if it is *adharma*, it leads neither to *mukti* nor to *prema*, and that also is not the point of *bhakti*. See Rūpa's *BhRS* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.22.

49. He: Caitanya.

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50 His sin is destroyed and he gains the wealth of *prema*, who sees his beautiful face and body. 51 In other *avatāras* [he came] with enemies and armies, but the army of Caitanya Kṛṣṇa is his *aṅga* and *upāṅga*. 52 With his weapons of *aṅga* and *upāṅga* he performs his own work.

53 Now hear carefully the meaning of the word "*aṅga*." 54 The *śāstras* say that the word "*aṅga*" means "*aṃśa*." And the constituent parts of the "*aṅga*" are explained as "*upāṅga*."

Śloka 13. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.14.14:

Are you not Nārāyaṇa? You are the soul of all embodied creatures, O Lord! You are the overseer of all the world. Because you dwell in the water and in the hearts of *jīvas*, you are Nārāyaṇa. He who is Nārāyaṇa is your body; this alone is truth, not your *māyā*.

55 The meaning of this *śloka* is this: That Nārāyaṇa who is indwelling, and who lies upon the waters, he is your "*aṃśa*"—you are the root Nārāyaṇa. 56 The word "*aṅga*" means "*aṃśa*"—that is true. He is not a product of *māyā*—but is all full of *cit* and *ānanda*. 57 Advaita and Nityānanda—these are two *aṅgas* of Caitanya; and the parts of the *aṅgas* are called "*upāṅga*." 58. *aṅga* and *upāṅga*, those sharp weapons are with Prabhu, and all those weapons are to conquer evil men. 59 Nityānanda Gosvāmī is the manifest Haladhara, and Advaita Ācārya Gosvāmī is the manifest Īśvara. 60 Bringing along an army composed of Śrīvāsa and the rest of his companions, the two generals of the army wander about making *kīrtana*. 61 Slaugh-

51. I.e., with the attractiveness of his body and the *prema* of his heart he conquers, not with the weapons of Nārāyaṇa.

Śloka 13. See 1.2.*śl.*9; 1.6.*śl.*4.

56. Nārāyaṇa is called an *aṃśa* of Kṛṣṇa; he lies on the waters and dwells in the hearts of *jīvas*, but still he is not bodily (*aṅga*), not materially, touched by *māyā*.

57. Kṛṣṇadāsa now extends the proposition to include the followers and the whole *dhāma*: Advaita and Nityānanda are parts of Caitanya, as indeed are extensions of them, but as Caitanya is Kṛṣṇa, untouched by *māyā*, so are they.

59. Haladhara, "holder of the plough," is Kṛṣṇa's brother Baladeva; Īśvara here refers to Mahāviṣṇu, of whom Advaita is the *avatāra*.

61. The Bengali is *pāṣaṇḍa dalanabānā*; *bānā* is a dialectal form in West Bengal and some East Bengal dialects, meaning "do," *kara*; *dalana* can mean to "kill, drive away"; *pāṣaṇḍa*, says the *Śabdakalpadruma*, refers to those who are anti-Vedic, specifically Buddhist monks. Here, clearly, the reference is not to these, but to anti-Vaiṣṇavas. Rādhāgovinda Nātha has another interpretation of the second part of the verse: "at the war-cry of Advaita, the sin of sinners (*pāpi*), and opposition to the *śāstras* by the *pāsaṇḍis* are driven away."

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tering evil ones is Nityānanda Rāya. At the war-cry of Ācārya the evil and sinful people flee.

62 The spreader of *saṃkīrtana* is Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, and he is blessed who worships [him] with the sacrifice of *saṃkīrtana*. 63 That one is wise. Other worldly concerns are foolish. Of all sacrifices, the sacrifice of the Kṛṣṇa-name is the best. 64 A crore of horse-sacrifices is equal to but one Kṛṣṇa-name: He who says this is an evil one, and Yama punishes him. 65 In the *maṅgalācaraṇa* of the *Bhāgavata-sandarbha*, Jīva Gosvāmin explains this *śloka*.

Śloka 14. Jīva Gosvāmin's *Bhāgavata-sandarbha* 1.2:
In the Kali age, in him who is Kṛṣṇa within and Gaura without, Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, whose magnificence is manifested by his *aṅgas*, etc., we take refuge by *saṃkīrtana* and the rest.

66 In the *upapurāṇas* we hear the words of Kṛṣṇa [himself]; merciful toward Vyāsa, he speaks to him:

Śloka 15. [unidentified] *Upapurāṇa*:
O Brahman! Somewhere in the Kali age I myself, having undertaken the *saṃnyāsa-āśrama*, cause men lost in sin to embrace Hari-*bhakti*.

67 In the *Bhāgavata*, the *Bhārata-śāstra*, *āgamas*, and *purāṇas*, the appearance of the Caitanya Kṛṣṇa *avatāra* is proven. 68 You see manifest his authority, his non-human deeds, his unworldly majesty. 69 Non-*bhaktas* look but do not see [this]—as owls cannot see because of the sunshine.

Śloka 16. Yāmunācārya's *Stotraratna* 17:
Even by the most excellent actions and forms and habits, by being perfected with goodness, by powerful *śāstras*, by [the examination] of the opinions of most famous *paṇḍitas* who proclaim divinity—even by all these, people are not able to know you, being of *asura* nature.

62. Kīrtana is the sacrifice (*yajña*) of the Kali age; the verse is a little ambiguous; it could also mean "that blessed one (i.e., Caitanya) worships him (i.e., Kṛṣṇa) with the sacrifice of *saṃkīrtana*."
63. Or "others are caught in *saṃsāra*."
64. I.e., one name of Kṛṣṇa is worth far more.
65. "This *śloka*" still refers to *śloka* 10, *kṛṣṇavarṇaṃ tviṣākṛṣṇaṃ*.
Śloka 14. Gaura: golden-colored, the color of Rādhā.
Śloka 15. "Lost in sin" (*pāpahatān*) can also be "destroying their sin."

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70 Prabhu attempts in many ways to hide himself from his *bhaktas*. But still his *bhaktas* know him.

Śloka 17. Yāmunācārya's *Stotraratna* 18:
The possibility of being superior or equal to the three limitations is hidden by your *māyā*; but certain ones, single-mindedly devoted to you, remain gazing on the true form of your divinity.

71 One of *asura*-nature never recognizes Kṛṣṇa, but Kṛṣṇa is not able to hide himself from *bhaktas*.

Śloka 18. *Padma Purāṇa*:
In this world there are two kinds of created creatures—*daiva* and *asura*. The *daiva* is known as Viṣṇu-*bhakta* and the opposite is the *asura*.

72 Ācārya Gosvāmī is the *bhakta-avatāra* of Prabhu; his call was the cause of Kṛṣṇa's *avatāra*. 73 When Kṛṣṇa makes *avatāra* upon the earth, he first sends his group of elders. 74 Father, mother, *guru*, and the rest—all those to be honored, he causes first to be born upon the earth: 75 Mādhava and Īśvara Purī, Śacī, Jagannātha—and Advaita Ācārya was incarnated with them. 76 Being manifested, the Ācārya looked at all the world, [and saw] only matters of worldly concern, devoid of any hint of Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*. 77 Some in sin, some in virtue enjoyed the things of the world—but there was no hint of *bhakti* by which the ills of the world are driven away. 78 Seeing the ways of the people, the Ācārya, with compassion in his heart, thought this, "How can these people be delivered? 79 [Only] if Kṛṣṇa himself would descend as *avatāra*, and through his own actions spread *bhakti*. 80 For without the Name there is no other chance in the Kali age. [But] how then will an *avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa come in the Kali age? 81 In humility I shall worship him

Śloka 17. The three conditions or limitations are space, time, and measure. See 3.3.*śl*.8.

71. *Asura-svabhāva* is defined by Rādhāgovinda Nātha simply as "devoid of *bhakti*." The text on which the statement is based is *BhP* 11.14.21.

72. I.e., Advaita was incarnated first, and it was his prayer that brought about the Caitanya-*avatāra*; it is only the true *bhakta* who can communicate the necessity of an *avatāra*, due to the ills of the world (*BhG* 4.8), since the *svarūpa* is by definition beyond *māyā* and therefore unaffected by it. See Introduction, sect. VII.8.

73. *Guruvarga*: elders.

75. Mādhava Purī was the *dīkṣā-guru* of Īśvara Purī, who was the *dīkṣā-guru* of Caitanya. More will be seen of them later. Śacī was Caitanya's mother, and Jagannātha Miśra his father.

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unceasingly and every day I shall pray him [to appear]. 82 To bring him, I shall spread the *kīrtana* of Kṛṣṇa, then my name 'Advaita' will be fulfilled. 83 But what [type] of prayer will Kṛṣṇa heed?" Thus thinking, a *śloka* came to his mind.

Śloka 19. Gopāla Bhaṭṭā Gosvāmin's *Haribhaktivilāsa* 11.110 [quoting *Gautamīya Tantra*]:

For a mere single *tulasī* leaf, a handful of water, he who is loving toward his *bhaktas* sells to his *bhaktas* his very self.

84 The meaning of this *śloka* the Ācārya then pondered—one gives Kṛṣṇa *tulasī* [and] water; 85 and to pay back his debt to him Kṛṣṇa thinks, "There is no wealth in my house like water and *tulasī*. 86 So I sell myself to pay my debt." So thinking, the Ācārya began to worship. 87 Incessantly he offered Gaṅgā water and sprouts of *tulasī*, meditating on the lotus feet of Kṛṣṇa. 88 He loudly called a summons to Kṛṣṇa, and in this way caused the *avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa. 89 This then is the immediate cause of the Caitanya-*avatāra*. Because of the desire of his *bhakta* came the bridge of *dharma* in his *avatāra*.

Śloka 20. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.9.11:

You whose ways are seen in scripture dwell in the heart-lotus which is perfected by *bhakti-yoga*, O protector of men. As a favor to the good you display whatever form they meditate upon in their minds.

90 I shall give in brief the essence of the meaning of this *śloka*—all the *avatāras* of Kṛṣṇa exist [through] the desire of his *bhaktas*. 91 The meaning of the fourth *śloka* has thus been clarified: Gaura was incarnated to manifest *prema*.

92 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

82. See 1.1.*śl.*13 and commentary.

85. I.e., "I have no wealth equal in value to *tulasī* and water . . ."

89. "Bridge of *dharma*" is defined by Rādhāgovinda Nātha in this way: *setu* is defined in the *Śabdakalpadruma* as the ridge (*āli*) between rice fields, to keep the water contained; *āli* is therefore *rakṣaka*, "one who keeps or protects"; *dharma-setu* is thus "the protector of *dharma*," once having established that *dharma* within the *jīva*. Also plausibly, a bridge is that by which one crosses over, and Caitanya is known as "he who takes across" the misery of the world the *bhakta*.

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Ādi Līlā
Chapter 4

Śloka 1.

By the grace of Śrī Caitanya, even a boy can understand the truth about him by examination of the *śāstra* of Kṛṣṇa in his Vraja-*vilāsa*.

1 Glory be to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra, and the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 The meaning of the fourth *śloka* has now been explained; hear now, O *bhaktas*, the meaning of the fifth. 3 To begin the explanation of the meaning of this root-*śloka*, it is necessary first to have an introduction. 4 The meaning of the fourth *śloka* has this as its essence: this [present] *avatāra* is to expound the Name and *prema* throughout the world. 5 This is a true cause of the *avatāra*, but it is also an external cause; hear now of the other, the internal cause. 6 In former times, when the burden of the earth became oppressive, Kṛṣṇa became incarnated—this is all told in the *śāstras*. 7 It is not for *svayaṃ bhagavān* to act to relieve the world of its burden, for Viṣṇu, the Preserver, gives protection to the world. 8 But when it was time for the *avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa, it was also the time for the relieving of the burden. 9 For when the *svayaṃ bhagavān* descends, all *avatāras* come, latent within him. 10 Thus Nārāyaṇa, the four *vyūhas*, the fish, and all other *avatāras*, the *yuga* and *manvantara avatāras*, 11 all came and descended in the body of Kṛṣṇa. In this way

7. I.e., the *svarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa is beyond *māyā*; Viṣṇu, however, the *dugdābdhiśayī* Nārāyaṇa, is involved with *māyā*, and therefore knows when protection is necessary.

8. When it was time for Viṣṇu to take an *avatāra*, in order to relieve the world of its burden, Kṛṣṇa also incarnated; and when Kṛṣṇa descended, all other *avatāras* came, because Kṛṣṇa is container of *avatāras* (v. 9).

10-11. Nārāyaṇa: the lord of Paravyoma; the *caturvyūha*: Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha.

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did Kṛṣṇa, *svayaṃ bhagavān*, descend. 12 Therefore Viṣṇu was at that time in the body of Kṛṣṇa, and it was Kṛṣṇa by means of Viṣṇu, who conquered the *asuras*. 13 But this killing of demons was a secondary work; I will now tell you what the real purpose of this *avatāra* was.

14 The purpose of this *avatāra* was to taste the sweetness of the juice of *prema-rasa*, and to propagate among people the *bhakti* of the *rāga-mārga*. 15 Kṛṣṇa, the crest-jewel of *rasikas*, the epitome of mercy and grace, [descended] in the desire to be the source of these two things. 16 "All the world is caught up in [the desire] to know my majesty; but I am not satisfied with *prema* toward my lifeless majesty. 17 When one considers me as Īśvara and himself as insignificant, I am not subject to control by his *prema*. 18 For in whatever *bhāva* a *bhakta* worships me, I reciprocate to him in that same *bhāva*—for this is my nature.

Śloka 2. *Bhagavad Gītā* 4.11:
In whatever way one worships me, I honor him in that same way, for in all their various ways men do follow my path, Pārtha.

19 [Saying] 'My son, my friend, the lord of my heart'—he who has pure *bhakti* toward me in these *bhāvas*, 20 who feels himself superior, equal, or inferior to me, I am dependent upon those in all these *bhāvas*.

12. The slaying of these *asuras* or demonic figures, such as Kṛṣṇa's killing of Kaṃsa and Pūtanā, is a primary function of many of the *avatāras* who strive to reestablish dharmic order on earth.

14. I.e., as a *bhakta* (Caitanya), to taste the delight which the worshiper receives from Kṛṣṇa because of his worship, as Rādhā (Caitanya) and as Kṛṣṇa (Caitanya), to taste the delight of love, and to preach the way of pure love (*rāga-mārga*).

16. Aiśvarya: majesty. [The distinction between the *svayaṃ bhagavān*'s two alternate and complementary natures of *aiśvarya* (majesty) and *mādhurya* (sweetness) is of great concern to Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava theologians generally and Kṛṣṇadāsa specifically, who discusses its ramifications in the following verses. The distinction is the differentiating factor between the two fundamental styles of Gaṇḍīya Vaiṣṇava worship: respectively, *vaidhī-bhakti*, a somewhat mechanical and often elementary form of devotional practice (*sādhanā*), based on Vedic injunction, and *rāgānugā-bhakti* (here the *rāga-mārga*), a spontaneous and passionate love for Kṛṣṇa the paramour of Vraja, a practice which eventually evolved into a sophisticated and esoteric yogic style *sādhanā*. The latter is of course the preferred form of Kṛṣṇadāsa. TKS]

17. I.e., "if one considers me as the high god, there can be no love, but only awe and reverence; this is not satisfying, for only if the worshiper considers himself worthy is a love relationship possible."

Śloka 2. The Vaiṣṇava interpretation of this is that people are of different natures, and therefore worship differently; what must however be common to all worshipers is love, be it friend for friend, parent for child, or lover for lover. The other interpretation possible, of course, also not offensive to the Vaiṣṇavas, is that the *jñāna-mārgin* is rewarded with gaining of *brahma*, the *yogin* with *paramātmā*, etc. See 1.4.*śl.*28; 2.8.*śl.*21.

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Śloka 3. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.82.44:
Bhakti alone to me leads to immortality for all beings. It is most fortunate that love toward me has been born in you, gaining my self.

21 Those who bind themselves to me as mothers, as if I were their son, and in knowledge of my dependency bring me up with care and protect me, 22 or as friends in pure friendship raise me up onto their shoulders and say, 'You are no great one. You are the same as I,' 23 or as lovers, though they reproach and blame me, steal my mind away from those who sing the praise of the Vedas; 24 it is for the sake of these pure *bhaktas* that I have descended, and it is for their sake that I shall perform all kinds of wonderful activities. 25 Those kinds of *līlā* which are not known even in Vaikuṇṭha I shall perform, and in these will be my wonder. 26 In relation to myself, I shall be in the *bhāva* of the lover of the *gopīs*, and *yoga-māyā* will cause this by her own power. 27 But I will not know that it is [only] *yoga-māyā*, nor will the *gopīs* know; the forms and qualities of each of us will steal eternally the minds of the others. 28 Abandoning *dharma*, each will unite with the other

Śloka 3. See 2.8.*śl*.20; 2.13.*śl*.8.

23. Or "from following vedic custom." *Vedastuti*: Singing the praise of the Vedas. This would appear to refer to those who follow the *vaidhī-bhakti* (see commentary v. 16) in praise of Kṛṣṇa in his *aiśvarya* dimension; or perhaps to those who follow the Vedic customs, i.e., accepted social propriety. This latter position, although it requires an interpretation a bit unusual for the structure of the Bengali, implies that Kṛṣṇa steals the minds and hearts of the *gopīs* away from accepted behavior, the reason of course being that while one is acting from prescription and proscription, there is no room for profound love to exist. Therefore custom must be broken.

24. There is a real question here; Jīva Gosvāmin (*Kṛṣṇa-sandarbha*, 174-180) clearly says that the *bhaktas* who were involved in the *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa in its non-manifest form in the eternal Vṛndāvana also accompany Kṛṣṇa on earth, in his manifest *līlā*. What then is the purpose of the *avatāra*? Kṛṣṇa and his retinue are already experiencing, in eternal form, all that could be experienced in the love-relationship. The answer, though weak, is in the next verse: to have various kinds of wonderful *līlā*, presumably not possible in the unmanifest form. Because there is no satisfactory solution, the question has been the keystone of a great deal of controversy, including the vexed *svakīyā-parakīyā* argument (see *PHM*, 210-221).

26. *Upapati*: "lover," a man who is an illicit lover of a woman (see Rūpa's *UNM* [*nāyakabheda-prakaraṇa*] 1.17. The woman can be either married or unmarried, though of course the illicit quality of the union is greater if she has a husband. The couplet seems to imply that the *gopīs* will consider Kṛṣṇa as *upapati*, but that this will be his power of *māyā*; this would indeed be different from the situation in the heavenly Vṛndāvana, where, according to the orthodox interpretation at least, the *gopīs* are considered extensions of Kṛṣṇa himself, his *dhāma*, and therefore by definition his own (*svakīyā*).

27. I.e., if they were aware that it was the *māyā*-power of Kṛṣṇa which was causing the situation, the experience itself would be valueless. It is possible, in this unique theology, to consider that Kṛṣṇa does not know what his *māyā* is doing, for *māyā-śakti* is extraneous to the *svarūpa*.

28. *Dharma* of course refers to what is proper for the *gopīs* as women, as married women, as

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in a passion of love; we shall be always in union, but never in union: this is the miracle of divinity. 29 I shall taste the essence of all *rasa*, and through this I shall confer my grace upon all my *bhaktas*. 30 And learning of the stainless *rāga* of Vraja, all *bhaktas* will worship in the *rāga-mārga*, abandoning *dharma* and *karma*."

Śloka 4. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.33.36:
In his mercy to his *bhaktas*, he has assumed a human body; and when they hear of such *līlās*, they should become devoted to him.

31 The verb "*bhavet*" is an optative of injunction, and has this meaning: that this is certainly a duty, and that doing otherwise would be contrary to regulation.

32 This desire, then, is the cause of the manifestation of Kṛṣṇa; the accompanying cause is the defeat of the *asuras*. 33 And in this way is Caitanya Kṛṣṇa the *pūrṇa bhagavān*—the establishment of the *yuga-dharma* is not his task. 34 [Kṛṣṇa] had *avatāra* first in his mind; the time appropriate for the establishment of the *yuga-dharma* was coincidental with this. 35 There were two reasons why he descended with his *bhaktas*—to taste *prema* within himself, and [to promulgate] *nāma-saṃkīrtana*. 36 He carried the *saṃkīrtana* even to the *caṇḍālas*, and in this way wove and threaded a garland of *nāma* and *prema* to be worn throughout the world. 37 "For this reason I myself take on a *bhakta-bhāva*, and preach and practice *bhakti*."

38 *Dāsya*, *sakhya*, *vātsalya*, and *śṛṅgāra*—there are four *bhāvas*, receptacles of the four types of *bhaktas*, 39 and each [*bhakta*] considers that his own *bhāva* is the best of all; in his own *bhāva* he tastes the happiness of Kṛṣṇa. 40 But when, being impartial, one judges the *bhāvas*, he finds that in *śṛṅgāra* lies the greatest sweetness of all *rasas*.

daughters, etc. They give up everything in order to unite with Kṛṣṇa. The second part of the verse can have two interpretations: (a) that the *gopīs* in the unmanifest *līlā* are *svakīyā*, belonging to Kṛṣṇa, so that there can never be union in the *parakīyā-bhāva*; or more likely, (b) that since each moment of the eternal *līlā* is also eternal, both union and separation, both moments of the *līlā* as it is described, are also eternal.

31. If a verb indicates necessity or prescription, then the optative suffix is used; '*bhavet*,' Kṛṣṇadāsa says, means "has to be done," "have to become devoted."

36. Caṇḍāla: a low caste or outcaste people. Rādhāgovinda Nātha says in his commentary that *saṃkīrtana* was spread up to (but not including, presumably) the *caṇḍālas*; but the text is clear.

37. The speaker is Kṛṣṇa.

38. Ādhāra: receptacle, container.

39. The term "taste" (*āsvādana*) will be recurring throughout the text. It actually does mean "taste" or "savor." *Rasa*, the highest religious and esthetic experience, also means "juice."

40. Taṭasthā haiyā: "being impartial," "being off to one side."

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Śloka 5. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*dakṣiṇa-vibhāga, sthāyibhāva-laharī*] 2.5.38:

Gradually there appears as a residue a certain sweet love for something which consists in the expansion of a special *rasa*.

41 Thus I call its name *madhura-rasa*; of this *rasa* there are two kinds, the *svakīyā* and *parakīyā bhāvas*.

42 The greatest joy of *rasa* is that of the *parakīyā-bhāva*, but there can be no occurrence of this anywhere except in Vraja. 43 This *bhāva* of the women of Vraja is boundless, and among these women the epitome of this *bhāva* is in Śrī Rādhā. 44 This mature, stainless *bhāva* is the best of all *prema*, and the source of tasting the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa. 45 [For this reason] Śrī Hari as Gaurāṅga has taken that *bhāva* unto himself, that in it he might fulfill his own desires.

Śloka 6. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Stavamālā, caitanyāṣṭaka* 1.2:

The inaccessible fortress of the sovereign gods, the single great focus of the Upaniṣads, the ultimate sweetness of the crowds prostrated at his feet, and treasure of all the *munis*, the fulfillment of the love of all the lotus-eyed *gopīs*—he is Caitanya. Will he come again across the path of my eyes?

Śloka 7. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Stavamālā, caitanyāṣṭaka* 2.3:

May God in the form of Caitanya lavish his mercy on us, he who, curious to enjoy a certain shoreless sweetness of some group of loving men, after having praised the *rasa*, concealed his own luster while manifesting the other's splendor.

46 To take upon himself that *bhāva* and to establish that *dharma*, is the basic cause, as I have described by the preceding *śloka*.

47 Now hear the description of the assumption of that *bhāva*. Regarding it I shall explain the fifth *śloka*. 48 I have properly introduced the fifth *śloka*; now I shall tell the meaning of the verse.

Śloka 5. See 2.8.*śl.*19.

41. See commentary above on vv. 24, 26, 28.

42. Vraja here means the manifest Vraja; in the eternal Vraja, the relationship is *svakīyā*, as the *gopīs* are intrinsic to Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 6. Upaniṣad seems here to refer to the Vaiṣṇava *śāstras*.

Śloka 7. "In the form of Caitanya"—the form of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa united in Caitanya, who is Rādhā externally, with the full divinity of Kṛṣṇa. See 1.4.*śl.*47.

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Śloka 8. Svarūpa Dāmodara's *Kaḍacā*:

Rādhā is the manifested form of pure love for Kṛṣṇa; she is his *hlādinī-śakti*. Because of this they had previously assumed different bodies on earth, although really one, but now they have become manifest under the name of Caitanya in order to attain to non-duality and oneness: I praise the true form of Kṛṣṇa enveloped in the radiance of the *bhāva* of Rādhā.

49 Thus, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa were one soul, but contained in two bodies; in their play with one another, they taste *rasa*. 50 These two become one—Caitanya Gosvāmī. In order to taste *rasa* [more fully], the two became one. 51 I have described all this before; from it, the greatness of Gaura is known.

52 Rādhā is the highest development of love for Kṛṣṇa; she is his *svarūpa-śakti*, called *hlādinī*. 53 *Hlādinī* causes Kṛṣṇa to taste bliss. By *hlādinī* he nourishes his *bhaktas*. 54 The *svarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa is made of *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*; his one *cit-śakti* also has three forms: 55 the *ānanda*-part is *hlādinī*, the *sat*-part is *sandhinī*, and the *cit*-part is *saṃvit*, which is known as *jñāna*.

Śloka 9. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 1.12.69:

Hlādinī, *sandhinī*, and *saṃvit* all exist as one in you, who are the foundation of all; but gladness or pain do not exist mixed in you, for you are devoid of all material qualities.

Śloka 8. This *śloka* is the same as 1.1.*śl.*5. [The attribution to Svarūpa Dāmodara's *Kaḍacā* is open to question for several reasons: first, the text appears no longer to exist; second, the attributions of *ślokas* in the MSS of the *CC* routinely indicate the author and/or title of the work, but in this case, none of the MSS examined included such an attribution. Compare this with 1.4.*śl.*44 and commentary and especially with the commentary on 1.7.*śl.*2. (See Introduction, Sect. VI.1.) TKS]

49-50. Ātmā: soul, self; technically the *ātman* is not "soul" in the Western sense of that word, because it is uncreated as part of the universal *brahma*, and here is Kṛṣṇa himself. The translation is literal: *rādhākṛṣṇa eka ātmā dui deha dhari / anyonye vilāse rasa āsvādana kari // sei dui eka eve caitanya gosāñi / rasa āsvādite dōhe hailā eka ṭhāi //*.

53. I.e., *hlādinī-śakti* works both ways: it is the power by which Kṛṣṇa experiences *ānanda*, and it is the power by which Kṛṣṇa causes the *bhaktas* to experience *ānanda*. For when by worship the *bhakta* causes Kṛṣṇa pleasure, he receives pleasure in return, thereby causing Kṛṣṇa to receive more pleasure, etc.

Śloka 9. The problem posed by the *śloka* is in the phrase *tvayokā sarvvasaṃsthitou*: all exist as one in you. The three *svarūpa-śaktis* exist only in *bhagavān*, and, according to Śrīdhara Svāmin, do not exist in *jīvas*; but there are in the material *jīva* three *śaktis*, *sāttvikī*, *tāmasikī*, and *rājasikī*, activating the three *guṇas*. It is clear that the *māyika* joy which the *jīva* gets in the material world is a product of *māyika śakti*, and not of the *hlādinī-śakti* of the *bhagavān*, and so forth. The problem is: if the *sāttvikī* and other *śaktis* are not in *bhagavān*, how can they be declared to "exist" (*saṃsthita*) in *bhagavān*? The answer is that although he does reside in the *sāttvika* and the other *śaktis*, they are not, like *hlādinī* and the others, his *svarūpa-śaktis*, they, like *māyā*, are external to him.

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56 An *aṃśa* of the essence of *sandhinī* is called pure *sattva*, and the reality of Bhagavān has his refuge in this; 57 and his place, bed, home, father and mother—all these are aspects of pure *sattva*.

Śloka 10. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 4.3.23:
In as much as pure *sattva* is called Vasudeva, the person revealed in this *sattva* is Bhagavān Vāsudeva. I obey Adhokṣaja in my thoughts.

58 Knowledge of the godhead of Kṛṣṇa is the essence of *saṃvit*; knowledge of *brahma*, etc., all are dependent upon it. 59 The essence of *hlādinī* is *prema*; the essence of *prema* is *bhāva*; the highest state of *bhāva* is called *mahābhāva*. 60 The true form of *mahābhāva* is Rādhā Ṭhākurāṇī, the treasure-house of all qualities, the crest-jewel among all the lovers of Kṛṣṇa.

Rādhāgovinda Nātha goes on: the pure (*śuddha*) *jīva* is a particle of the *cit* of *bhagavān*, while *bhagavān* himself is all-pervading *cit*. Jīva, in his *Paramātmā-sandarbha* 31, has written that the *jīva* is a part of Kṛṣṇa, through his *jīva-śakti*, but not a part of the pure (*śuddha*) Kṛṣṇa, joined to the *svarūpa-śakti*; *jīva-śakti* is *taṭasthā*, neither internal nor external. See 2.6.*śl*.11; 2.8.*śl*.37.

56. Thus, "pure" *sattva* is not the *sattva* of the material quality (*guṇa*), but is a function of the *svarūpa-śakti*, entirely apart from both *māyā* and *jīva*. Rādhāgovinda Nātha says: the name of the ultimate development of the essence-part of *sandhinī* is *śuddha-sattva*. But in the commentary on v. 55, it was shown by an example from the *Paramātmā-sandarbha* that *hlādinī*, *sandhinī*, and *saṃvit* are called *śuddha-sattva*; when manifestation of *sandhinī-śakti* in this *śuddha-sattva* is primary, then it is called *ādhāra-śakti*, and from *ādhāra-śakti* the *dhāma* of *bhagavān* and the rest are manifested, and in that *dhāma*, Bhagavān has his refuge or is established. So the proper intrepretation of this verse is: that *śuddha-sattva* in which the being of Bhagavān has his refuge is the *aṃśa*-essence of *sandhinī*; or, in that *śuddha-sattva* is the manifestation of *sandhinī-śakti* primary.

57. Mother, father, and the rest are all developments of the *ādhāra-śakti* of Bhagavān; they are receptacles (*ādhāra*) of him.

Śloka 10. Rādhāgovinda Nātha interprets the *śloka* as meaning: *vasu*: "in which is manifested"; *deva*: "full of light"; *vasudeva*: a dwelling-place full of light, for, as has been said, *śuddha-sattva* is beyond *māyā*, beyond the material, and thus not differentiable by the senses.

58. If one is able to know Kṛṣṇa as *svayaṃ bhagavān*, knowledge of *brahma* and *paramātmā* follow naturally upon it.

59. Based on Jīva Gosvāmin's *Kṛṣṇa-sandarbha* 188. Rādhāgovinda Nātha comments on *prema* in this way: it is desire for the satisfaction of the senses of Kṛṣṇa, but it is a matter of the mind, the *śuddha-sattva*, and thus not a desire of any material sort. . . . When, by the grace of the *bhagavat*, because of the power or influence of worship, all the uncleanness of the mind is driven away, then *śuddha-sattva* appears in the mind, the *hlādinī-śakti* emitted by Kṛṣṇa finds a place in the mind of the *bhakta*, and *śuddha-sattva dharma* results. It is as when iron is heated in the fire, and when sufficiently heated takes on some of the qualities of fire and functions as fire.

"Essence," *sāra*, is explained as "highest development"; and as will be seen, as *prema* toward Kṛṣṇa deepens, it passes through successive stages called *sneha*, *māna*, *praṇaya*, *rāga*, *anurāga*, culminating in *bhāva*. As Kṛṣṇadāsa himself will point out (2.23.34-35), *bhāva* and *mahābhāva* are possible only in *madhura* or *śṛṅgāra*, rarely in *sakhya*, and never in *dāsya* or *vātsalya*.

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Śloka 11. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* [*śrīrādhā-prakaraṇa*] 4.3:
Between the two of them, Rādhā is superior in every way; her nature is *mahābhāva*, and she surpasses all in qualities.

61 Her mind, her senses, her body, all are made up of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*; she is the *svarūpa-śakti* of Kṛṣṇa, and the companion of his pleasure.

Śloka 12. *Brahma Saṃhitā* 5.47:
I bow to Govinda the *ādi-puruṣa*, who, as the soul of all dwells in Goloka in his own true form, with those parts, inspired by *rasa* consisting of bliss and consciousness.

62 Hear the description of how [his consorts] cause Kṛṣṇa to taste *rasa*, and how they assist him in this sport. 63 We see that the consorts of Kṛṣṇa are of three kinds; one [kind] is the *lakṣmīs*, the second like the *mahiṣīs* in Pura, 64 and [the third], the epitome of all these consorts, the beautiful women of Vraja. 65 And all these consorts emanate from Rādhikā. 66 Just as the *avatāras* emanate from Kṛṣṇa, the source of all *avatāras*, so too from Rādhā are her constituent parts manifest as companions. 67 The *lakṣmīs* are partial manifestations of her glory; the *mahiṣīs* are the manifestations of the true form of her glory. 68 The Vrajadevīs are of various natures and forms; they are her *kāyavyūha* forms and causes of her *rasa*.

Śloka 11. The two of them: Rādhā and Candrāvalī, another of the *gopīs*. See 2.8.*śl.*38.

61. Made up of: the interpretation of the couplet depends upon the term "*bhāvita*," which can mean: (a) "her mind etc., are born from or made up of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*"; or (b) "are transformed by," as water is transformed, or altered, by the addition of camphor. The example Rādhāgovinda Nātha uses is that of iron in fire: the iron takes on certain of the characteristics of fire, and in those characteristics shows no differences from fire; so the body, mind, and senses can be transformed by *prema*. The former interpretation would however seem to fit the context better. "Pleasure" is *krīḍā*, "games." As the *hlādinī-śakti* of Kṛṣṇa, she can do no other.

Śloka 12. See 2.8.*śl.*39.

63. Pura: Dvāraka and Mathurā. The queens (*mahiṣī*) of Kṛṣṇa in Dvāraka are Rukminī and the others.

64-65. There is some confusion at this point in the Rādhāgovinda Nātha text. V. 64 and v. 65 are both given as singlets; the MSS do not mark them so, rather reading the two together as a single *payāra*.

65. See *Nārada-pañcarātra* 2.3.55, in which she is identified in this way.

66. "Companions," i.e., all the consorts of Kṛṣṇa noted above. See *Padma Purāṇa* 46.13-17. Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out that in some MSS there is an extra couplet following this one, to the effect that: "The *lakṣmīs* are the partial glory of her, and the *mahiṣīs* like reflections of the moon to her." The couplet is redundant, and does not appear in the oldest MSS, such as Jhāmaṭapura.

68. See commentary on 1.1.42. The *gopīs*, though they differ in face, figure, and temperament, are all aspects or manifestations of Rādhā; and as they give pleasure to Kṛṣṇa in *līlā*, so they receive

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69 Without many consorts there is no enjoyment of *rasa*; therefore there are many manifestations of *līlā*-companions. 70 There are, in Vraja, many different kinds [of women], with many different kinds of *bhāva* and *rasa*, and they cause Kṛṣṇa to taste [*rasa*] in the *rāsa* and other *līlās*. 71 Rādhā is the causer of the bliss of Govinda, the enchanter of Govinda. She is the be-all and end-all of Govinda; she is the crest-jewel of all the consorts.

Śloka 13. *Bṛhadgautamīya Tantra*:
Rādhā is said to be *devī*, *kṛṣṇamayī*, *paradevatā*, *sarvalakṣmīmayī*, *sarvakānti*, and the highest *sanmohinī*.

72 '*Devī*' means 'she who is most brilliant,' 'she of the highest beauty,' or 'the *nagarī*, the dwelling-place of the play and worship of Kṛṣṇa.' 73 '*Kṛṣṇamayī*' is 'she whom Kṛṣṇa is both within and without'; wherever her eyes fall, there she sees Kṛṣṇa. 74 She is the true form of Kṛṣṇa, full of *prema-rasa*; as his *śakti*, she is one form with him. 75 In her worship she fulfills the desires of Kṛṣṇa; thus her name is called "Rādhikā," in the [*Bhāgavata*] *Purāṇa*.

it. And as they receive it, Rādhā receives it. There is an additional, more subtle suggestion: that *prema* is essentially unselfish, so Rādhā's pleasure grows as the pleasure of the other *gopīs* grows, because they are giving pleasure to Kṛṣṇa.

69. I.e., the *līlā* must include all possible ranges of temperament, beauty, etc., in order for *rasa* to be experienced to the full.

Śloka 13. The glosses are provided in the text of vv. 72-87. See 2.23.*śl*.23.

72. Kṛṣṇadāsa is using for his etymology the root "*div*," "sky, light, brilliance." The interpretation of the second part of the couplet depends on *nagarī*, which is literally "a woman who dwells in a city," she herself being the dwelling-place for *krīḍā* and *pūjā*. *Nagarī*, in the context of esthetics and of the *kāma-śāstra*, is also a woman who is learned, skilled, and clever, and able to understand the essence of things, especially pleasure; she is in this way also the proper abode for Kṛṣṇa, who is himself the *nāgara*.

73. The feminine suffix "*-mayī*," means both "full of" or "made of" and "surrounded by." The line has many levels of meaning. The most obvious of course is that Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are in both eternal union and eternal separation. The second is that although she is *svakīyā*, in the eternal *līlā*, the *māyā*-power of Kṛṣṇa prevents her from knowing that, in the earthly *līlā*. The third is that as she is part of the *dhāma* of Kṛṣṇa, his *svarūpa-śakti* in fact, he is within her as she is within him; but as *śakti* is an aspect of the *svarūpa*, not the full *svarūpa*, she is not identical with him.

74. Rādhāgovinda Nātha says that *śakti* and the possessor of *śakti* must be identical in form; Śrī Kṛṣṇa is *prema-rasa-maya*, "replete with *prema-rasa*," and Rādhā is "made up of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*," and there is no division between these. See also comment on v. 83.

75. The word in the *Bhāgavata* is "*ārādhita*," "worshiped or desired," and it is later speculation which makes this *gopī*, who is unnamed otherwise, into Rādhā. The *śloka* in question follows.

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Śloka 14. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.30.28:
Surely the Bhagavān Hari was worshiped (*ārādhitā*) by her so that he abandoned us and happily led her away in secret.

76 Thus she is to be worshiped by all as the highest goddess. She is the preserver of all things and the mother of the world.

77 I have explained the term "*sarva-lakṣmī*" previously. She is the abode of all the *lakṣmīs*. 78 Or "*sarva-lakṣmī*" can also be the six divine attributes of Kṛṣṇa. [Rādhā] is the *śakti* which is the abode of those, the best of all the *śaktis*. 79 In her reside all beauty and all splendor; the charm of all the *lakṣmīs* emanates from her.

80 And in the word '*kānti*' is all the desire of Kṛṣṇa; all the desires of Kṛṣṇa rest in Rādhā. 81 And Rādhā fulfills all the desires of Kṛṣṇa; this is the meaning of '*sarva-kānti*.'

82 Kṛṣṇa is the enchanter of the world—she the enchantress of him; thus she is the highest *ṭhākurāṇī* of all things. 83 Rādhā is the full *śakti*, Kṛṣṇa is the full container of *śakti*; they are two principles, but they are not divided. To this the *śāstras* are witness. 84 As musk and its scent are not divided, as fire and flame are not divided, 85 so Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are always one in true form. It is for the purpose of tasting *līlā-rasa* that they hold two forms. 86 It was to teach *prema-bhakti* that he assumed an *avatāra*, assuming both the beauty and the *bhāva* of Rādhā, 87 and he made *avatāra* in the form of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya. This is the meaning of the fifth *śloka*.

88 Before explaining the meaning of the sixth, I shall first sketch the argument. 89 Prabhu, descended, preached *saṃkīrtana*. This was the external cause [of the incarnation], which I have mentioned before. 90 But there is an internal cause of

Śloka 14. See 2.8.*śl.*25.

77. See 1.1.40 and commentary and 1.4.62-67.

78. Jīva Gosvāmin, *Prīti-sandarbha* 120, calls Rādhā "the physical form (*mūrti-vigraha*) of Kṛṣṇa, and the abode of all qualities and all greatness."

80. Rādhāgovinda Nātha bases his etymology on the root "*kām*," "desire."

83. Rādhā is described as *pūrṇa-śakti* by Baladeva in his commentary *Govinda-bhāṣya* on *Vedānta Sūtra* 2.3.45, and in his *Siddhāntaratna* 2.22. As Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out in his commentary on the verse, the *śāstras* say both things: that *śakti* is the same as and not the same as *śaktimān*. "Principle" is *vastu*, the essential building block of reality.

84. In this case, scent would be considered the *śakti*, the musk the *śaktimān*; or the flame the *śakti*, the fire *śaktimān*; or sweetness the *śakti*, and sugar the *śaktimān*. The statement is a typical statement of the principle of *bhedābheda*—simultaneous immanence and transcendance or unity and separation. Kṛṣṇa is both the taster and that which is to be tasted, both experiencing *rasa* and causing his *bhaktas* to experience the taste of *rasa*; if he is not both these things, the experience of *rasa* would not be complete.

90. Mukhyabīja: internal cause, lit., "primary seed." I.e., the other cause was not for the sake

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his *avatāra*—his own duty as *rasika-śekhara* Kṛṣṇa. 91 This is a most secret, three-fold cause, which Svarūpa Dāmodara has explained. 92 Svarūpa Gosvāmī was a very intimate friend of Prabhu; he knows all the discourse of Prabhu about these matters. 93 He says that inwardly, Prabhu was the image of the *bhāva* of Rādhā, and being in that *bhāva*, pleasure and pain welled constantly [in his heart]. 94 In his final *līlā*, he was mad with the pain of separation from Kṛṣṇa. His [last] days were full of delusions, and he raved like a madman. 95 Prabhu remained day and night in that same *bhāva* of madness that Rādhā felt at the sight of Uddhava. 96 He would rave, in the night, hanging on the neck of Svarūpa; in fits of passion he would openly declare his own *bhāva*. 97 And when any *bhāva* rose up in the heart of Prabhu, Dāmodara would soothe him with *ślokas* and songs of the same *bhāva*. 98 But there is no necessity to describe all these things now. I shall describe them in detail later.

99 Formerly, in Vraja, there were three kinds of *dharmas* of Kṛṣṇa, corresponding to his three ages: *kaumāra* [childhood], *paugaṇḍa* [boyhood], and *kaiśara* [youth], which is of the most profound significance. 100 His childhood was made fruitful by the affection of his parents; his boyhood was made fruitful by the friendship of his companions. 101 And with Rādhā and the others he enjoyed the *rāsa* and other *līlās*; by these he fulfilled his desire and tasted the sweet juice of *rasa*. 102 He made fruitful his youth, desire, and indeed, the whole world, in these *līlās* of *rāsa* and the rest.

Śloka 15. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 5.13.59:

So Madhusūdhana, making fruitful the years of his youth, took his pleasure in the nights among his jewels of consorts, having dispelled all evil [from the world].

Śloka 16. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*dakṣīṇa-vibhāga, vibhāva-laharī*] 2.1.231:

With words that suggested her boldness in the art of love the previous night, Hari made Rādhā lower her eyes in shame before her friends; and,

of the world, but for the sake of himself: Kṛṣṇa the crown of *rasikas* come to taste his own *rasa* as Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā.

91. Rādhāgovinda Nātha says that the "three fold cause" is: the greatness of the love of Rādhā, the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa himself, and to taste the sweetness which gave Rādhā pleasure. See Introduction, Sect. VI.2.

98. The whole *antya līlā* of this text is in fact devoted to such descriptions.

99. I.e., it was in his youth when he had his love-relationships with Rādhā and the *gopīs*.

Śloka 16. See 2.8.*śl.*42.

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with great skill painted on her breast a playful crocodile. Thus he made fertile his youth while sporting in the *kuñja*-grove.

Śloka 17. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 7.5:
O sweet-eyed companion! If Hari and Rādhā had not been incarnated in Mathurā, the [whole] Creation would be meaningless—and especially Kandarpa in it.

103 In this way, in a former age, Kṛṣṇa was the dwelling-place of *rasa*, and he tasted also the sweet juice of *rasa*. 104 But though he tried to taste them, there were three things which he desired which were not fulfilled. 105 The first of these three desires I have explained. Kṛṣṇa said, "I am the receptacle of *rasa*, 106 I am the fundamental Truth, filled with full *cit* and full *ānanda*; but because of the *prema* of Rādhā I become as mad. 107 I do not know how much power there is in the *prema* of Rādhā, but by that power I am continually overwhelmed. 108 The *prema* of Rādhā is my *guru*, and I am her dancing pupil; she makes me dance in many strange and wonderful ways.

Śloka 18. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Govindalilāmṛta* 8.77:
—O my beloved friend Vṛndā, whence do you come?
—From the feet of Kṛṣṇa.
—Where is he?
—In the *kuṇḍa* forest.
—What is he doing?
—He is learning dancing.
—Who is his *guru*?
—Your image, throbbing in all the directions and intermediate directions in every tree and creeper, roams everywhere like a dancer, making him dance behind it.

109 The taste of the *prema* of Rādhā is a crore of times greater than the enjoyment of the taste of my own *prema*. 110 As I myself am the container of mutually op-

106. Pūrṇa-tattva: fundamental Truth or ultimate principle; *unmatta*: mad.
108. The frequent image is of the puppet-master and the puppet.
109. I.e., the *prema* felt by Kṛṣṇa as Rādhā is greater than that felt by Kṛṣṇa as Kṛṣṇa, contained entirely within himself.
110. Rādhāgovinda Nātha explains this as Kṛṣṇa's being at the same time atomic and all-pervading; possibly also there is suggested the presence in all *jīvas* and all-pervasiveness or total transcendance. The second half of the couplet is more difficult. Again, Rādhāgovinda Nātha sug-

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posed *dharmas*, so the *prema* of Rādhā is also always full of antagonistic *dharmas*. 111 The *prema* of Rādhā is all-pervasive and eternal; though there is no room for growth, still it grows greater with every moment. 112 Surely there is no more profound matter than this *prema*. It is the *dharma* of profundity, devoid of pride. 113 It is most pure and stainless, it is second to nothing. Still, its ways are devious and always [move] toward the left hand.

Śloka 19. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Dānakelikaumudi* 2.1:

Though it is omnipresent, still it is perpetually increasing; though it is the most profound of all things, it avoids ponderousness. Though its guile is ever increasing, yet pure, the passion of Rādhā for Kṛṣṇa conquers all else.

114 Rādhā is the highest abode of that *prema*; I am only its object. 115 I taste that joy which is of the type which an object of love tastes, but the joy of her who contains that [love] is a crore of times greater than mine. 116 My heart longs to gain that joy which the container of love gains. But [though I try] eagerly, I cannot taste it. Indeed, how could I? 117 If I could be the container of this *prema*, I could experience the bliss of that *prema*."

118 Thinking thus Kṛṣṇa remained full of eager desire; the desire for the taste of *prema* spread blazing in his heart. 119 This then is the first. Hear now the nature of another desire. Seeing his own sweetness, Kṛṣṇa pondered in this way:

120 "My sweetness is most full, most wonderful, and infinite. In the three worlds, no one can reach its limit. 121 Only Rādhā, by her *prema*, eternally tastes this nectar of my sweetness. 122 The purity of the true *prema* of Rādhā is like a mirror; its brilliance and clarity grow greater moment by moment. 123 Though there is no room in which my sweetness can grow, still it appears in ever-new forms before that mirror. 124 My sweetness and the *prema* of Rādhā vie with one another. Both increase with every moment, and neither overcomes the other. 125 My sweetness is eternally renewed, and each *bhakta* tastes it according to his own *prema*.

gests that it means that Kṛṣṇa is intoxicated by the *prema* of Rādhā, even though he is the ultimate principle or fundamental Truth, *purṇa-tattva*.

112. "Matter" is to be taken literally: *vastu*. In material considerations, excellence is usually accompanied by pride of excellence.

113. I.e., Rādhā is a *vāma-nāyikā*; Rūpa's *UNM* [*sakhī-prakaraṇa*] 8.32, defines *vāma-nāyikā* as a woman in a condition of *māna*, demonstrating irritation with her lover because of some real or imagined offence, in order to bring him under control.

120. [The sweetness (*madhura*) is in contrast to Kṛṣṇa's other primary divine characteristic majesty or sovereignty (*aiśvarya*). TKS]

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126 When I see my sweetness reflected in the mirror, I have a desire to taste it. But I cannot taste it. 127 And when I muse on a possible means of tasting it, my mind runs to [the thought] of identity with Rādhā."

Śloka 20. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Lalitamādhava* 8.34:
What is this unprecedented, astonishing, ultimate sweetness of mine which throbs so profoundly? When I see this, I am attracted and with greedy mind seek to enjoy it impetuously like Rādhikā.

128 There is one natural power in the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa. Emanating from Kṛṣṇa, it makes men and women restless and uneasy. 129 Seeing him, hearing him, all hearts are drawn to him; and Kṛṣṇa longs to taste himself. 130 But the thirst of him who drinks of this nectar of sweetness is not eased; rather, it increases eternally. 131 And then, being unsatisfied, one blames the Creator—'The Creator is unskilled; he does not know well the art of creation. 132 He has given only two, and not a crore, of eyes to each man. And through the blinking of these eyes, what chance have I to see my Kṛṣṇa?'

Śloka 21. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.31.15:
When you wander in the forest in the daytime, to those who gain no sight of you a half a moment is an age. And those who do see, with faces turned upward, your charming curly locks of hair [must say], 'He who has made lashes upon our eyes is surely most unskilled.'

Śloka 22. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.28.39:
When the *gopīs*, on seeing their beloved Kṛṣṇa, after a while had cursed the creator of the lashes on their eyes that interfered with their looking, they took him to their hearts via their eyes, embraced him at length, and they all attained to a love for him such as is hard to obtain by those who are eternally united.

133 The eyes bear no other fruit than that of looking at Kṛṣṇa. He who gazes upon Kṛṣṇa is indeed blessed.

Śloka 23. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.21.7:
O my *sakhīs*! When the two sons of Vrajendra return home with their

Śloka 20. See 2.8.*śl.*35; 2.20.*śl.*28.
Śloka 21. See 2.21.*śl.*21.

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boy-companions, driving their cattle before them, ceaselessly playing their flutes, these beloved drink their faces, casting side glances; this is the fruit of those who have eyes, and we know no greater fruit.

Śloka 24. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.44.14:

What great austerities have the *gopīs* performed, that they ceaselessly drink the full form of the beauty of Kṛṣṇa with their eyes? There is no beauty greater than his; it is complete and renews itself at every moment; it is the only refuge of majesty, of beauty, of fame; it is most hard to attain.

134 Therefore, unprecedented is the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa, unprecedented is his power; at the very hearing of it, the heart becomes disturbed. 135 The sweetness of Kṛṣṇa generates desire in Kṛṣṇa. He is not able to taste [that sweetness] thoroughly, and so his mind remains anxious. 136 This then is the description of the second cause. Hear now the signs of the third.

137 The perfection of this *rasa* is most profound. Only Svarūpa Gosvāmī knows it completely, 138 and if anyone else knows of it, they know of it from him. In it is the most secret meaning of Caitanya Gosvāmī. 139 The name of the *prema* of the *gopīs* is *adhirūḍha-bhāva*. It is pure and stainless *prema*, and there is no [element of] *kāma* in it.

Śloka 25. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.285-86 [quoting an unnamed *tantra*]:

It has been customary to call the erotic love of the *gopīs* pure *prema*;
Uddhava and the rest of the *bhaktas* long for this *prema*.

Śloka 24. See 2.21.*śl*.19.

137-38. I.e., Svarūpa Dāmodara preached this interpretation of the Caitanya-*līlā*. Raghunātha Dāsa, Kṛṣṇadāsa's *guru*, knew Svarūpa well, presumably learned the following esoteric interpretation from him, and in turn passed it on to Kṛṣṇadāsa. [For the relationship of Svarūpa to Raghunātha, and the transmission of teachings to Kṛṣṇadāsa, see 2.2.73; 3.6.200-202; and 3.14.6-9. TKS]

139. "Ascendant" *bhāva*. When the ultimate limit of *anurāga* is reached, the condition is one called *bhāva* or *mahābhāva* (ante, v. 59); there are two conditions of *mahābhāva*, called *rūḍha* and *adhirūḍha*. Rūpa's *UNM* [*sthāyibhāva-prakaraṇa*] 14.159, describes *rūḍha* as an inflamed or glowing condition of *mahābhāva*, when time is greatly exaggerated and an instant of longing seems an eternity, and an eternity of fulfillment seems an instant. *Adhirūḍha* is an exaggeration even of this. *Kāma* is here for the first time opposed to *prema*, *kāma* being desire for the satisfaction of one's own self, *prema* being desire for the satisfaction of Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 25. See 2.8.*śl*.46.

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140 The signs of *kāma* and *prema* are different, as iron and gold are different in their true natures. 141 Desire, love for the satisfaction of one's own senses—this is called *kāma*. But the desire for the satisfaction of the senses of Kṛṣṇa—this has the name *prema*. 142 The object of *kāma* is solely self-enjoyment; but having as its object the happiness of Kṛṣṇa, *prema* is most powerful. 143 *Loka-dharma*, Vedic *dharma*, the *dharma* of the body, the path of *karma*, modesty, composure, bodily comfort, the inner peace of soul, 144 the path of propriety not abandoned easily, their own families—abandoning all these and taking to themselves much punishment and rebuke 145 [the *gopīs*] worshiped Kṛṣṇa. They served him in *prema* for the sake of his happiness. 146 This is profound *anurāga* toward Kṛṣṇa; it is as a sparkling clean white cloth, on which there is no stain. 147 Thus *kāma* and *prema* are most distinct. *Kāma* is as profound darkness; *prema* is stainless, brilliant like the sun. 148 And there is no hint of *kāma* among the *gopīs*. Their connection with Kṛṣṇa was only for the sake of giving him pleasure.

Śloka 26. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.31.19:

In fear that your most delicate lotus feet be injured by our hard breasts, we place them gently down. With those lotus feet you wander about the forest—are they not hurt by those sharp pointed stones? You are our very life, and therefore our minds are rended.

149 The *gopīs* did not consider their own pleasure or pain. The sole preoccupation of their minds was to make Kṛṣṇa happy.

Śloka 27. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.32.21:

O women! Thus you have abandoned for my sake the world and the Vedas and family. I disappeared in order for you to follow me, for I love mystery. Therefore, O loved ones, do not blame my kindness.

150 They abandoned all for the sake of Kṛṣṇa. Because its cause was the happiness of Kṛṣṇa, theirs was pure *anurāga*.

143. Loka-dharma means accepted custom: courtesy, respect for others, etc. Veda-*dharma* presumably means those forms of activity based on the injunctions of texts, and perhaps vedic ritual—sacrifice, etc., as well. *Deha-dharma* Rādhāgovinda Nātha interprets as hunger, thirst, and other demands of the physical body. *Karma* can be either activities for the satisfaction of those bodily demands, or actions undertaken for the sake of accumulation of merit.

Śloka 26. See 2.8.*śl.*47; 2.18.*śl.*7; 3.7.*śl.*9.

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151 In former times, Kṛṣṇa promised that as one worshiped him, in that same way would Kṛṣṇa worship [the worshiper].

Śloka 28. *Bhagavad Gītā* 4.11:
In whatever way one worships me, I honor him in that same way, for in all their various ways men do follow my path, Pārtha.

152 That promise was broken, in regard to the worship of the *gopīs*. There is witness to that in words from the holy mouth of Kṛṣṇa [himself]:

Śloka 29. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.32.22:
Your union with me is stainless, and I by my own deeds will not be able to repay you even in the lifetime of a god. You have loved me properly, and have cut fully the unaging fetters of world and family. Let your holy deeds be rewarded by their own holiness.

153 Thus it is that the *gopīs* were devoted to their own bodies. But it was for the sake of Kṛṣṇa—know that for certain. 154 "I have dedicated this body to Kṛṣṇa; it is his possession. It is the instrument of his enjoyment. 155 The touch and the sight of it is the delight of Kṛṣṇa." This is the reason that they bathed and decorated their bodies.

Śloka 30. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta, uttarakhaṇḍa* 40 [quoting *Ādi Purāṇa*]:
O Arjuna! The *gopīs* take care of their bodies because they are mine.
And there are no receptacles of my profound *prema* which are greater.

156 There is yet another wonderful aspect of the *gopī-bhāva*, the power of which cannot be perceived with the mind. 157 When the *gopīs* saw Kṛṣṇa there was bliss, a crore-fold, even though they had no desire for bliss. 158 Whatever joy Kṛṣṇa felt at the sight of the *gopīs*, the *gopīs* tasted it a crore of times more. 159 They were not seeking their own happiness, but even so their happiness increased. This is a paradox. 160 But there is a solution to this paradox in that the happiness of the *gopīs* lay in the completion of the happiness of Kṛṣṇa. 161 The gladness of Kṛṣṇa grows at the sight of the *gopīs*, [and as his gladness grows], so his sweetness grows, and of it there is no limit. 162 "At the sight of me Kṛṣṇa gained so much plea-

Śloka 28. See 1.4.*śl.*2; 2.8.*śl.*21.
Śloka 29. See 2.8.*śl.*22; 3.7.*śl.*11.

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sure"—and in [the glow of] his pleasure, the faces and bodies of the *gopīs* bloomed. 163 And again, as the charm and beauty of Kṛṣṇa increase when he sees the charm and beauty of the *gopīs*, so the charm and beauty of the *gopīs* increase when they see the charm and beauty of Kṛṣṇa. 164 In this way they vie with one another and mutually augment one another, and neither becomes greater than the other. 165 So Kṛṣṇa's pleasure is in the quality and beauty of the *gopīs*. And at his pleasure, the pleasure of the *gopīs* also grows. 166 Thus, their pleasure nourishes the pleasure of Kṛṣṇa; it is for this reason that there is no sin of *kāma* in the *prema* of the *gopīs*.

Śloka 31. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Stavamālā*, *keśavāṣṭaka* 8:

He is worshiped, as he comes down the road, by crowds of beautiful young women, with hundreds of dancing glances mixed with sprout-like smiles; his eyes move quickly to their breasts like black bees to *kusuma* flowers. I worship victorious Keśava when he comes thus into Vraja from the forest.

167 This is then another natural sign of the *prema* of the *gopīs*, that in that [*prema*] there is no suspicion of *kāma*.

168 The *prema* of the *gopīs* is the nourishment of the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa; the sweetness grows and *prema* is fully satisfied. 169 In the bliss of the object of love is the bliss of the container of love; bliss is not because of the wish for one's own happiness. 170 This is the way of pure *prema*, that in the happiness of the object of love is the happiness of the container of love. 171 The bliss of selfish love obstructs the bliss of the service of Kṛṣṇa, and toward that [selfish] bliss there is great anger in the [true] devotee.

Śloka 32. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*paścima-vibhāga*, *prītabhaktirasa-laharī*] 3.2.62:

Dāruka does not welcome that bliss of love which heightens the transport of bliss through his body, for his own eye put an obstacle in his fanning of Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 33. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*dakṣina-vibhāga*, *sāttvika-laharī*] 2.3.54:

The lotus-eyed one condemned loudly the joy which showered tears from her eyes that were watching Kṛṣṇa.

171. Kṛṣṇadāsa uses the term *nijapremānanda*, which is unusual, *ānanda* and *prema* usually being reserved for the characteristics of pure love, in relation to *svarūpa*.

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172 And the pure *bhakta* does not cling to *sālokya* and the rest, forsaking the service of the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa, with his own pleasure as his end.

Ślokas 34-36. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.29.11-13:

34 Just as the water of the Gaṅgā runs into the sea, the minds [of my devotees], when they merely hear of the qualities of me, Puruṣottama, contained within the hearts of all, turn toward me without interruption. 35 The mark of *nirguṇa bhakti-yoga* is cited as *bhakti* not separate from me and spontaneous; it is not the fruit of examination, nor of knowledge or works. 36 Even if I myself am prepared to give it, my people do not take to *sālokya*, *sārṣṭi*, *sārūpya*, *sāmīpya*, or *ekatva*, without serving me.

Śloka 37. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 9.4.67:

My people, full of service, do not hold to *sālokya*, *sārṣṭi*, *sārūpya*, *sāmīpya*, and *ekatva*, which they earn by serving me, let alone anything ravaged by time.

173 The *prema* of the *gopīs* is natural and without a hint of *kāma*—it is stainless, glittering, pure as molten gold. 174 There are helpers, *gurus*, friends, and lovers of Kṛṣṇa; the *gopīs* are beloved, pupils, female companions, and servants.

Śloka 38. *Gopīpremāmṛta*:

O Arjuna! I have spoken the truth to you, when I said that the *gopīs* are my companions, *gurus*, pupils, objects of my enjoyment, friends and wives; what is it that they are not to me?

175 The *gopīs* know the desires of the heart of Kṛṣṇa, the means of serving him in *prema* and the satisfaction of his longings.

172. See the commentary on 1.3.16 for an explanation of the types of *mukti* mentioned here and in *śl.*35-36.

Śloka 34. See 2.19.*śl.*22.

Śloka 35. Rādhāgovinda Nātha interprets the term *nirguṇa* as "pure," *śuddha*, and not "qualityless." See 2.19.*śl.*23.

Śloka 36. See 2.6.*śl.*23; 2.9.*śl.*24; 2.19.*śl.*24; 3.3.*śl.*12.

Śloka 37. See 2.24.*śl.*66.

174. It is possible that both halves of the couplet refer to the *gopīs*, although if the term *guru* is taken to be "elder," the first half describes the four types of *bhāva*, *śṛṅgāra* being the best and elaborated in the second half.

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Śloka 39. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta, uttarakhaṇḍa* 39 [quoting *Ādi Purāṇa*]:
O Arjuna! The *gopīs* know my greatness, my worship, my condition and course of my mind; others than they do not know these things truly.

176 And the greatest among the *gopīs* is Rādhā. In beauty, in qualities, in good fortune, in *prema*, she is the greatest of them all.

Ślokas 40-41. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta, uttarakhaṇḍa* 45-46 [quoting *Padma Purāṇa*]:
40 Just as Rādhā is the beloved of Kṛṣṇa, so is she a reservoir of love for him. Among all the *gopīs* she alone is perfectly loved by him. 41 O Arjuna! Among the three worlds this earth is indeed blessed! For on this earth is the town called Vṛndāvana. And the *gopīs* of that place are blessed, for Rādhā is among them.

177 The cause of the increase of *rasa* in the love-play is the company of Rādhā, and all the *gopīs* are secondary causes of this *rasa*. 178 Rādhā is the consort of Kṛṣṇa, the storehouse of the heart of Kṛṣṇa—without her even the *gopīs* cannot be the source of his happiness.

Śloka 42. Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* 3.1:
Kṛṣṇa, foe of the demon Kaṃsa, abandoned all the beautiful women of Vraja and held Rādhā in his heart, her, by whom the fetter was tied by the *vāsanās* of worldly existence.

179 Taking the *bhāva* of that Rādhā, Caitanya descended and preached *nāma* and *prema*, the *dharma* of the age. 180 In that *bhāva* [Kṛṣṇa] fulfilled his own desires, which is the root-cause of his *avatāra*. 181 Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya is Vrajendrakumāra; the *mūrti* of Kṛṣṇa is full of *rasa*; he is *śṛṅgāra* incarnate. 182 To taste that [*śṛṅgāra*] *rasa* he descended, and, as an accompanying cause, he propagated all the *rasas*.

Śloka 43. Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* 1.46:
O friend, engendering bliss in the whole world by the beauty of his limbs, black and soft like a string of blue lotuses he aroused the celebration of Kandarpa in the hearts of the women of Vraja; thus sweet Hari plays in

Śloka 40. See 2.8.*śl.*24; 2.18.*śl.*2.
Śloka 42. *Vāsanā*: present consciousness of past perception. See 2.8.*śl.*26.
Śloka 43. See 2.8.*śl.*32.

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spring like Love incarnate, freely embracing the beautiful women of Vraja, according to his own desire.

183 Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya is the abode of *rasa*; and he tasted *rasa* infinitely and minutely. 184 And by that he initiated the *dharma* of the Kali age. The servants of Caitanya know all these hidden meanings— 185 Advaita Ācārya, Nityānanda, Śrīnivāsa, Gadādhara, Dāmodara, Murāri, Haridāsa, 186 and how many other *bhaktas* of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya. I put my head to the feet of them all, in devotion.

187 This is a synopsis of the meaning of the sixth *śloka*. Now hear expounded the meaning of the basic original *śloka*.

Śloka 44. Svarūpa Dāmodara's *Kaḍacā:*

How great is the greatness of the love of Śrī Rādhā, which can be savored only by herself, how great the marvelous sweetness of mine in consequence? And how great is this happiness of hers which results from experiencing me?—Out of desire to discover this, Hari the Moon, rich in *bhāva* for her, was born in the river of the womb of Śacī.

188 All these things are very profound, and should not be spoken. But if I do not speak of them, no one will understand them at all. 189 Thus I speak in a somewhat oblique fashion. The *rasika-bhakta* will understand my words, but the fool will not. 190 He who holds Caitanya and Nityānanda in his heart will find great joy in all these revelations. 191 The *rasa* of these revelations is like a young mango shoot; it is always deeply loved by true *bhaktas*, as the nightingale loves the mango shoot. 192 But the camels, non-*bhaktas*, do not enter here. And because of this,

Śloka 44. [This *śloka* is the same as 1.1.*śl.*6. As in 1.4.*śl.*8, Rādhāgovinda Nātha has attributed this *śloka* to Svarūpa Dāmodara's *Kaḍacā*, but the MSS evidence does not support this. Possible justification for this claim may rest on the couplets explicitly citing Svarūpa as the source for these ideas (1.4.91-98, 228) but the conclusion that this and other *ślokas* are direct quotations from the now-lost *Kaḍacā* is still open to debate, with the possible exception of 1.7.*śl.*2. (See Introduction, Sect. VI.1.) TKS]

188. The usual interpretation is not that the doctrine is secret in the way in which certain Tāntric doctrines are secret, but that these are matters of faith, not of intellectual comprehension. The somewhat argumentative tone of this verse and the one following, however, make one wonder whether or not Kṛṣṇadāsa is defending his revelation of all this to the people of Bengal, which, as was suggested in the Introduction, may well have been a point of controversy between him and Jīva Gosvāmin. V. 189 in fact seems to be a compromise: he will write, but write obliquely, so that only the *bhakta* who already believes will understand; to others it will sound like nonsense.

192. I.e., the camels will not enter the garden to eat the young mango-shoot.

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there is a special gladness in my mind. 193 What happiness in the three worlds can this book provide if people do not understand these things, which I am so concerned to convey? 194 Thus to all *bhaktas* I make obeisance. I speak fearlessly; let them be astonished.

195 Once, Kṛṣṇa meditated in this way within himself: "They call me full of bliss, full of *rasa*; 196 because of me, the three worlds are joyful. But who is there to give joy to me? 197 Only one who has greater qualities than mine is able to gladden my heart, 198 but a greater possessor of qualities than I there cannot be, in the world. By Rādhā alone can I have such experience. 199 Though my beauty is greater than that of a crore of Kāmas, though there is no sweetness equal to or greater than my own, 200 though in my beauty the three worlds are gladdened, at the sight of Rādhā my eyes are refreshed. 201 [Though] the song of my flute attracts the three worlds, the voice of Rādhā steals my ear. 202 Even though the world is redolent with my sweet fragrance, my heart and mind are stolen by the fragrance of the body of Rādhā. 203 Though the world is flavored with my *rasa*, the nectar of the lips of Rādhā conquers me. 204 Though my touch is cooler than a crore of moons, I am cooled by the touch of Rādhā. 205 In this way, though I am the source of pleasure in the world, the beauties and qualities of Rādhā are the life-giving element in my life. 206 In this way is my experience understood. But when I examine it, all is reversed. 207 At the sight of Rādhā my eyes are refreshed, and at the sight of me, Rādhā becomes unconscious in ecstasy. 208 At the sound of my flute, she loses consciousness. She embraces the *tamāla* tree, mistaking it for me. 209 'I have embraced Kṛṣṇa; my birth has been fruitful'—and she remains sunk in that ecstasy, with the tree in her arms. 210 Again, when she smells my fragrance on the favorable wind, she tries to rise up into it, blinded by her *prema*. 211 Or when she tastes the betel which I chew, she sinks into a sea of bliss, and recognizes nothing at all. 212 And the bliss which she has in union with me—if I had a hundred mouths I could not describe its limits. 213 When I see the sweetness in her body in bliss, at the end of *līlā*, I forget myself in bliss. 214 That both taste equal *rasa*, this Bharata Muni acknowledges. But he does not know my Vraja-*rasa*. 215 As much pleasure as I derive from union with others, Rādhā's pleasure [in union with me] is a hundred times greater.

193. Kṛṣṇadāsa seems to be saying that though the issues are complex and the logic often strained, the result will justify the effort. It would appear that someone significant may have objected to his writing so frankly on topics generally reserved for an audience of adept *bhaktas*.

205. Jīvatu: "life-giving element."

214. Rādhāgovinda Nātha notes that Bharata says in his *rasa-śāstra* that in sexual union both *nāyaka* and *nāyikā* experience equal pleasure.

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Śloka 45. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Lalitamādhava* 9.9:

O fair one! Your *bimba*-like lower lip surpasses the sweet fragrance of nectar; your face is sweet-smelling, like a lotus; your words break the boast of the cuckoo's song; your limbs are cool as sandal; thus your body partakes of all the wealth of beauty. O Rādhā! Tasting you, all my senses are again and again delighted.

Śloka 46. A *śloka* of Rūpa Gosvāmin:

Her eyes greedy for the beauty of Kaṃsahara, her skin tingling for his touch, her ears listening anxiously for his voice, her nostrils delighting in his scent, her tongue in passionate longing to drink the nectar of his lip, her lotus-face downcast, her great patience caused by deception, agitated by emotions that also appear on the outside.

216 Because of this, I know that there is a certain *rasa* in me, and Rādhā, who charms me, controls that *rasa*. 217 I always long to taste that kind of pleasure which Rādhā gains from me. 218 I made many attempts, but I could not taste it. And at a hint of the sweetness of that joy, the desire in my heart grows. 219 So I have descended to taste that *rasa*, and I have tasted that *prema-rasa* in many ways. 220 I have taught by the actions of my *līlā* the *bhakti* which is practiced by the *bhakta* in the *rāga-mārga*. 221 The three thirsts were not satisfied, for it could be tasted in no other way. 222 And without taking on the *bhāva* of Rādhā and her beauty, the three pleasures could not be fulfilled at all. 223 So I have taken the body and the *bhāva* of Rādhā; I hold her color; I shall descend to taste the three pleasures."

224 In this way, Kṛṣṇa made his decision, and [assumed] all these *bhāvas*; and at that same time he came as the *yuga-avatāra*. 225 For at about that time Advaita was worshiping, and his cries attracted Kṛṣṇa. 226 His father and mother and *guru* were incarnated first, and then, taking the color and *bhāva* of Rādhā, 227 Kṛṣṇa, the full moon, appeared in Navadvīpa, in the womb of Śacī, the ocean of pure milk.

228 So I have explained the sixth *śloka*, meditating on the lotus-feet of Svarūpa Gosvāmī. 229 I have given the meaning of the two *ślokas*, and this *śloka* of Śrī Rūpa Gosvāmin's is the proof:

216. For more on the control of Kṛṣṇa by the devotee, see 1.7.138; 1.17.71, *śl.5*; 2.23.26.

Śloka 46. Kaṃsahara: Kṛṣṇa the slayer of the *asura* Kaṃsa.

221. The three desires mentioned in the sixth *śloka* were not fulfilled by the previous *līlā* in the manifest Vṛndāvana.

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Śloka 47. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Stavamālā, caitanyāṣṭaka* 2.3:
May God in the form of Caitanya lavish his mercy on us, he who, curious to enjoy a certain shoreless sweetness of some group of loving men, after having praised the *rasa*, concealed his own luster while manifesting the other's splendor.

Śloka 48.
Thus, this *maṅgalācaraṇa*, defining the true nature of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya and the reasons for this *avatāra*, has been described in six *ślokas*.

230 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

Śloka 47. See 1.4.*śl*.7.

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Ādi Līlā
Chapter 5

Śloka 1.

I pay homage to Īśvara Nityānanda, of infinite and wonderful power; even a fool can discern his true nature, if he so desires it.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra, and to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 In these six *ślokas* the greatness of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya has been explained; in five *ślokas* now let me expound the ultimate truth of Nityānanda. 3 Kṛṣṇa is the container of all *avatāras*, *svayaṃ bhagavān*; his second body was Śrī Balarāma. 4 The two were one *svarūpa*, divided only in body. His first *kāyavyūha* was [as Kṛṣṇa's] companion of the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*. 5 That Kṛṣṇa was Śrī Caitanyacandra in Navadvīpa; with him that Balarāma was Śrī Nityānanda.

Śloka 2. Svarūpa Dāmodara's *Kaḍacā*:

May Nityānanda Rāma be my refuge, of whom Saṃkarṣaṇa,
Kāraṇatoyaśāyī the dweller in the causal ocean [the first *puruṣa*],
Garbhodaśāyī the dweller in the primeval womb [the second *puruṣa*],
Payobdhiśāyī the dweller in the ocean of milk [the third *puruṣa*], and
Śeṣa are but parts.

6 Śrī Balarāma Gosvāmī is the basic Saṃkarṣaṇa, and in five forms he serves Kṛṣṇa. 7 He himself is the companion of the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*; with four other bodies he per-

4. *Kāyavyūha*: bodily form or manifestation of the godhead.

Śloka 2. [See 1.1.*śl*.7; this *śloka* is the subject of the entire chapter. For the attribution of this *śloka* and *ślokas* 3, 7, 15, 16 in this chapter, see the commentary to 1.4.*śl*.8 and 1.4.*śl*.44. TKS]

7. The four other bodies are Saṃkarṣaṇa, Kāraṇārṇavaśāyī *puruṣa*, Garbhodaśāyī *puruṣa*, and Kṣīrodaśāyī *puruṣa*.

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forms the *līlā* of creation. 8 The performance of creation and the rest are the keeping of [Kṛṣṇa's] command. As Śeṣa he performs various services for Kṛṣṇa. 9 That Rāma is Nityānanda the companion of Caitanya, who tastes in all ways the *ānanda* of the service of Kṛṣṇa.

10 Let me now state the meaning of the seventh *śloka* by four *ślokas*, by which all people can know the truth of Nityānanda.

Śloka 3. Svarūpa Dāmodara's *Kaḍacā:*

I take refuge with that Nityānanda Rāma, whose form named
Saṃkarṣaṇa, which pervades the Vaikuṇṭha-world, which is beyond *māyā*
and, filled with sovereignty, shines forth amidst the four *vyūhas*.

11 Beyond the material world is the place called Paravyoma, which, as the *vigraha* of Kṛṣṇa, is endowed with the qualities of all-pervasiveness and the rest. 12 All-pervading, eternal, full of glory, this is Vaikuṇṭha, the dwelling-place of Kṛṣṇa and the Kṛṣṇa-*avatāras*. 13 In its upper part is the place famous as Kṛṣṇaloka, a tripartite place made up of Dvārakā, Mathurā, and Gokula. 14 The highest place of all is Śrī Gokula, or the *lokadhāma* of Vraja; and its names are Śrī Goloka, Śvetadvīpa, and Vṛndāvana. 15 These are all all-pervading, infinite, and glorious, as the body of Śrī Kṛṣṇa; they pervade above and below without restriction. 16 It was mani-

8. Śeṣa or Ananta, the great serpent; the *avatāra* of Kṣīrodaśāyī *puruṣa*. He upholds the earth, sings praises of Kṛṣṇa and serves as his umbrella, couch, throne, etc., i.e., he supplies Kṛṣṇa with his *dhāma*.

Śloka 3. [This *śloka* is the same as 1.1.*śl.*8 and is expounded in 1.5.10-42a. For the attribution see commentary on 1.5.*śl.*2. TKS]

11. Vigraha: image, form, shape.

12. Rādhāgovinda Nātha uses the etymology *kuṇṭha* = *māyā*, and therefore *vai-kuṇṭha* is a place which is without, or untouched by, *māyā*.

13. Sanātana Gosvāmin's *Bṛhadbhāgavatāmṛta* 2.5.89 says that Kṛṣṇaloka is above Vaikuṇṭha.

14. [*Lokadhāma*: self-contained universe that comprises a complete spatial and social environment, here the eternal realm of Kṛṣṇa. When manifest on earth with God, it gains an apparent phsyical dimension, which is mysteriously coterminous with its eternal dimensions; see below v. 16 and commentary. TKS]

15. Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out that Kṛṣṇadāsa has had to qualify here with the phrase "as the body of Kṛṣṇa," since otherwise there would be a contradiction in saying that something is all-pervading and at the same time above or below. Kṛṣṇa, however, as is shown by the *rāsa-līlā*, can be in identical forms simultaneously; he can also be simultaneously pervasive and occupy physical space.

16. I.e., when Kṛṣṇa came into the world for his manifest *līlā*, his whole *dhāma*, Gokula, which is in any case an extension of his person, came into the world with him. But, like Kṛṣṇa himself, its

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fested in this Brahmā-world through the will of Kṛṣṇa; it has one true form, but not two bodies. 17 The crest-jewel of the earth, a forest full of wishing-trees: with earthly eyes one sees only ordinary places, 18 but with the eyes of *prema* its true form becomes apparent—as the place of the joys of Kṛṣṇa, with his *gopa* and *gopī* companions.

Śloka 4. *Brahma Saṃhitā* 5.29:
I worship the *ādi puruṣa* Śrī Govinda, [who] tends wishing cows, in a place covered with *lakh*s of wishing-trees, in dwellings made of heaps of wishing stones, respectfully served by the coquetry of a hundred thousand *lakṣmī*s.

19 He manifests his own *rūpa* in Dvārakā and Mathurā, and as the *caturvyūha* he sports in various ways: 20 Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, the container of these *caturvyūha*s, in a state of *turīya*, pure. 21 In the three places Kṛṣṇa is full of *līlā*, alone and with his own people he plays in unending time. 22 In Paravyoma, having manifested his true form as Nārāyaṇa, he undertakes various activities. 23 The true-form *vigraha* of Kṛṣṇa is only two-armed; while Nārāyaṇa's body has four, 24 [holding] conch, discus, club, and lotus, all full of divine power; and *śrī*, *bhū*, and *līlā śakti*s serve his feet. 25 Even though play is his only *dharma*,

appearance on this earth in no way affected its heavenly and eternal existence; the manifest and unmanifest *līlā*s are one.

19. Caturvyūha: four forms or manifestation of Kṛṣṇa.

20. These are the four *vyūha*s. Vāsudeva was the son of Vasudeva, born of Devakī; he is the first of the four, manifest as the two-armed Kṛṣṇa, Vrajendranandana. Saṃkarṣaṇa, as above, is Balarāma, called Saṃkarṣaṇa, "drawn, extracted" because he was taken out of the womb of Devakī and put into that of Rohiṇī. Pradyumna is the son of Kṛṣṇa, born from Rukmiṇī, and Aniruddha the grandson of Kṛṣṇa, born to Rukmavatī. All these are of the Dvārakā *līlā*.

21. I.e., he has no other tasks, such as creation. "Plays" is literally "to play a game"—*khele*. In all three *dhāma*s, *līlā* is made up of both sovereignty or divinity (*aiśvarya*) and sweetness (*mādhurya*), but in Vraja sweetness has precedence over divinity, in Dvārakā divinity has precedence over sweetness, and in Mathurā the two are mixed. Rūpa's *BhRS* (*dakṣina-vibhāga, vibhāva-laharī*) 2.1.233 distinguishes among the three by the degree of the control exerted by *prema*: in Vraja it is fullest, in Mathurā fuller, and in Dvārakā full.

23. In Dvārakā he occasionally appears as four-armed. Nārāyaṇa is not the true form of Kṛṣṇa; Kṛṣṇa is his own true form, i.e., *svarūpa*.

24. According to Rūpa's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta* (*pūrva-khaṇḍa, kṛṣṇāmṛta-manvantara-prakaraṇa*) 1.129, *śrī-śakti* is the power of wealth and fortune, and is personified by the four-armed, golden-colored, youthful Lakṣmī, at Nārāyaṇa's right hand; *bhū-śakti* is the power to uphold the earth; and *līlā-śakti* the power by which Nārāyaṇa has *līlā*; in the images these two are often seen seated beside Lakṣmī.

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he also shows mercy to living creatures. 26 By four [types of] *mukti—sālokya, sāmīpya, sārṣṭi*, and *sārūpya*—[he gives] salvation to all creatures. 27 The type of *mukti* which leads to absorption into *brahma* is not the proper way; the place of [such *muktas*] is outside Vaikuṇṭha. 28 Outside Vaikuṇṭha there is a ring full of light, as the luster of Kṛṣṇa's body of the highest brilliance. 29 Its name is Siddhaloka, beyond material nature; its *svarūpa* is *cit*, and there is no variation in *cit-śakti*. 30 It is as the disc of the sun appears undifferentiated from the outside, but within are the chariot, etc.

Śloka 5. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.278:

That which is said to be the one thing to be gained by loved ones and by enemies comes from the identity of Kṛṣṇa and *brahma*, which enjoy the metaphor of the rays and the sun.

31 So, in Paravyoma there are many *vilāsa*s of the *cit-śakti*; and outside there is an undifferentiated circle of brilliance. 32 This is the luminous, undifferentiated *brahma*, and he who seeks *sāyujya* gains union there.

Śloka 6. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.280 [quoting *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*]:

On the far side of *tamasa* is Siddhaloka, where dwell perfected ones, absorbed in the joy of *brahma*, and the *daityas* [Kaṃsa and the *asuras*] destroyed by Hari.

33 In Paravyoma, all around Nārāyaṇa, is the second manifestation of the *caturvyūha* in Dvārakā: 34 Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha—this is the second *caturvyūha*, in a state of *turīya* and purity. 35 There is that form of Rāma

26-32. See 1.3.16 and 2.6.239 and commentary.

29. "There is no variation . . .": presumably since *cit-śakti* is nonmaterial, there is no change, development, or transformation in it.

30. The sun-god, Sūrya, drives a chariot pulled by horses; these are all differentiations, as in fact each of these has differentiations within it.

31. I.e., in Paravyoma, trees, creepers, beasts, everything is a *vilāsa* of the *cit-śakti*, and can be spoken of as infinite differentiation.

Śloka 6. Daityas: enemies of Kṛṣṇa. In the *bhakti* system, antagonism toward the deity is an efficacious emotion, and being slain by him an assurance of salvation. Rāvaṇa's hosts, in later versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, are saved by being slain by Rāma.

33. I.e., the *caturvyūha* appears in each of the three places.

35. Rāma: Balarāma. Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out: Saṃkarṣaṇa is called the refuge of *cit-*

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which is Mahāsaṃkarṣaṇa; he is the refuge of *cit-śakti*, the cause of causes. 36 One *vilāsa* of *cit-śakti* is called pure *sattva*; Vaikuṇṭha and the other *dhāmas* are composed of it. 37 Divinity there is of six kinds, all made up of *cit*; know for certain that all are glories of Saṃkarṣaṇa. 38 One *śakti*, called *jīva*, is known as *taṭasthā*; Mahāsaṃkarṣaṇa is the refuge of all *jīvas*. 39 Mahāsaṃkarṣaṇa is the great refuge of that *puruṣa* from whom is the birth of the world, and in whom it is absorbed. 40 [He is] the refuge of all, the wonder of all, of unparalleled power and majesty, whose greatness Ananta cannot describe. 41 *Turīya, viśuddha-sattva*—his name is Saṃkarṣaṇa, and he is a part of Nityānanda Rāma. 42 This is the brief explanation of the eighth *śloka*. Now pay attention to the meaning of the ninth.

Śloka 7. Svarūpa Dāmodara's *Kaḍacā*:

In that Nityānanda Rāma, of whom *ādideva śrīpumān*, whose body is the refuge of all the Brahmā-eggs, the manifest lord of *māyā*, who lies in the ocean of creation, of whom the *ādi puruṣa* is but a part, do I take refuge.

43 Outside Vaikuṇṭha there is a place full of radiance, and outside that is called Kāraṇārṇava. 44 All around Vaikuṇṭha there is a body of water, infinite, shoreless—there is no end to it. 45 The land and other elements of Vaikuṇṭha are all made of *cit*; *māyā*-elements are not present there. 46 The water composed of *cit* is the highest cause; the Gaṅgā is one drop of it, the purifier of the fallen. 47 Saṃkarṣaṇa rests one part of his body on that Kāraṇārṇava: 48 he is known as the great creator *puruṣa*, who is the cause of the world, the *ādi-avatāra*, and he casts his glance on *māyā*. 49 *Māyā-śakti* remains outside this sea of causation; *māyā* is not able to touch

śakti; but *cit* is a *svarūpa-śakti*, and this is intrinsic to Kṛṣṇa himself. But, as can be seen from the following couplets, because Kṛṣṇa desires it, he manifests his whole *dhāma*; Saṃkarṣaṇa is thus the *vilāsa* of *cit-śakti*. As cause of causes, he is the cause of the *puruṣa-avatāras*, the causes of the world.

36. [*Śuddha*: pure; Rādhāgovinda Nātha notes that the *vilāsa* of *cit-śakti* is called *śuddha-sattva*, which is distinguished into *hlādinī*, *sandhinī*, and *saṃvit śaktis*. The *sandhinī* portion is predominant in Vaikuṇṭha and the other *dhāmas* of Bhagavān (see 1.4.56 and commentary). TKS]

37. Aiśvarya: divinity; *vibhūti*: glory, majesty.

38. This refers back to the "cause of causes" description in v. 35. Saṃkarṣaṇa is the refuge of all *jīvas*: at the beginning of creation, Saṃkarṣaṇa brought out all *jīvas* from his own body, then in the form of Kāraṇārṇavaśāyī *puruṣa*, and at the time of cosmic destruction he reabsorbs them into himself.

40. Ananta has a thousand mouths.

Śloka 7. [See 1.1.*śl.*9; it is expounded in 1.5.42b-77a. TKS]

46. Parama kāraṇa: highest cause; the cosmic sea on which the creator rests; thus the name '*kāraṇa-arṇava*.'

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the sea of causation. 50 *Māyā* has two kinds of conditions; the chief material cause of the world is *prakṛti*. 51 Inert matter is not the cause of the world; Kṛṣṇa moves it by his *śakti*, in his mercy. 52 Thus, by the *śakti* of Kṛṣṇa, *prakṛti* is the indirect cause, as iron is melted by the power of fire. 53 Thus Kṛṣṇa is the primary cause of the world; *prakṛti* is like the [false] nipple hanging from the neck of the she-goat. 54 They say that the efficient cause of the universe is the *māyā*-part; this also is not so, for Nārāyaṇa is the cause-agent. 55 As the potter is the cause-agent of the pot, so the maker of the world is the *puruṣa-avatāra*. 56 Kṛṣṇa was the maker, *māyā* was his instrument, as are the wheel and stick to the causation of the pot. 57 From a distance, the *puruṣa* watches over *māyā*, and in it places the seed, in the form of *jīva*s. 58 By a semblance of his body he has union with *māyā*, and from *māyā* are born the quantities of Brahmā-worlds. 59 As many worlds as there are, numberless, infinite, in so many forms the *puruṣa* enters into them all. 60 When the breath of the *puruṣa* is exhaled from his nose, with that sigh the Brahmā-worlds are manifested. 61 Again, when his breath is inhaled, the Brahmā-worlds enter the body of the *puruṣa* with it. 62 As particles of dust pass through the window, so the myriad Brahmā-worlds pass through the pores of the skin of the *puruṣa*.

Śloka 8. *Brahma Saṃhitā* 5.48:

I worship that Govinda, the *ādi puruṣa*, for the duration of whose breath the lords of the Brahmā-worlds that are born from his pores live, and of whom Mahāviṣṇu is a special fraction.

Śloka 9. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.14.11:

Where am I whose body stands but seven *vitasti*s tall, inside the shell of the egg encompassed by *tamas*, *buddhi*, *ahaṃkāra*, space, water, fire, wind and earth; and where is the greatness of you in the space of whose pores countless such eggs move?

50. Kṛṣṇadāsa seems here to be stating the position of the Sāṃkhya philosophy, in order to disprove it. The Sāṃkhya position is that the two "conditions" of *māyā* are the *nimitta-kāraṇa* and the *upādāna-kāraṇa*. But Kṛṣṇadāsa has just said, and is about to say further, that *puruṣa* is the effective cause, in that he energizes *māyā* by his glance, remaining untouched by it.

53. Rādhāgovinda Nātha says that some goats have hanging from their throats a false teat, which gives no milk. The term is *ajāgalastana*.

58. "Brahmā-world" is literally "Brahmā-egg"—*brahmāṇḍa*. *Aṅgābhāse*: semblance of his body. The point is that *jīva* is a part of *taṭasthā-śakti*; as *śakti* and *śaktimān* are not separate, the *jīva* can be called a part or the body (*aṅga* or *aṃśa*) of the *puruṣa*; but this does not mean that the *jīva* is a part of the self of the *puruṣa*, for the self of the *puruṣa* cannot be touched by *māyā*.

Śloka 8. See 2.20.*śl.*39; 2.21.*śl.*10.

Śloka 9. The literal term "egg" has been left here for the sake of the verse's metaphor. *Vitasti*

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63 That which is a part of a part is called a *kalā*. Śrī Balarāma is the *pratimūrti* of Govinda. 64 His one true form is Śrī Mahāsaṃkarṣaṇa; his *aṃśa*, the *puruṣa*, is thus counted as a *kalā*. 65 Mahāviṣṇu is he whom I call *kalā*; he is the container of the *avatāra* Mahāpuruṣa, he is the doer of all things. 66 Garbhoda and Kṣīrodaśāyī—both are called *puruṣa*, and they are two parts of Viṣṇu, the *dhāma* of the universe.

Śloka 10. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta, pūrva khaṇḍa* 2.9 [quoting the *Sātvata Tantra*]:

Viṣṇu has three forms which they know under the name *puruṣa*: the first is the creator of *mahat-tattva*; the second is the *puruṣa* immanent in all the Brahmā-worlds; the third is the *puruṣa*, immanent, the god indwelling in each creature. If one is able to realize this, he is freed from the material world.

67 Though one calls him a *kalā* of Kṛṣṇa, he is the source of the fish, tortoise, and the other *avatāras*.

Śloka 11. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.3.28:

All these are but parts and fractions of parts of the *puruṣa*, but Kṛṣṇa is *svayaṃ bhagavān*. They incarnate themselves in every age to protect people persecuted by Indra's enemies.

68 That *puruṣa* is the creator, the preserver, the destroyer, the lord of the world; as protector of the world he makes many *avatāras*. 69 He looks to the *aṃśa* for the sake of creation, etc.; that *aṃśa* is called *avatāra*. 70 [He is] the *ādi avatāra*, the *mahāpuruṣa*, Bhagavān, the seed of all the *avatāras*, the *dhāma* which is the refuge of all.

is the span between the extended thumb and little finger, or between the wrist and tip of the middle finger, in either case about nine inches; *tamas*: darkness; *buddhi*: knowledge; *ahaṃkāra*: self-consciousness.

63. Pratimūrti: is that which is undivided or not separate from the true form.

64. I.e., Saṃkarṣaṇa is a part of Balarāma, and the Kāraṇārṇava *puruṣa* is a part of Saṃkarṣaṇa, thus a part of a part, a *kalā*.

66. Dhāma: place where a thing is situated, i.e., environment; here the term is used in a more general sense than has been noted before.

Śloka 10. See 2.20.*śl.*31.

67. In v. 65, Mahāviṣṇu was called the *avatārī*, i.e., the container or source of the *avatāras*.

Śloka 11. See 1.2.*śl.*13; 2.9.*śl.*12; 2.20.*śl.*20; 2.25.*śl.*29.

70. Ādi avatāra: Mahāviṣṇu, the container of all *avatāras*, the basic *avatāra* or root *avatāra*. *Mahāpuruṣa*: Mahāviṣṇu (v. 65).

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Śloka 12. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.6.42:
The *puruṣa* is the *ādi avatāra* of Bhagavān. Of the supreme are time, nature, *prakṛti* which is cause and effect, [the *mahat-tattva* of] mind, etc., substance, transformation, *guṇa*, senses, vastness, splendor, and the totality of all creatures, moving and unmoving.

Śloka 13. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.3.1:
Bhagavān in the beginning assumed the form of the *puruṣa*—composed of *mahat*, etc., and consisting of the sixteen component parts—out of a desire to create the world.

71 Even though he is the refuge of all, the world is in him; he is the inner soul, and is the receptacle of the world. 72 In both these forms he has relationship with *prakṛti*; even so, there is not the slightest suggestion of the touch of *prakṛti*.

Śloka 14. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.11.39:
This is the divinity of Īśvara: even situated in the material, by the qualities of it [he is] never [touched], just as intellect, fixed on the Bhagavat, [is not touched] by the properties of oneself.

73 The [*Bhagavad*] *Gītā* speaks again and again in this way: that the divine principle of Īśvara is *acintya-śakti*. 74 [Though] I am in the world, the world is in me. I am not in the world; neither is the world in me. 75 Know this, my inscrutable power and divinity: this is the meaning which the *Gītā* expounds. 76 That *puruṣa* which is called an *aṃśa* is Nityānanda Rāma, the companion of Caitanya. 77 This then is the explanation of the ninth *śloka*; pay heed now to the meaning of the tenth.

Śloka 15. Svarūpa Dāmodara's *Kaḍacā*:
I take refuge in him, the lotus of whose navel has for stalk all the fourteen worlds, and is the birthplace of Brahmā the creator; in him of whom

Śloka 12. See 2.20.*śl.*35.
Śloka 13. See 2.20.*śl.*34.
71. Vv. 62-66 said that Mahāviṣṇu is the refuge or the container of all Brahmā-worlds; v. 59 said that he was indwelling within each Brahmā-world; he is thus both the container and the contained, and has both kinds of relationship to *prakṛti*. It would seem that such a relationship would imply touch; but the answer is that since there can be no touch, the relationship must be the result of the inconceivable *śakti* of the deity.
Śloka 14. See 1.2.*śl.*11.
73. Acintya: inscrutable. The reference is perhaps to *BhG* 9.4-5; v. 74 is a rephrasing of these *ślokas*.

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Garbhodaśāyī is but a part of a part—in that Nityānanda Rāma do I take refuge.

78 That *puruṣa*, having created the infinite Brahmā-worlds, entered into all those worlds, being many *mūrtis*. 79 Having entered within, he saw that all was dark, and he reflected that there was no place to stay. 80 He then created water from the sweat of his own body, and he filled half the Brahmā-worlds with that water. 81 The measurement of the Brahmā-worlds is fifty crores of *yojanas*, and the length and breadth of them are the same. 82 Half-filling them with the water, he made half his own staying-place, and in the other half he manifested the fourteen worlds. 83 There he manifested Vaikuṇṭha, his own *dhāma*, and he made his resting place on the water, on the bed of Śeṣa. 84 He lay on the bed made of Ananta, who has a thousand heads, a thousand mouths, 85 a thousand feet and hands, a thousand eyes, the seed of all the *avatāras*, the cause of the world. 86 From his lotus-navel arose a lotus, and in that lotus was the place of birth of Brahmā. 87 In the stalk of the lotus were the fourteen worlds; he as Brahmā the creator, created. 88 In the form of Viṣṇu he preserves the world, Viṣṇu, devoid of attributes, untouched by the qualities of *māyā*. 89 Taking the form of Rudra he destroys the world; creation, preservation, destruction are all according to his will. 90 Hiraṇyagarbha, Antaryāmī the indweller, the cause of the world, whose *aṃśa* is conceived as *virāṭa*, 91 of whom this same Nārāyaṇa is a part of a part, he is Prabhu Nityānanda, the ornament of all. 92 Thus the meaning of the tenth *śloka* has been explained; now heed the meaning of the eleventh *śloka*:

Śloka 16. Svarūpa Dāmodara's *Kaḍacā*:

I take refuge in him of whom Viṣṇu, the nourisher of all things, Dugdhābdhiśāyī, appears as the *parātmā*, but a part of a part of a part, of whom Ananta, the holder of the worlds, is a part—in that Nityānanda Rāma do I take refuge.

Śloka 15. [See 1.1.*śl.*10; it is expounded in 1.5.77b-92a. For the attribution of this *śloka* see the commentary on 1.5.*śl.*2. TKS]

81. About 400,000,000 miles.

87-89. [These three—Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva—are of course the well-known *trimūrti*, the *guṇa-avatāras*, direct agents of creation, preservation and destruction of the universe respectively. TKS]

90. Virāṭa-kalpana, the cosmic figure whose body makes up the seven worlds and the seven nether-regions; see *BhP* 2.5.36, 38-41.

Śloka 16. [This *śloka* is the same as 1.1.*śl.*11 and is expounded in 1.5.92b-135. For the attribution of this *śloka* see the commentary on 1.5.*śl.*2. *Aṃśāṃśāṃśa*: part of a part of a part. TKS]

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93 The earth is in the middle of the navel-lotus of Nārāyaṇa, and within the earth are seas numbering seven. 94 Within the ocean of milk is the place called Śvetadvīpa, which is the *dhāma* of the preserver Viṣṇu. 95 He is indwelling in all *jīvas*; the lord of the world, he is its sustainer. 96 In the *yugas* and *manvantaras* he makes many *avatāras*; he generates *dharma*, and punishes *adharma*. 97 The *devatās* do not get a sight of him; they go to the shore of the ocean of milk and pray to him. 98 Then he incarnates himself and sustains the world; there is no numbering his infinite grandeurs. 99 He of whom Viṣṇu is but a part of a part of a part, he is Prabhu Nityānanda, the ornament of all things. 100 That Viṣṇu, in the form of Śeṣa, holds up the earth; but he does not know where the earth is on his head. 101 His thousand hoods are extended, and on the circles of them glitter jewels, more brilliant than the sun. 102 The earth, extending fifty crores of *yojanas*, sits on one of his hoods like a mustard seed. 103 He is Ananta, Śeṣa, the *bhakta-avatāra*, and knows nothing other than service of Īśvara. 104 With his thousand mouths he sings the glories of Kṛṣṇa. He sings the glories eternally, but he does not reach the end of them. 105 Sanaka and the others hear the *Bhāgavata* from his mouth, and speak the qualities of Bhagavān, floating in a happiness of *prema*. 106 [As] umbrella, sandals, lying-place, pillow, clothing, pleasure-garden, house, sacred thread, and throne— 107 he serves Kṛṣṇa in so many different forms; having obtained the ultimate [service of Kṛṣṇa], he is called Śeṣa. 108 And this Ananta is called a part of a part of Prabhu Nityānanda; who can know his play?

109 By all these proofs we know the limit of Nityānanda; he is called Ananta—what is this to his greatness? 110 But acknowledging the term, [given by] some *bhaktas*, to be true, that is possible to him, who is the container of *avatāras*. 111 The *avatāra* and the container of *avatāras* are undivided, as formerly Kṛṣṇa was considered differently by different persons. 112 Some say, Kṛṣṇa is the apparent Naranārāyaṇa; some say, Kṛṣṇa is the apparent Vāmana; 113 some say, Kṛṣṇa is the Kṣīrodaśāyī *avatāra*. It is not impossible, and all speak the truth. 114 When

96. Yuga, manvantara: units of cosmic time, usually translated as "ages," during which Bhagavān descends at least once to earth. See 1.3.5-7 and commentary.

102. See v. 81 and commentary.

107. Śeṣa: "the end."

110. I.e., some of the *bhaktas* call Nityānanda "Ananta" or "the one without end"; because they are *bhaktas*, they speak truth; but, in v. 109, Kṛṣṇadāsa has just said that calling him Ananta does not do justice to his full greatness. He is Ananta, but he is more. Nityānanda is the container of the *avatāras* or the container of parts of Anantadeva, and thus Ananta is within Nityānanda. So the contention is true, but only part of the whole truth.

111-13. I.e., in the previous *līlā*, Kṛṣṇa was considered by some as Naranārāyaṇa, some as Vāmana, etc. All of these are true, but not the whole truth.

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Kṛṣṇa becomes incarnate, he is the container of all his parts; all the parts having come together are merged in Kṛṣṇa. 115 He who knows a certain form, he calls him that; all are potential in Kṛṣṇa, and none of them are false. 116 Thus Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya Gosvāmī revealed to everyone the full range of the activities of all the *avatāras*. 117 In this same way is Nityānanda the manifestation of Ananta, and in that *bhāva* [he said], "I am called the servant of Caitanya." 118 Sometimes his *līlā* is that of *guru*, sometimes that of friend, sometimes that of servant, as formerly he played in Vraja in these three *bhāvas*. 119 Pretending to be a bull, he locks horns in battle with Kṛṣṇa; sometimes Kṛṣṇa massages his feet. 120 He knows Kṛṣṇa to be Prabhu, and himself as servant, and he considers himself to be only a part of a part of Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 17. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.11.40:
So the two brothers acted the bulls, and bellowing fought with one another; and they wandered about imitating the sounds of creatures and the common people.

Śloka 18. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.15.14:
Sometimes, Kṛṣṇa caused his elder brother, tired from play, to rest, cushioned by the lap of a cowherd boy and himself massaging his feet, etc.

Śloka 19. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.13.37:
What is this *māyā*? From where has it come? Is it divine? Human? Demoniacal? Let the *māyā* of Kṛṣṇa generally be mine, there is none other which deludes me.

Śloka 20. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.68.37:
All the *loka-pālas* take the dust of his lotus feet upon their heads, of him who is the *tīrtha* for whom *tīrthas* are venerated; and we—Brahmā, Śiva, myself, and Śrī—are a part of a part of him; where should we carry the royal throne of his leisure?

120. [*Kalāra kalā*: part of a part; Rādhāgovinda Nātha glosses this term as '*aṃśera aṃśa*,' a somewhat imprecise expression (a fraction of a fraction) which we have seen before. Technically a *kalā* is one sixteenth of a whole, so a *kalāra kalā* would be one sixteenth of one sixteenth or one two-hundred fifty-sixth of the whole, which suggests just how diminutive is the *avatāra* in relation to the complete godhead. TKS]

Śloka 20. See 2.20.*śl*.42.

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121 Kṛṣṇa is the sole Īśvara, and all are his servants; whomever he causes to dance, dances. 122 So in this way Caitanya Gosvāmī is the sole Īśvara; all are his retinue or his servants. 123 His elders are Nityānanda and Advaita Ācārya; Śrīvāsa and the others are younger, the same, or older. 124 All are his retinue, all his helpers in *līlā*. And with them all Gaura Rāya accomplishes his own work. 125 Advaita Ācārya and Nityānanda are his two limbs, and with these two Prabhu has so much sport. 126 Advaita Ācārya Gosvāmī is the apparent Īśvara; Prabhu regards him as elder, and himself as his servant. 127 The true nature of Ācārya Gosvāmī cannot be put into words; he saved the world by Kṛṣṇa's incarnation. 128 The true form of Nityānanda formerly was Lakṣmaṇa; as Rāma's younger brother he served him. 129 The actions of Rāma were the cause of all sadness; and by himself, Lakṣmaṇa bore the sorrow of that *līlā*. 130 He could not forbid him, to whom he was a younger brother, so he stayed silent, with great sorrow in his heart. 131 He became the elder brother in the Kṛṣṇa-*avatāra*, for serving him; and he caused Kṛṣṇa to taste many kinds of happiness. 132 Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are special parts of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. At the time of *avatāra* the two entered into the two. 133 With those *aṃśa*s the elder brother-younger brother relationship arose; in the *śāstra*s it is explained as the relationship between the part and the whole:

> *Śloka* 21. *Brahmā Saṃhitā* 5.39:
> I love Govinda the *ādi puruṣa*, Bhagavān who manifested many *avatāra*s in the world in the form of Rāma and the rest, as his *kalā*-parts, but appears finally as Kṛṣṇa himself, that highest *puruṣa*.

134 Śrī Caitanya was that Kṛṣṇa, and Nityānanda was Rāma. Nityānanda fulfills the desires of Caitanya. 135 The sea of the greatness of Nityānanda is unending and shoreless. I touch one drop of it, and that only through his mercy.

125. *Aṅga*: limbs; *raṅga*: sport.

126. Advaita is the *aṃśa-avatāra* of Mahāviṣṇu, and thus can be called the apparent (*sākṣāt*) Īśvara; but even so, he is only a *kalā* of Kṛṣṇa, and therefore in *svarūpa* Caitanya is his lord.

128. Rādhāgovinda Nātha says: In some *līlā*s Balarāma is the younger brother of Kṛṣṇa, and in some *līlā*s the elder brother. In the Tretā age, when Kṛṣṇa was incarnated as Rāmacandra, Balarāma was incarnated as Lakṣmaṇa, the younger brother of Rāma. It is of course the duty of the younger to serve and obey.

129. I.e., the exile in the forest, the abduction of Sītā, etc. Another interpretation could be: "Lakṣmaṇa bore the sorrow of his (i.e., Rāma's) independent (*svatantra*) *līlā*."

134. Rāma: Balarāma.

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136 Hear another aspect of the greatness of his mercy: he causes the lowest of *jīvas* to rise up to the highest limits. 137 It is improper to speak openly of this secret matter of the Veda, yet it has been discussed to reveal his mercy. 138 Overcome by joy, I write of your grace, Prabhu Nityānanda. Forgive my transgression. 139 Avadhūta Gosvāmī had a servant, a storehouse of *prema*; Mīnaketana Rāmadāsa was his name. 140 Getting an invitation he visited my house for *ahorātra saṃkīrtana*. 141 He sat in the courtyard, full of great *prema*, and all the Vaiṣṇavas bowed at his feet. 142 While they were making obeisance, he climbed upon some; in *prema* he hit others with his flute; and some he slapped. 143 Anyone who wanted to could see in his eyes tears which flowed incessantly. 144 Sometimes, on his body one saw the blossoms of goose flesh; one of his limbs would be inert, another trembling. 145 When he shouted out for Nityānanda, people were most astonished. 146 There was a respectable *brāhmaṇa* called Guṇārṇava Miśra, whose work it was to serve the image. 147 Coming into the courtyard, [Miśra] did not converse with him; and seeing this, Rāmadāsa became very angry and said, 148 "Here is a second Sūta Śrī Romaharṣaṇa, who, seeing Balarāma, did not come forward to receive him." 149 Saying this he danced and sang, in ecstasy. The *brāhmaṇa* was doing his Kṛṣṇa-work, and was not angry. 150 At the end of the festival he went away, having given his blessings. He had some controversy with my brother. 151 His faith in Caitanya

137. Rādhāgovinda Nātha explains *veda-guhya* as that which is revealed by the deity to someone, not to be revealed to others; or as that which the *śāstras* say and should not be revealed. It could also refer to the fact that the Vedas should not be taught to lower caste people.

139. Nityānanda was a member of an *avadhūta* order; see *PHM*, 47-52.

140. *Ahorātra-saṃkīrtana*: *kīrtana* which lasts throughout the day and the night.

142. These are the actions of one who is mad with *prema*, completely unexplainable except in their own context. [Mīnaketana's actions belong to one kind of divinely inspired madness, often termed *āveśa*, i.e., being gripped by the divine. This condition often afflicts Caitanya himself as becomes increasingly evident as his narrative unfolds. This is in contrast to those whose absorption in *prema* leads them to emulate the actions of one or more of the characters in the *BhP* story, which of course is only natural for Caitanya's entourage because they are incarnations from that eternal Kṛṣṇa-*dhāma*. TKS].

143. The couplet is a little obscure, and is only glossed by the commentator. The point seems simply to be that Mīnaketana was never found not crying so deep was his devotion. *ye netre dekhite aśru mane haya yāra / sei netre avicchinna vahe aśrudhāra //.*

144. *Pulaka* is the word usually translated as "horripilation"; "thrill" is perhaps better. It means the gooseflesh that arises when one is in a state of extreme emotion.

148. The reference is to a story in *BhP* 10.78.

150. Referring, presumably, to Rāmadāsa.

151. I.e., Kṛṣṇadāsa's brother was not a follower of Nityānanda. It is clear that by this point in time, the Vaiṣṇavas had broken up into smaller sectarian groups, followers of Nityānanda, of Advaita, Gadādhara, etc., and that there was some ill will among them.

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Prabhu was very deep, but he held but a slight belief in Nityānanda. 152 Hearing this, Rāmadāsa was very sorrowful in his heart; so I reproached my brother, 153 "Two brothers are one body, manifested equally; if you do not honor Nityānanda, you will be totally destroyed. 154 Having faith in one, you do not honor the other—your reasoning is 'like the half-chicken.' 155 Or, honoring neither is to be a blasphemer; but to honor one and not the other, this is pure foolishness." 156 Becoming angry, Rāmadāsa broke his flute and went away; and in due time my brother was completely ruined.

157 So this demonstrates the power of the servants of him; but now let me speak of the nature of his mercy. 158 I reproached my brother, and because of this quality, that night Prabhu gave *darśana* to me. 159 Near Naihāṭī there is a village called Jhāmaṭapura; there Nityānanda Rāma appeared in a dream [to me]. 160 Falling down, I prostrated myself at his feet. Prabhu put his own lotus-foot upon my head. 161 He said, "Rise up, rise up," to me again and again; and rising up and seeing his beauty I was astonished. 162 A dark, glistening beauty, a huge body, like Kandarpa manifest, like a powerful wrestler. 163 Powerful arms and legs, and lotus-eyes, a silken cloth on his head, wearing silken clothing, 164 golden earrings in his ears, and golden armlets and wrist-ornaments; above his feet the *nūpura* anklets jingled, and on his neck a garland of flowers. 165 His body was anointed with sandalwood, his *tilaka* well-shaped, and his gait more slow and graceful than that of a *matta-gaja*. 166 His face shone more brightly than a crore of moons, his delicately pointed teeth, like pomegranate seeds, highlighted from chewing *tāmbūla*. 167 Drunken with *prema* his body swayed left and right, and he was crying "Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa" in a deep voice. 168 His red-colored staff swung from his hand; he was like an intoxicated lion; and there were bees all around his feet. 169 I saw his devotees all in the

153. "The two brothers," i.e., Caitanya and Nityānanda.

154. Rādhāgovinda Nātha tells this story in explanation of the proverb: Once there was a man who had a hen that laid very large eggs, and by these eggs the man made a satisfactory living. One day he thought: The chicken lays eggs through its rear end, and its front end is good for nothing at all except to eat. So I will cut off the front end and eat it; the rear end will remain, and no harm will be done. And so saying, he cut the chicken in half. The point of the proverb here, of course, is that you cannot separate Caitanya and Nityānanda, and if you attempt to do so, you lose both.

164. Nūpura: anklets like those worn by dancers.

165. Matta-gaja: a rutting elephant. There are inevitably some similes and other figures which do not seem to mean the same in English as they do in Bengali; "rut-elephant" does not in English give the impression of grace, controlled power, and intoxication in *prema* that is conveyed by the Bengali. *Tilaka*: mark on the forehead.

166. Tāmbūla: pan, which when chewed stains the gums a bright red, hence the contrast.

168. Or "swung . . . like (the tail of) an intoxicated lion."

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dress of cowherds, all, intoxicated with *prema*, saying "Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa." 170 Some were playing horns and flutes, some sang and danced; some served him with *tāmbūla*, some fanned him with fans. 171 Seeing the majesty of the true form of Nityānanda—such beauty, qualities, *līlā* all more than human— 172 I was overcome with a joyful pleasure and knew nothing at all; then Prabhu, smiling, spoke to me: 173 "Ah, Kṛṣṇadāsa, do not be afraid. Go to Vṛndāvana, where all things can be attained." 174 So saying, he urged me, giving me a sign with his hand. Then Prabhu disappeared, taking his companions with him. 175 I fell upon the ground unconscious; my dream was broken off, and it was morning. 176 I mused on what I had seen and heard: the order of Prabhu was to go to Vṛndāvana. 177 And in that instant I started for Vṛndāvana, and by the mercy of Prabhu I came to Vṛndāvana in happiness.

178 Glory, glory to Nityānanda, Nityānanda Rāma, by whose mercy I gained Vṛndāvana-*dhāma*. 179 Glory, glory to Nityānanda, glory to him full of mercy, because of whom I gained the refuge of Rūpa and Sanātana, 180 because of whom I have gained Raghunātha Mahāśaya, because of whom I have gained the refuge of Svarūpa. 181 By the grace of Sanātana I gained the perfection of *bhakti*; by the grace of Śrī Rūpa I gained the limits of *bhakti rasa*. 182 Glory, glory to the lotus-feet of Nityānanda, because of whom I have found Rādhā-Govinda. 183 I am a greater sinner than Jagāi and Mādhāi; I am inferior to the worms found in feces. 184 He who hears my name, his merit is destroyed; he who takes my name does a very sinful thing. 185 Who in this world is merciful to a shameless one like me, except the one Nityānanda? 186 Drunken with *prema*, Nityānanda is the incarnation of mercy. He does not distinguish between the highest and the lowest. 187 He saves all who fall before him; thus he has saved an evil one like me, 188 as full of sin as I am, he brought me to Śrī Vṛndāvana; he gave the feet of Śrī Rūpa to a low one such as I, 189 and the *darśana* of Śrī Madanagopāla and Śrī Govinda—but I have no right to

172. Joyful pleasure: *ānanda*. ". . . and knew nothing at all" is a frequent Vaiṣṇava phrase meaning that the person so overcome is not conscious of anything apart from the vision or the *bhāva* he is experiencing.

180. As Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out, it is uncertain whether or not this refers to Svarūpa Dāmodara, the intimate follower of Caitanya at Puri. It seems unlikely that Svarūpa would be mentioned in the context of Vṛndāvana unless, as is not known, he went to Vṛndāvana after Caitanya's death. It more likely means that Svarūpa and his doctrines were known to him through Raghunātha [cf. 1.4.137-38; 2.2.73; 3.6.200-202; and 3.14.6-8. TKS].

183. Jagāi Mādhāi: see below, 1.8.17 commentary.

184. [Kṛṣṇadāsa of course means 'the servant of Kṛṣṇa' pointing the listener's attention away from ego to deity. TKS]

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say all these things. 190 Madanagopāla is the king of Vṛndāvana, Vrajendrakumāra manifest in the *rāsa-vilāsa*, 191 who was manifested as the charmer of the Charmer in the *rāsa-vilāsa*, with Śrī Rādhā and Lalitā.

Śloka 22. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.32.2:
After the various lamentations of the *gopīs* in the *rāsa-līlā*, he suddenly appeared among them, dressed in a yellow robe, with a garland of wildflowers and a smiling face—like Madana the mind-stealer manifest.

192 The hearts of people are attracted by his own sweetness; Rādhā and Lalitā serve him on two sides. 193 The grace of Nityānanda showed him to me, and gave me Śrī Rādhā-Madanamohana as my *prabhu*. 194 To a lowly person like me he gave a *darśana* of Govinda. There is no way to tell of this; it is a story which cannot be described. 195 Seated on the *yoga-pīṭha* in Vṛndāvana in the forest of wishing trees, in a jeweled *maṇḍapa*, on a throne all made of jewels, 196 Śrī Govinda Vrajendranandana sat, manifesting his sweetness, intoxicating the world. 197 On his left side were Śrī Rādhikā and her [*gopī*] companions, and [with them] how much does Prabhu sport, in the *rāsa* and other *līlās*? 198 And in his own place, Padmāsana meditates on him, and worships him with the *mantra* of eighteen syllables. 199 In the fourteen worlds, all meditate on him, and in the citadel of Vaikuṇṭha they sing the qualities of his *līlā*. 200 Lakṣmī is attracted by his sweetness; Śrī Rūpa Gosvāmin has described it in this way:

191. Manmatha-*manmatha*: "charmer of the Charmer (i.e., Kāma-deva)."
Śloka 22. See 2.8.*śl.*18; 2.8.*śl.*30.
193. Kṛṣṇadāsa is speaking of the image of Kṛṣṇa called Madanagopāla.
195. Kṛṣṇadāsa is speaking of the image of Kṛṣṇa called Govinda. *Yoga-pīṭha*: a special meeting place for Rādhā and Govinda and their retinue; in the center of the *yoga-pīṭha* is a six-petalled lotus inlaid with jewels, and within that is the jeweled throne of Rādhā and Govinda. This is situated beneath a wishing-tree (*kalpataru*), that tree of heaven which grants all wishes. *Maṇḍapa* is usually an open building for meetings or worship; here it is the place of tryst.
197. *Sakhī*: female companion.
198. *Padmāsana*: "the lotus position" for meditation, here a synecdoche for Brahmā. *Aṣṭādaśākṣara-mantra*: eighteen syllable *mantra*; this is a special *mantra* for the worship of Kṛṣṇa the beloved of the *gopīs*. Rādhāgovinda Nātha does not give the *mantra* in his commentary, perhaps because it is not to be revealed.

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Śloka 23. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.239:

O friend, if you desire to stay with your friends, then do not look at the Hari-*mūrti* of Govinda, smiling slightly, his body bent in three parts, his wide eyes askance, his flute on lower lip like a young lotus-shoot, shining with peacock-feather eyes.

201 He is the manifest son of Vrajendra, and no other; they are ignorant who think of him as an image. 202 For such an offence there is no salvation; they fall into gloomy hell. What more can I say? 203 Who is able to describe the mercy of his feet from whom I have obtained this Govinda Prabhu? 204 The circle of so many Vaiṣṇavas, staying in Vṛndāvana, devoted to the name of Kṛṣṇa, the highest auspiciousness, 205 the treasures of their hearts are Nityānanda and Śrī Caitanya, and they know nothing other than Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa *bhakti*. 206 The dust of their feet, the shadow of their feet, the grace of Nityānanda Prabhu has given to a wretched man. 207 "There all can be obtained" was the word of Prabhu—that *sūtra* I have explained. 208 I gained all these things, having come to Vṛndāvana; all those things are to be obtained by the mercy of Prabhu. 209 I have written my own story without shame; the qualities of Nityānanda cause me to write, being maddened. 210 The greatness of the qualities of Nityānanda Prabhu is shoreless; by a thousand mouths the end of it could not be reached.

211 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

207. A *sūtra* is that which states the matter in brief, and is explained in commentary; the *sūtra* was that "all can be gained," and Kṛṣṇadāsa has explained "all" in terms of the images of Govinda, Madanamohana, etc.

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Ādi Līlā
Chapter 6

Śloka 1.
I bow down to Śrīmad Advaitācārya, doer of wonderful deeds, by the gift of whose grace even a fool can ascertain the true form of truth.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra, glory to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 In five *ślokas* the truth of Śrī Nityānanda has been described. Now in two *ślokas* let me speak of the great truth of Advaitācārya.

Śloka 2. Svarūpa Gosvāmin's *Kaḍacā*:
That Mahāviṣṇu, who by *māyā* has created this world, the maker of creation, his *avatāra* is the Īśvara Advaitācārya.

Śloka 3. Svarūpa Gosvāmin's *Kaḍacā*:
Because he is non-different from Hari, he is called Advaita; as he is a teacher of *bhakti*, he is called Ācārya. I take refuge in that Advaita Ācārya Īśvara, the *bhakta-avatāra*.

3 Advaita Ācārya Gosvāmī is the manifest Īśvara, whose greatness is not within the perception of human beings. 4 The creator Mahāviṣṇu performed the task of the creation of the world, and the rest; his manifest *avatāra* is Advaita Ācārya. 5 That *puruṣa*, who by *māyā* creates and preserves, who in *līlā* creates the infinite Brahmā-worlds, 6 and manifests infinite *mūrtis* according to his wish, and enters into each of the Brahmā-worlds with a single *mūrti*, 7 the *aṃśa* of that *puruṣa* is Advaita, and there is no division between them; there is a distinction of body between them,

Ślokas 2-3. [See *1.1.śl.*12-13 respectively; they are the subject of this entire chapter. For the attribution of these *ślokas*, see the commentary to 1.5.*śl.*2. TKS]

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but no division. 8 He assists with his *pradhāna*, and builds a crore of Brahmā-worlds according to his will. 9 Advaita is the blessing of the world, the *dhāma* of blessed qualities; his deeds are blessed, and his name is blessed. 10 With a crore of *aṃśas*, a crore of *śaktis*, a crore of *avatāras*, the *puruṣa* creates the whole *saṃsāra*. 11 *Māyā* has two *aṃśas*—*nimitta* and *upādāna*. *Māyā* is the source of the efficient cause, and the material cause is matter; 12 so the Īśvara-*puruṣa* has two *mūrtis* and creates the universe with *nimitta* and *upādāna*. 13 The *puruṣa* himself is the efficient cause of the universe, and Nārāyaṇa in the form of Advaita is the material cause. 14 As the *nimitta-aṃśa* he casts his glance on *māyā*; the *upādāna* Advaita creates the Brahmā-worlds. 15 Even though the *sāṃkhya* considers that *pradhāna* is the cause, the universe was not created from inert [matter]. 16 By his own creation-*śakti* Prabhu moves the *pradhāna*; the creation then was by the *śakti* of Īśvara. 17 And in the form of Advaita he makes the *śakti* move [it]; thus Advaita is the chief cause. 18 Advaita Ācārya is the maker of the crore of Brahmā-worlds; and he is the supporter of the Brahmā-worlds with one *mūrti* in each. 19 The chief *aṅga* of that Nārāyaṇa is Advaita: in the *Bhāgavata* the word *aṅga* is used for *aṃśa*:

Śloka 4. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.14.14:

Are you not Nārāyaṇa? You are the soul of all embodied creatures, O Lord! You are the overseer of all the world. Because you dwell in the water and in the hearts of *jīvas*, you are Nārāyaṇa. He who is Nārāyaṇa is your body; this alone is truth, not your *māyā*.

20 The *aṃśa*, "*aṅga*," of Īśvara is made up of *cit* and *ānanda*; there is no relationship with *māyā*, so it is said in this *śloka*. 21 Why is he not called *aṃśa*, but *aṅga*? *Aṅga* is more intimate than *aṃśa*. 22 The *aṃśa* of Mahāviṣṇu is Advaita, the storehouse of virtues; he is undivided from Īśvara, so his name is "Advaita" or "complete." 23 As formerly he created the whole universe, so now he is incarnated to propagate *bhakti*. 24 Giving the gift of Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti* he has saved all *jīvas*, and he expounded *bhakti* in the [*Bhagavad*] *Gītā* and *Bhāgavata*. 25 Except for instruc-

8. Rādhāgovinda Nātha interprets *pradhāna* as *prakṛti*, material nature, or as it is more technically designated, first cause of the material world.

9. Maṅgala: "auspicious, beneficent," translated here as "blessed."

11. Nimitta: the efficient cause; *upādāna*: the material cause.

15-17. These three couplets do not appear in all MSS; they are in fact repetitive of *1.5.50-56*, which also goes into the Sāṃkhya position on the matter.

Śloka 4. See 1.2.*śl.*9; 1.3.*śl.*13.

21. Antaraṅga: intimate.

22. I.e., that which is undivided is whole.

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tion in *bhakti*, he has no other work, and thus his name is "Ācārya." 26 He is the *guru* of Vaiṣṇavas and revered in the world; by the two names together he becomes Advaita Ācārya. 27 "He of the lotus eyes"—of him is he *aṅga* and *aṃśa*; thus he bears the name, the ornament, of Kamalākṣa. 28 His followers gain the Īśvara-*sārūpya*—four-armed, dressed in yellow, like Nārāyaṇa. 29 Advaita Ācārya is the most excellent part of Īśvara: his essential truth, name, qualities—all are most wonderful. 30 Because of his worship with *tulasī* and water, and because of his shout came the *avatāra* of Caitanya with his people; 31 because of him Prabhu propagated *kīrtana*, because of him Prabhu saved the world. 32 The greatness of the qualities of Ācārya Gosvāmī is shoreless; how can a worm of a *jīva* reach the shore of it?

33 Ācārya Gosvāmī was the chief *aṅga* of Caitanya; his other *aṅga* was Prabhu Nityānanda. 34 The *upāṅgas* of Prabhu were Śrīvāsa and the other *bhaktas*; like the hands, face, and eyes, and the disc and the other weapons. 35 With all of these Caitanya Prabhu undertook his acts; taking all of these he propagated that which he desired. 36 Knowing him to be the pupil of Mādhavendra Purī, Prabhu honored Ācārya Gosvāmī as *guru*. 37 [For] the preservation of propriety and *dharma* in his earthly *līlā*, with praises and *bhakti*, he made obeisance at his feet. 38 Ācārya considered Caitanya Gosvāmī as Prabhu, and considered himself as his servant. 39 He forgot himself in the happiness of that consideration and advised *jīvas*—"Be

27. One of the epithets of Mahāviṣṇu is "lotus-eyed one," *kamala-nāyana*; *kamalākṣa* is also "lotus-eyed one"; both are names of Advaita Ācārya.

28. This is ambiguous in both Bengali and English; *sārūpya* can mean either that his followers gain him who has the form of Īśvara, four-armed Nārāyaṇa, etc., or that they themselves gain the form, i.e., become, like Īśvara, four-armed, etc. Rādhāgovinda Nātha has chosen the latter interpretation. [For the different kinds of *mukti*, see 1.3.15-16; 1.4.*śl.*36-37; 2.6.239; 2.9.*śl.*24; 3.3.*śl.*12. TKS]

29. *Tattva*: essential truth; *nāma*: name; *guṇa*: quality.

30. [It was Advaita's call during his worship that directed Kṛṣṇa's attention to the plight of the Vaiṣṇavas and precipitated his *avatāra*. See 1.3.72, 76-91; 1.4.225; 1.13.61-69. TKS]

34. Again there is an ambiguity. Rādhāgovinda Nātha interprets it as meaning that the *aṅgas*, the limbs and primary bodily parts, Nityānanda and Advaita, were hands, face, and eyes, while Śrīvāsa and the others were secondary *aṅgas*, *upāṅgas*, extensions of the body like the *cakra* or disc. Previously, *upāṅgas* were called fingers and toes. The other possibility, less likely, is that hands, face, and eyes are considered *upāṅgas*, and are themselves the disc and the other weapons, beauty being the weapon of Kṛṣṇa in this *avatāra*.

35. *Vihāra*: activity, play or sport, amorous activity; often a synonym for *līlā*.

36. In this earthly *līlā*, Caitanya honored Advaita as *guru*, even though Advaita was an *aṅga* of himself; the earthly reason for this is that Advaita was a pupil of the *guru* of Caitanya's own *guru*.

37. Even though the *līlā* has significance on the cosmic level, customs of society must be observed; these of course include the honoring of one's *guru*.

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servants of Kṛṣṇa." 40 The happiness of a crore of Brahmās is not a drop of that sea of *ānanda* which is in the condition of servant to Kṛṣṇa.

41 [Says Advaita,] "I am a servant of Caitanya, and another is Nityānanda; there is no other *ānanda* like that of the *bhāva* of a servitor. 42 The most beloved Lakṣmī rests on his breast, begging and entreating for the happiness of *dāsya*. 43 His associates are overjoyed in the *dāsya-bhāva*—Vidhi, Bhava, Nārada and Śuka, Sanātana. 44 Nityānanda Avadhūta, the foremost of all, was mad in the *dāsya-prema* of Caitanya. 45 Śrīvāsa, Haridāsa, Rāmadāsa, Gadādhara, Murāri, Mukunda, Candraśekhara, Vakreśvara— 46 all these were learned and intellectual men, but all were maddened in the *dāsya* of Caitanya. 47 So they sang, danced, laughed hysterically, and exhorted people—'Be a servant of Caitanya.' 48 'Caitanya Gosvāmī considers me his *guru*—yet I consider myself a servant of Caitanya.' 49 This is one wonderful influence of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*—the *dāsya-bhāva* causes the inferiors to be equal or superior. 50 Hear the proof of this—it is explained in the *śāstras*, and even more profound proof of it is the experience of great men. 51 According to others' accounts there was in Vraja no one more honored of Kṛṣṇa than Nanda Mahāśaya; 52 there was on his part no consideration [of Kṛṣṇa] as Īśvara, but [his feeling was] pure *vātsalya*: [still] *prema* caused him to follow the *dāsya* [path]. 53 He prayed for passionate love and attachment at Kṛṣṇa's feet: the proof of that is in the words of his own holy mouth: 54 'Hear, O Uddhava, it is true that Kṛṣṇa is my son; if it is in your mind that he is Īśvara, 55 still may my own mind be inclined as it was; may my mind ever remain fixed on that Kṛṣṇa, who is your Lord.'

41-73. Advaita is speaking. [The Bengali, however, is somewhat vague and could be construed to switch back to the narrator Kṛṣṇadāsa from time to time. TKS]

41. [*Dāsa*: servitor, often substituted for devotee (*bhakta*); in the following passage it appears to be synonymous with the more technical expression *dāsya* or *dāsya-bhāva*. TKS]

42. Lakṣmī, beloved of Nārāyaṇa, feels that the *dāsya-bhāva* brings still greater happiness. There is another possibility: *hṛdaye vasati*, "situated in the heart" of Nārāyaṇa. And, Rādhāgovinda Nātha adds, the reference may be to Rādhā, who is the container of all the *lakṣmīs*.

43. Vidhi: Brahmā; Bhava: Śiva; Śuka: Śukadeva Gosvāmī; and by Sanātana is meant the four: Sanātana, Sanaka, Sanandana, and Sanatkumāra. Brahmā asks for this status in *BhP* 10.14.30; and Brahmā describes Śiva as such in a speech to Nārada as reported in Sanātana's *Bṛhadbhāgavatāmṛta* 1.2.81-83. See below, 1.6.67.

52. *Vātsalya*: parental affection. Nanda's position is in contrast to Vasudeva, who, while he also considered Kṛṣṇa as a son, from time to time understood that he was Bhagavān.

53. *Rati mati*: literally "passion and a condition of mind," suggesting a singlemindedness of devotion.

54-55. The situation was that Uddhava had been sent from Mathurā by Kṛṣṇa; arriving in Vraja, he found Nanda in great grief because of his separation from his son Kṛṣṇa; Uddhava attempted to relieve his grief by explaining to him that Kṛṣṇa is divine, and this is his response.

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Ślokas 5-6. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.47.66-67:

5 Let all our thoughts take refuge in the lotus-feet of Kṛṣṇa, let our voices speak his names, let our bodies be prostrate before him. 6 Wherever we are caused to wander because of our acts by the will of God, there, lord Kṛṣṇa, may we take pleasure in giving of gifts and performing auspicious deeds.

56 In Vraja all the group of friends—Śrīdāma and the rest—were without knowledge of him as Īśvara, but were full only of *sakhya*. 57 They fought with Kṛṣṇa, climbed upon his shoulders, and [still] in *dāsya-bhāva* served his feet.

Śloka 7. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.15.17:

When Kṛṣṇa lay down, some *mahātmās* massaged his feet, and some cleansed of evil fanned him with fans.

58 The *gopīs*, beloved of Kṛṣṇa in Vraja, for the dust of whose feet Uddhava prays, 59 and than whom there is no more beloved to Kṛṣṇa, they too considered themselves maid-servants to him.

Śloka 8. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.31.6:

O destroyer of the sorrows of the people of Vraja, O hero of the women,
O you whose smile drives away the pride of your own people, love [us].
O friend, we are your girl-servants, show us your lovely lotus-face.

Śloka 9. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.47.21:

It is our great sorrow that the son of Ārya has gone to live in the city of the Madhus; O Uddhava, does he remember, from the house of his father, the *gopas* his kind friends? Sometimes does he speak of [us, his] maid servants? When would he again put his aloe-scented arm on our heads?

60 Keep [aside] the story of all these—Śrīmatī Rādhikā is the highest and best of all the *aṃśas*. 61 He who becomes her maid-servant and serves her feet, binds Kṛṣṇa always with the quality of his love.

Śloka 7. Mahātmā: a rather lofty epithet for the *gopas*.
Śloka 9. Āryaputra: "Son of an Honorable Man," a wifely expression for "husband."
61. See v. 73 commentary.

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Śloka 10. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.30.39:
Ah lord, lover, most beloved, strong of arm, where are you, where are you? I am your slave, your beggar, show me your presence, friend!

62 In Dvārakā, Rukmiṇī and the other *mahiṣīs*—they also considered themselves as Kṛṣṇa's servants.

Śloka 11. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.83.8:
When the kings raised their bows to surrender me to the king of Cedi, he, whose foot-dust was used as crowns by invincible soldiers, led me away, as a lion his share from a herd of goats and sheep: may the feet of that Śrīniketa be for me to worship.

Śloka 12. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.83.11:
I performed *tapas*, in the hope to touch his very feet, and Kṛṣṇa by his grace came himself with his friend, and took my hand, me, the cleaner of his house.

Śloka 13. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.83.39:
By abandoning all attachments, indeed by austerity, we have become the house-servants of the Ātmārāma Puruṣa.

63 And what of the others—of Baladeva Mahāśaya, who was full of pure *sakhya* and *vātsalya* and the other *bhāvas*. 64 He also considered himself a servant; there is no one who does not experience the *bhāva* of *dāsa* toward Kṛṣṇa. 65 He who is Śeṣa Saṃkarṣaṇa, with a thousand mouths, he takes ten bodies and serves Kṛṣṇa. 66 And the Rudra in the infinite Brahmā-worlds, the *aṃśa* of Sadāśiva, the *guṇa-avatāra*, the ornament of all the *devas*, 67 he also prays for the *dāsya* of Kṛṣṇa; Śiva says eternally, 'I am the servant of Kṛṣṇa.' 68 Drunken with Kṛṣṇa-*prema*, Digambara, the sky-clad Śiva, overwhelmed, sings the qualities and *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa, and dances forever. 69 Whether there are the *bhāvas* of father, mother, *guru*, and friend, by the nature of Kṛṣṇa-*prema* these are made *dāsya-bhāva*. 70 The one Kṛṣṇa, the lord of the world, is to be served by all; as many [individuals] as there are they are his followers and servants. 71 That Kṛṣṇa was incarnated as Caitanya Īśvara; and thus

65. I.e., umbrella, couch, seat, etc.

67. In *BhP* 5.17.18, Śiva says in praise of Saṃkarṣaṇa, "O worshipful one, I worship you, the refuge of all in your lotus feet, you are the refuge of the divine qualities."

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all others are his servants. 72 Some honor him, some do not honor him, but they are all his servants; those who do not honor him are destroyed by that sin. 73 I am a servant of Caitanya, a slave of Caitanya, I am a servant of Caitanya, a servant of his servants."

74 So saying he dances and sings and shouts loudly; and the next moment Ācārya sits very still. 75 The source of considering one's self a *bhakta* is Śrī Balarāma; his *aṃśa*s follow in that *bhāva*. 76 One of his incarnations was Śrī Saṃkarṣaṇa; he considers himself a *bhakta* incessantly. 77 Another of his *avatāra*s was Śrīyukta Lakṣmaṇa, and he was always in *dāsya* to Rāma. 78 An *avatāra* of Saṃkarṣaṇa was Kāraṇābdhiśāyī, in whose heart the *bhakta-bhāva* was always present. 79 A part of the manifestation of him was Advaita Ācārya; *bhakti* in word, thought, and deed was his constant work. 80 In speech he said, "I am a follower of Caitanya." "I am his *bhakta*"—was the constant *bhāva* in his mind. 81 And bodily he served with water and *tulasī*, and he saved all the world, propagating *bhakti*. 82 That Śeṣa Saṃkarṣaṇa who holds the earth, with *kāyavyūha* serves Kṛṣṇa. 83 All these are *avatāra*s of Kṛṣṇa, and we see without end the activities of *bhakti* of all. 84 In the *śāstra*s all these are called *bhakta-avatāra*s; and the feet of *bhakta-avatāra*s are above all things. 85 There is only one *aṃśī*—Kṛṣṇa; the *aṃśa*s are the *avatāra*s; so *aṃśī* and *aṃśa* behave as elder and younger brothers. 86 In the *aṃśī* there is the *bhāva* of the elder, the knowledge [that he is] Prabhu; in the *bhāva* of the younger there is consideration of the self as *bhakta*. 87 The feet of the *bhakta* is greater than equality to Kṛṣṇa; the *prema* of the *bhakta* of Kṛṣṇa is greater than is his [own] self. 88 Kṛṣṇa considers the *bhakta* greater than himself, which is proven by the words of many *śāstra*s:

> *Śloka* 14. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.14.15:
> The Self-born [Brahmā], Śaṃkara, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Śrī, or I myself—none is as dear to me as you.

89 No one equal to Kṛṣṇa tastes of his sweetness; his sweetness is tasted by the *bhāva* of the *bhakta*. 90 This is the conclusion of the *śāstra*s and the experience of knowl-

72. Pāpa: sin.

73. [*Tāra dāsera dāsa*: servant of his servants. The injunction to serve those who serve Kṛṣṇa is highly esteemed among the sixty-four *vaidhī* acts of a devotee (see below vv. 87-88). It is perhaps even more significant in Kṛṣṇadāsa's text, where it appears repeatedly, because it anticipates the dominant form of ritual practice preferred by the Vṛndāvana-based community, i.e., *mañjarī-sādhanā*. TKS]

85-86. Aṃśī: container or possessor of the parts (*aṃśa*).

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edgeable men; but stupid people do not know the grandeur of this *bhāva*. 91 Accepting the *bhakta-bhāva*, Balarāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Advaita, Nityānanda, Śeṣa, and Saṃkarṣaṇa 92 drink the nectar of the *rasa* of the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa, and drunken by that happiness, they know nothing more.

93 Whatever the work of others, Śrī Kṛṣṇa himself was thirsty for the taste of his own sweetness. 94 He tries to taste his own sweetness, but apart from the *bhakta-bhāva* there is no taste of that. 95 Thus taking on the *bhakta-bhāva* he was incarnated, full of all *bhāvas*, in the form of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya. 96 In the *bhāva* of various *bhaktas* he drinks his own sweetness; previously I explained the theory of this. 97 The *avatāras* are foremost in *bhakta-bhāva*, and there is no greater pleasure than that of the *bhakta-bhāva*. 98 The basic *bhakta-avatāra* was Śrī Saṃkarṣaṇa, and Advaita is counted as a *bhakta-avatāra*. 99 Limitless is the greatness of Advaita Ācārya Gosvāmī, whose cry brought on the Caitanya-*avatāra*. 100 Propagating *saṃkīrtana* he saved the whole world; by the grace of Advaita people gained the wealth of *prema*. 101 Who can tell the limits of Advaita's greatness; that which I write I have heard from the great men. 102 A crore of my obeisances at the feet of Ācārya, that he not take [anything I say as] an offence to him. 103 Your greatness is a crore of fathomless seas, [yet] I speak of measuring it—this is a great offence. 104 Glory, glory, glory to Śrī Advaita Ācārya; glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya and to the revered Nityānanda. 105 In two *ślokas* the truth of Advaita has been put forth; now prepare, *bhaktas*, for a discussion of the *pañca-tattva*.

106 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

96. See chapter 1.4.
99. See below, v. 30 and commentary.

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Ādi Līlā
Chapter 7

Śloka 1.

I bow down to Śrī Caitanya, the seeker for the poor and lowly, the refuge of those without refuge, and I write of a little portion of his majesty and sweetness, which effects fortune.

1 Glory, glory to Mahāprabhu Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya—he is most fortunate, whose refuge is at his feet.

2 Previously obeisance has been made to the six *tattvas*, *guru* and the rest; I have spoken of the *guru-tattva*; now I shall discuss the [other] five. 3 The five *tattvas* were incarnated with Caitanya; with the five *tattvas* he has sport in *saṃkīrtana*. 4 The five *tattvas* are one essence, with no differences at all [among them]; but for tasting *rasa* there are various differences:

Śloka 2. Svarūpa Gosvāmin's *Kaḍacā*:

I bow to Kṛṣṇa, himself of these five natures: *bhakta-rūpa*, *bhakta-svarūpa*, *bhakta-avatāra*, the form called *bhakta*, and him whose *śakti* is the *bhakta*.

Śloka 1. See 2.21.*śl.*1.

2. 1.1.26-29.

4. In the manifest *līlā* they appear with different *bhāvas*, different appearances, etc., which is described in detail in Kavikarṇapūra's *GGUD*.

Śloka 2. See 1.1.*śl.*14. [The attribution of this *śloka* to Svarūpa Dāmodara is much more probable than in previously cited *ślokas*. Kavikarṇapūra's *GGUD* 10 quotes this *śloka* verbatim, preceded in v. 9 with the expression "spoken by the venerable Svarūpa": *ataḥ svarūpacaraṇairuktaṃ tattvanirūpaṇe / upādhibhedāt pañcatattvaṃ tattvasyeha pradarśyate //*. Kṛṣṇadāsa very clearly knew the works of Kavikarṇapūra, whom he quotes with regularity in the key narratives of the *madhya līlā* where he expands Kavikarṇapūra's statements by supplying the theoretical formulations of Jīva and Rūpa Gosvāmin. Whether or not Kṛṣṇadāsa took this quotation directly from Kavikarṇapūra we cannot definitively conclude, but it is significant that the explanation of the *pañca-tattva* found

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5 The *svayaṃ bhagavān* Kṛṣṇa is the sole Īśvara unequaled, son of Nanda, the greatest among knowers of *rasa*. 6 The maker of *vilāsa* in the *rāsa* and other *līlās*, the lover of the beautiful women of Vraja—all others whom you see are his followers— 7 that Kṛṣṇa was incarnated Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, and all his blessed followers with him. 8 Caitanya Īśvara is the sole essence of God; his pure body is full of *bhakta-bhāva*. 9 There is a wonderful natural characteristic of the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa: to taste himself Kṛṣṇa took on the *bhakta-bhāva*. 10 So Caitanya Gosvāmī holds the *bhakta-bhāva*; his brother Nityānanda is his *bhakta-svarūpa*. 11 His *bhakta-avatāra* is Ācārya Gosvāmī; all celebrate these three *tattvas* as Prabhu: 12 one Mahāprabhu and two Prabhus; the two Prabhus serve the feet of Mahāprabhu. 13 These three *tattvas* are honored as *sarvārādhya*: to be reverenced by all. The fourth, the *bhakta-tattva*, is known as *ārādhaka*, the one who worships. 14 Śrīvāsa and the other crores and crores of *bhaktas* are all counted among those who are perfected *bhaktas* in their essence. 15 Gadādhara and the rest are *śakti-avatāras* of Prabhu, and they are counted as "intimate" *bhaktas*. 16 With all these, Prabhu sports eternally, and with all of them Prabhu propagates *kīrtana*. 17 With all of them he tastes *prema*, and with all of them he distributes his wealth of *prema*.

18 These five *tattvas* all together came to earth and broke the seal of the treasure-house of former *prema*. 19 The five together looted the *prema* and tasted it, and however much they drank, their thirst grew incessantly. 20 Drinking again and again, they became greatly intoxicated; they danced and wept and laughed and sang, as if drunk on wine. 21 They did not consider fitness of vessels, nor the propriety or impropriety of the place; to whomever they found they gave the gift of *prema*.

in this chapter coincides remarkably with the *GGUD*. This is clearly the strongest evidence in the text that Kṛṣṇadāsa was actually working from Svarūpa's *Kaḍacā*, a text he refers to generally but never claims actually to quote. See also the commentary on 1.4.*śl*.8 and 1.4.*śl*.44. TKS]

11-12. [These two couplets appear to be a translation or paraphrase of *GGUD* 13, which includes the phrase, "*eko mahāprabhurjñeyo dvau prabhu sammatau* . . ." This verse and the ideas around it are directly attributed to Svarūpa by Kavikarṇapūra in *GGUD* 13. The similarities in the following couplets are too numerous to detail. TKS]

13. *Sarvārādhya*: to be worshiped by all. Rādhāgovinda Nātha comments that because of this principle, no one is forbidden the worship or reverence of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa; he further remarks that in the Gauḍiya Vaiṣṇava *sampradāya*, Gaura and Nityānanda and Rādhā and Govinda are equally revered as pairs, "otherwise there could be no full taste of *līlā-rasa* or of worship."

15. The term is "*antaraṅga*"; Rādhāgovinda Nātha defines it as "people who know the mind and heart of Prabhu."

18. "Former *prema*" refers to the *prema* of the Vraja-*līlā*.

21. I.e., to Hindus and non-Hindus, *brāhmaṇas* and *caṇḍālas*, learned and ignorant they distributed it; for a brief discussion of the extent to which this idealistic statement was true, see Introduction, Sect. I.2.

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22 Looting, drinking, giving, they emptied the storehouse; but in that wonderful storehouse the *prema* increased a hundred fold. 23 There rose up a flood of *prema*, which covered the four directions: women, old men, boys, youths—all were drowned in it. 24 Good people and bad, crippled, inert, blind—the people of the world were drowned in the flood of *prema*. 25 The world drowned in it, and the seed of the *jīva* was destroyed; seeing this the five were greatly pleased. 26 As much of a rain of *prema* as the five made, so much the water grew, and covered the three worlds. 27 The Māyāvādīs, those devoted to *karma*, sophists, abusers, *pāṣaṇḍīs*, and low scholars, 28 all these very cleverly fled away, and the flood was not able to touch them. 29 Seeing that, Mahāprabhu reflected, "I have tried to drown the world, 30 but some have evaded it, and my promise is broken; I shall spread a trap to catch them all." 31 So saying he reflected deeply, and Prabhu took on the *saṃnyāsa-āśrama*. 32 For twenty-four years he was in the householder stage of life; in his twenty-fifth year he took on the ascetic *dharma*. 33 Having become a *saṃnyāsin* Prabhu attracted all those philosophers and others who had fled away. 34 The scholars, atheists, followers of *karma*, abusers—all of them came and bowed down at the feet of Prabhu. 35 He forgave their offences, and they were drowned in the water of *prema*. Who can evade the great net of the *prema* of Prabhu? 36 Prabhu was the *avatāra* of mercy come to save everyone; to save everyone he did things of infinite cleverness. 37 So he made many *mlecchas* and others his own *bhaktas*, and of all only the Māyāvādīs of Kāśī escaped.

25. Rādhāgovinda Nātha interprets this to mean the seed of *saṃsāra*, or that which binds the *jīva* to *māyā*, usually understood as *karma*.

27. Māyāvādin karmaniṣṭha kutārkikagaṇa / ninduka pāṣaṇḍī yata paḍhuyā adhama //. By Māyāvādin presumably is meant the *advaitin* followers of Saṅkara, followers of the *jñāna-mārga*; *karmaniṣṭha* are presumably followers of *karma*, believing that action and works are efficacious by themselves; *kutārkika* are those who endlessly and fruitlessly debate the meanings of the texts, rather than accepting the word of the *BhP* at its face value; *ninduka* are those who vilify Kṛṣṇa and Vaiṣṇavas, or perhaps, more generally, all those who cause injury for selfish ends; *pāṣaṇḍī*, see ante 1.3.61 and commentary; interestingly, Rādhāgovinda Nātha defines *paḍhuyā adhama* as "lowest among students," and goes on to remark that as in Caitanya's day Navadvīpa was a seat of learning and the center of the *navya-nyāya* school of philosophy, there were a great many students around; some of these were devoted to sophistry and meaningless discussion, and constituted an opposition to the spread of Caitanya's *bhakti*.

32. See 2.1.11.

37. The term *mleccha*, lit., "babbler," means non-Hindu, but in most of these texts it is usually limited to Muslims. That Caitanya did have some followers who were Muslims is clear enough: Haridāsa is the most famous of them; the case of Rūpa and Sanātana, as has been seen, is not clear. And there are many other stories of conversions (e.g., below 2.18), though their authenticity is sometimes in question. Kāśī: Vārāṇasī, Benares.

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38 While going to Vṛndāvana Prabhu stopped in Kāśī, and the Māyāvādīs began to abuse him, 39 "He is a *saṃnyāsin*, and still he sings and dances; he does not study the Vedānta, but only performs *saṃkīrtana*. 40 He is a fool, this *saṃnyāsin*, who does not know his own *dharma*, an emotionalist who wanders about with emotionalists." 41 Hearing all this Prabhu laughed to himself; he disregarded them and answered not at all. 42 Having disregarded them, he made his way to Mathurā, and after seeing Mathurā he again came away. 43 In Kāśī there was a *śūdra* scribe Śrī Candraśekhara, in whose house Prabhu, the non-dependent Īśvara, stayed. 44 At the house of Tapana Miśra he took his food, and he honored no invitation with *saṃnyāsins*. 45 Sanātana Gosvāmin came and met him there, and for teaching him Prabhu remained there two months. 46 He taught him all the *dharma* of the Vaiṣṇavas, and the many deep and secret meanings of the *Bhāgavata* and other *śāstras*. 47 Meanwhile Candraśekhara and Tapana Miśra, unhappy in mind, humbly entreated Prabhu, 48 "How long, O Prabhu, shall we listen to people vilify you; we cannot bear it, and now will abandon our lives. 49 How many *saṃnyāsins* there are who vilify you; we cannot bear to hear it, and our ears and hearts burst." 50 Hearing this, Prabhu smiled a little, and right then a *brāhmaṇa* came to meet him. 51 Coming forward, he held his feet and prayed, "I ask one thing; grant it, in your grace. 52 I have invited all the *saṃnyāsins*; if you [also] come, my heart will be gratified. 53 You do not frequent the places of the *saṃnyāsins*, I know that; but honor my invitation, and accept."

54 Prabhu smiled and accepted the invitation, [making] this gesture because of mercy toward the *saṃnyāsins*. 55 The *brāhmaṇa* knew that Prabhu went to no one's house; but in inspiration he accepted [the invitation]. 56 On the next day, Prabhu went to that *brāhmaṇa*'s house, and he saw sitting there a group of *saṃnyāsins*. 57 He made obeisance to them all, and went to cleanse his feet. And having cleansed his feet, he sat in that place. 58 Sitting down, he revealed some of his divinity; his body was full of great brilliance, glorious as a crore of suns. 59 By his majesty the minds of all the *saṃnyāsins* were attracted, and they all left their seats and arose. 60 The foremost among the *saṃnyāsins* was named Prakāśānanda;

40. Bhāvaka: emotionalist; a person who is constant prey to his passions, is not steady, and who loses control of himself at the slightest provocation.

43. The true caste of Candraśekhara is very much in doubt; in places (1.10.150; 2.19.88), Kṛṣṇadāsa calls him a *vaidya*. It is possible that here he is using the term *śūdra* simply to mean non-*brāhmaṇa*; this would not be extraordinary. *Svatantra*: non-dependent.

44. I.e., he would not eat in places where *saṃnyāsins* were eating.

58. Aiśvarya: divinity, sovereignty.

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he made a certain homage to Prabhu, 61 "Hear, O Śrīpāda, come here, come here; you are sitting in an unclean place—what is this abasement?" 62 Prabhu said, "I am of a lowly *sampradāya*; it is not right for me to sit in the company of all of you." 63 Then Prakāśānanda took him with his own hand, and with great respect made him sit in the midst of the assembly. 64 He asked, "Is your name Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya? You are a pupil of Keśava Bhāratī; in that you are fortunate. 65 You are a member of a *saṃnyāsin* order; you stay in this place; why do you not show yourself to all of us? 66 Though you are a *saṃnyāsin*, still you sing and dance; with a bunch of emotionalists you make *nāma-saṃkīrtana*. 67 Study of the Vedānta and meditation—this is the *dharma* of a *saṃnyāsin*; abandoning that, why do you act like an emotionalist? 68 Seeing your majesty, you [seem to be] the manifest Nārāyaṇa; why do you do low things, what is the reason for this?"

69 Prabhu said, "Hear, Śrīpāda, the reason for this. My *guru*, seeing me to be ignorant, commanded me, 70 'You are ignorant; you have no right to the Vedānta; always mutter the Kṛṣṇa-*mantra*, for this is the epitome of all *mantras*. 71 From the Kṛṣṇa-*mantra* will come the release from the world; from the name of Kṛṣṇa you will gain the feet of Kṛṣṇa. 72 Apart from the name there is no other *dharma* in the Kali age; the name is the essence of all *mantras*, this is the secret significance of the *śāstras*.' 73 Saying this, one *śloka* he taught to me, [saying] 'Having uttered this *śloka*, reflect upon it':

Śloka 3. *Bṛhannāradīya Purāṇa* 38.126:
There is only the name of Hari, the name of Hari, the name of Hari;
there is no other way, no other way, no other way in the Kali age.

74 Following this advice, I take the name incessantly; and while taking the name, my mind becomes distracted. 75 I am not able to hold myself in check; I become as mad: I laugh, I weep, I dance, I sing, as if drunk on wine. 76 Then, getting control

61. Rādhāgovinda Nātha suggests that this refers back to v. 57, and that Caitanya was sitting in the place where feet were washed, perhaps just outside the door of the room.

62. There were ten *sampradāyas* of *saṃnyāsins*: Tīrtha, Āśrama, Vana, Araṇya, Giri, Parvata, Sāgara, Purī, Bhāratī, and Sarasvatī. These orders were established by Śaṅkara and his followers; it is said that Śaṅkara at one point, for some reason wanted to punish some of these *sampradāyas*. As a result of that some left their *guru* completely, and others revolted to a lesser extent; these are still known as *hīna* [low] *sampradāya*, and among them was the Bhārati *sampradāya*, to which Caitanya belonged.

65. Grāma: "place" or "village," though it is likely that even then Vārāṇasī was something more than an ordinary village.

Śloka 3. See 1.17.*śl.*3; 2.6.*śl.*19. [This *śloka* appears in the first biography of Caitanya, Murāri's *KCC* 2.2.28; it resurfaces at least once in nearly every subsequent biography, a testament to its sig-

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of myself, I reflected in my mind, 'My perception has become clouded by the name of Kṛṣṇa. 77 I have become mad; I cannot hold my mind firm'; and reflecting thus, I pleaded at the feet of my *guru*, 78 'What is the *mantra* you have given me, Gosvāmī, what is its power? While muttering it, the *mantra* has driven me mad. 79 It makes me dance and laugh and weep.' When he heard this, my *guru* smiled and said to me, 80 'This is the nature of the great *mantra* of the Kṛṣṇa-name; whoever utters it, his *bhāva* toward Kṛṣṇa overcomes everything. 81 *Prema* toward Kṛṣṇa is the highest end of man, before this, the other four ends of man are as blades of grass. 82 The fifth end of man is the sea of the nectar of the joy of *prema*; and the joys of *mokṣa* and the rest are less than a single drop of it. 83 The fruit of the Kṛṣṇa-name is *prema*, so it is said in all the *śāstras*. By good fortune that *prema* has been born in you. 84 It is the nature of *prema* to agitate the body and mind, and arouses a desire to gain the feet of Kṛṣṇa. 85 By the nature of *prema* the *bhakta* laughs, and cries, and sings and being mad he dances and runs here and there. 86 Sweat, trembling, thrilling, tears, choking, pallor, madness, sadness, composure, pride, happiness, humility— 87 in all these *bhāvas* does *prema* cause the *bhakta* to dance; he floats in the sea of the nectar of *ānanda* of Kṛṣṇa. 88 It is good that you have gained this highest end; because of your *prema*, my own [efforts] have been successful. 89 So dance, sing, make *saṃkīrtana* with the *bhaktas*, and instruct all the people in the Kṛṣṇa-name.' 90 So saying, he taught me a *śloka*—the essence of the *Bhāgavata*, he said again and again:

nificance and popularity in explaining the importance and ease of chanting the name of Kṛṣṇa for salvation. The *śloka* is explained in *CC* 1.17.18-22. TKS]

81. Puruṣārtha: goals or ends of man. The four are *kāma*, *artha*, *dharma*, and *mokṣa*. The verse is based on Rūpa's *BhRS* [*pūrva-vibhāga*, *sāmānyabhakti-laharī*] 1.1.33.

86. Sveda kampa romāñcāśru gadgada vaivarṇya / unmāda viṣāda dhairya garvva harṣa dainya //

86-93. [The incredible effects of chanting the name of Kṛṣṇa in *kīrtana* are a favorite topic among Caitanya's biographers. The litany of physical signs (e.g., weeping, trembling, etc.) and the dissociative mental states bear a strong resemblance to epilepsy (for an extended discussion of this association, see the text and commentary to 1.17.5, 2.18.74). These effects seem to function primarily to validate the presence of genuine *prema* or possession by the godhead. They are recognizable at least as far back as Bharata, called the eight *sāttvika bhāvas*, which are latent in the subsidiary or ensuing emotions or anu*bhāvas* (see 2.23.31). The *sāttvika bhāvas* are: stupor (*stambha*), perspiration (*sveda*), thrill or horripilation (*romāñca*), break in the voice (*svara-bhaṅga*), trembling (*vepathu*), changes in color (*vaivarṇya*), weeping (*aśru*), and loss of consciousness (*pralaya*). In the adaptation to *bhakti*, the list has been somewhat modified by Rūpa Gosvāmin. For the more technical analysis and list of the physical effects of *bhāva* (= *sañcāri* or *vyabhicāri*), see 2.8.135 and commentary. Popular expression of these manifestations is of course less precise and more inclusive. Of Caitanya's biographies, Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *CBh* contains perhaps the most vivid descriptions of these extraordinary *kīrtana* gatherings (e.g., *CBh* 2.8.147-228). TKS]

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Śloka 4. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.2.40:

The man, thus aroused, his affection inspired by his own *nāma-saṃkīrtana*, with spinning thoughts like a madman, transported beyond the world of men, sometimes laughs out loud, sometimes weeps, sometimes cries out, and sometimes sings and dances.

91 I keep my deep faith in this speech of his, and so incessantly make the *saṃkīrtana* of the Kṛṣṇa-name. 92 That Kṛṣṇa-name makes me dance, and sometimes sing; I dance and sing not according to my own will. 93 In the Kṛṣṇa-name is the taste of the sea of *ānanda*; beside it the joy of *brahma* is like a tiny puddle of water."

Śloka 5. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sāmānyabhakti-laharī*] 1.1.39 [quoting *Haribhaktisudhodaya* 14.36]:

O *guru* of the world, for me who has been established in the pure sea of the joy of the realization of your true form, even that happiness of dwelling in the place of *brahma* is like a tiny puddle of water in the imprint of a cow's hoof.

94 Hearing these sweet words of Prabhu, the minds of the *saṃnyāsin*s turned about, and they said in honeyed speech, 95 "What you have said is true: he gains the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa who is blessed by fortune. 96 Perform Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*, for in this is the happiness of all. But why not listen to the Vedānta? What is the harm in that?" 97 Hearing, Prabhu laughing replied, "If you do not take it amiss, let me propose something." 98 Then all the *saṃnyāsin*s said, "You seem like Nārāyaṇa manifest, 99 your words refresh the ear as your sweet beauty does the eye. 100 The minds of all are delighted by your majesty; never is a request from you improper." 101 Then Caitanya said, "The *Vedānta Sūtra* is the word of Īśvara, which Śrī Nārāyaṇa spoke when in the form of Vyāsa. 102 Error, confusion, contradiction, want of skill—these faults are not present in the word of Īśvara. 103 Together with the Upaniṣads the *sūtra* speaks the truth, and that meaning is of the greatest excellence and is easily perceived. 104 But the Ācārya made the *bhāṣya* according to the secondary meaning, and by listening to him all things are destroyed. 105 This was not his fault, for he received the command of Īśvara; he expounded the secondary

Śloka 4. See 2.9.*śl.*20; 2.23.*śl.*20; 2.25.*śl.*34; 3.3.*śl.*9.

Śloka 5. See 2.24.*śl.*9; 3.3.*śl.*13.

103. Mukhyavṛtti: the primary or obvious meaning; the meaning which is present in a word by its nature—that meaning which comes immediately into the mind when a word is pronounced.

104. The Ācārya is Śaṅkara, whose *bhāṣya* or commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtra* will be the subject of the following dispute. There are three levels of meaning which are usually accepted in

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meaning, hiding the primary one. 106 The chief meaning in the word *brahma* is Bhagavān, made up of *cit* and divinity and none is equal or superior to him. 107 His glory and his body—all are formed by *cit*; hiding the glory of the *cit*, he calls him

the *alaṃkāra-śāstra*. *Mukhya*, which has been discussed, is the first. The second is *lakṣaṇā*, which comes into play when the primary meaning of the word does not fit the context. Rādhāgovinda Nātha gives the following example: "Ghoṣa lives on the Gaṅgā"; it is clear that since literally living in the middle of a river is not possible, the sentence means "Ghoṣa lives on the bank of the Gaṅgā"—the *lakśaṇā* meaning. Jīva Gosvāmin divides *lakṣaṇā* into three sub-divisions: *ajahatsvārthā*, *jahatsvārthā*, and *jahadajahatsvārthā*. *Ajahatsvārthā* is where the term retains its original meaning but is extended. For example, the statement "Keep the crows away from the milk" does not mean that only crows should be kept away from the milk, while dogs and cats may come and drink as they please. It means that creatures, including crows, should be kept away. *Jahatsvārthā* is the situation mentioned above, in which the original meaning must be abandoned completely: "The stage cried out" does not mean that the stage has suddenly gained the power of crying out, but that the people on the stage cried out. And *jahadajahatsvārthā* is that *lakṣaṇā* in which one part of the primary meaning is left, and the other part retained. This is the type which is in question here, for Caitanya will argue that the Māyāvādins use this type of interpretation of the "*tat tvam asi*" statement ("you are that") of the Upaniṣads.

Rādhāgovinda Nātha summarizes the Vaiṣṇava position: by "*tat*" is understood that which is infinitely differentiated, omniscient, etc., and by "*tvam*" is understood the *jīva*, which has small knowledge, etc. In the *svarūpa* there is no differentiation between the two, but this cannot be held on the level of total knowledge versus partial knowledge; thus there is a difference on the level of primary meaning. If by "*tat*" is understood "omniscient Caitanya," if one leaves off "omniscient," only "Caitanya" is left; and if by "*tvam*" is understood "partially-knowing Caitanya," one leaves "partially knowing," only "Caitanya" is left. Thus "Caitanya" is the meaning of both words, and there is no difference between them. This is the reasoning by which the Māyāvādins establish the non-difference between *brahma* and *jīva*. The third type of meaning is called *gaunavṛtti*, which has been translated "secondary meaning." The usual example is "Devadatta the lion." This does not mean that Devadatta is himself a lion, with mane, tail, etc., but that he has the qualities (*guṇa*) of a lion. Thus some of the qualities in the primary meaning are transferred, but not all. Caitanya's position is that these *alaṃkāras* are fine for poetry, but inappropriate to use in philosophical discussion, which is what Śaṅkara has done, thereby hiding the true meaning, the primary one, from people.

106-107. Aiśvarya: divinity. The argument is essentially that *brahma* is said in the *śruti* to possess *śakti* (e.g., *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* 6.8), that *śakti* implies action, and action implies differentiation: power as an abstract force is meaningless. The word *brahma*, according to Rādhāgovinda Nātha's commentary, can be analyzed in either of two ways: *vṛṃhati* and *vṛṃhayati*. By *vṛṃhati* is meant "he who by himself becomes great"; and by *vṛṃhayati* is meant "he who makes others great." Both these meanings are accepted (*Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 1.12.57). The *śruti* also says that *brahma* is the greatest of all, supreme, infinite: and *brahma* is infinite in all ways, in *svarūpa*, in *śakti*, in the activities of *śakti*, and the differentiation of the manifestation of *śakti* (*Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* 6.8). Śaṅkara himself accepts this in his commentary on the *Brahma Sūtra* 1.1.1, and by this agreement accepts the fact that *brahma* is differentiated and qualified, for greatness itself is a quality, and differentiates the great from that which is not great. Furthermore, Jīva Gosvāmin, in his commentary on the first *śloka* of the *BhP*, says that *brahma* is Bhagavān, and that none is equal or superior to him.

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nirākāra. 108 His place, those who surround him are [all] *cit* and *ānanda*; yet he calls him 'the transformation of the substance of matter.' 109 It was not his fault; he was a servant of the Giver of Commands; but of those who hear him, all is destroyed. 110 He considers the body of Viṣṇu to be made of matter; there is no blasphemy toward Viṣṇu greater than this. 111 The *tattva* of Īśvara is like a burning flame; the true form of the *jīva* is like a tiny spark of it. 112 The *jīva-tattva* is *śakti*, the Kṛṣṇa-*tattva* is *śaktimān*; this is demonstrated in the *Gītā*, the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, and in other places.

Śloka 6. *Bhagavad Gītā* 7.5:

The elemental world is my lower nature; know that I have a higher nature, in which *jīva*-[*śakti*] participates, by which the world is upheld, strong-armed prince.

Śloka 7. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 6.7.61:

The *śakti* of Viṣṇu is of three kinds: *parā*, *kṣetrajña*, and the third is held to be called *avidyā-karman*.

113 Having written that the *para-tattva* is the same as the *jīva-tattva*, he has clouded

Bhagavān, being infinitely qualified, has a form, since that is a quality; thus Śaṅkara is mistaken when he calls *brahma nirākāra*, "without form." There is an additional difficulty in v. 106: *brahma* is here called Bhagavān, when previously it has been stated that *brahma* is only the radiance of the body of Bhagavān. The reasoning is familiar: that a part of the whole may be called by the name of the whole, but the whole cannot be called by the name of the part. Finally: the Māyāvādins argue that *brahma* is infinite and undifferentiated, and therefore must be formless, for form implies differentiation, and finite-ness. But it has been shown that *brahma* is indeed differentiated, so it is possible to be infinite and differentiated; it is therefore also possible to be infinite and possess form. This is the *gauṇavṛtti* argument referred to above.

108. I.e., at the time of creation, all the *guṇas* of *māyā* were agitated, and developed into the world and the rest of creation. If Bhagavān has a body and that body is material, it also must have come into being at this time, have been non-existent beforehand, and will dissolve in the cosmic dissolution; it must have been material to touch material nature. But *māyā* does not touch the *svarūpa*, and *māyā* was agitated by the glance of the *puruṣa*. The body and the *dhāma* in *svarūpa* are *cit*, totally divorced from the material creation.

111-112. Śaktimān: container or possessor, i.e., the source, of *śaktis*; see the commentaries to 1.1.42 and 1.4.84. *Śakti* and *śaktimān* are not separate, as the flame and the spark are not separate. This relationship between the *jīva* and Kṛṣṇa is possible in *svarūpa*.

Śloka 6. Parā: the *antaraṅgā cit-śakti* is supreme, among the *śaktis* of Īśvara; *kṣetrajña*: *jīva-śakti*; *avidyā*: *māyā-śakti*. See 2.6.*śl.*12; 2.20.*śl.*10.

Śloka 7. See 2.6.*śl.*10; 2.8.*śl.*36; 2.20.*śl.*9; 2.24.*śl.*88.

113. The *jīva* is a spark, Īśvara is like the flame: these are not the same; there is an eternal and infinite difference between the *cit-śakti* and *jīva-śakti*.

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the supreme excellence of Īśvara. 114 In the *sūtra* of Vyāsa the theory of evolution has been stated; he raised a dispute, saying 'Vyāsa was mistaken.' 115 'Because of evolution, Īśvara becomes changed'—so saying, he established an 'illusion-theory.' 116 In fact, the evolution theory is proven; considering that the *ātmā* is in the body—this is the place of the illusion. 117 Śrī Bhagavān possesses unknowable *śakti*, and according to his will he is transformed into the form of the world. 118 Even so, by his unknowable *śakti*, he remains unchanged; there is a parallel to this in the material touchstone. 119 By the touch of this stone, all kinds of gold and jewels appear; even so, the stone remains unchanged in its true form. 120 If there is such unknowable power in material nature, what is the wonder at the unknowable power of Īśvara? 121 That *praṇava* syllable is the great utterance, the epitome of the Vedas; as the true form of Īśvara that *praṇava* is the container of the whole universe. 122 The *praṇava* is the very purpose of Īśvara, the refuge of all; '*tat tvam asi*' is one part of the Veda. 123 He has hidden the great utterance *praṇava*, and has estab-

114. The reference is the *Vedānta-sūtra* 1.4.26, *ātmakṛteḥ pariṇāmāt*. Caitanya is about to argue that the world is the final evolutionary development of *brahma*, that due to *acintya-śakti*, *brahma*, even while evolving as the world, remains unchanged: as the pot is the end-product of clay, so the world is of *brahma*. Śaṅkara in his commentary wrote that he by himself created himself: *brahma* was both the doer and the deed. He agreed to the evolutionary idea, but held that because of evolution, *brahma* was subject to change (*vikāri*).

115. Vivartavāda: illusion theory; as the rope is mistaken for the serpent, or as a mirage in the desert, so the world is mistaken for *brahma*. Thus the results of these mistakes are also mistaken: fear from the rope, hope for the quenching of thirst from the mirage, etc. Therefore one must know *brahma* as separate from the world, etc.

116. The evolution theory is the primary meaning of the *śāstras*, and is therefore accepted by all; but the mistake which the Vivartavādins make is shown in the relationship between the soul or true self (*ātmā*) and the body. The body is perishable, non-soul; the ordinary man considers that the perishable body is *ātmā*, and that the pleasure and pain of the body are the pleasure and pain of the *jīvātmā*, that "my body is I"; but the body is not I: it is subject to birth and death, decay and change. The true form of the self, the *jīvātmā*, the spark of the flame, has no decay or death or change: it is eternal.

117. This is further comment on v. 115: how is it possible that Īśvara remains unchanged? Because of his *acintya-śakti*, which is beyond human comprehension.

118. Acintya: unknowable, inscrutable.

121. Praṇava: the syllable *oṃ* or *auṃ* [ॐ]. *Taittiriya Upaniṣad* 1.8: "*Oṃ* is *brahma*; in *oṃ* is also the visible world." *Oṃ* is past, present, and future; *oṃ* is the totality. From it the Vedas arise. It is the true form of Īśvara; *Brahma Sūtra* 1.3.

122. Caitanya is now taking another tack. In addition to hiding the truth by insisting on secondary interpretations, Śaṅkara is guilty of subordinating the importance of the utterance *oṃ* to the philosophical interpretation of the formula "*tat tvam asi*," which occurs in *Chandogya Upaniṣad* 6.14.3 of the *Sāma Veda*. Thus the formula is a tiny part of the Veda, but *oṃ* is the be-all and end-all of things.

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lished '*tat tvam asi*' as the great utterance. 124 In all the *sūtras* and the Vedas there are denotations of Kṛṣṇa; but he has abandoned this primary meaning, and has explained the secondary one. 125 The Veda is self-proven, the crest-jewel of proofs; if one interprets the secondary meaning, this self-provenness is destroyed. 126 Like this, in each *sūtra* he has abandoned the simple meaning, and by means of his imagination he has given the secondary one." 127 And in this way he condemned each *sūtra*, and when they heard it all the *saṃnyāsins* were astonished. 128 The *saṃnyāsins* all then said, "Listen, Śrīpāda, that interpretation which you have refuted, none can argue. 129 That the meaning is from the Ācārya's imagination, everybody knows; but we honor it, in accordance with our *sampradāya*. 130 Explain the primary meaning, that we may see your power." So Prabhu attached their primary meanings to all the *sūtras*.

131 "The great substance I call Śrī Bhagavān; he is full of six kinds of divinity, the repository of the highest truth. 132 In the divinity of his true form he is without a touch of *māyā*; Bhagavān is the *sambandha* of all the Vedas. 133 Calling him '*nirviśeṣa*,' not honoring his *cit-śakti*, is not honoring half of his true form, and the fullness of him is lost. 134 The various means which are the means of gaining Bhagavān—*śravaṇa* and the other forms of *bhakti*—are aids to the gaining of Kṛṣṇa. 135 These are called *abhidheya* in all the Vedas; from *sādhana-bhakti* is the sprouting of *prema*. 136 If one has love toward the feet of Kṛṣṇa, no other emotion ex-

124. See ante, commentary on v. 104. *Abhidhāna*: denotations; see *BhP* 11.21.43. Following on his previous argument, Caitanya contends that wherever "*brahma*" appears, "Kṛṣṇa" should be read. By *lakṣaṇā* is meant the second level, employed when the first does not fit the context: Caitanya has proven, it seems, that "*brahma*," at least in the sense in which the Māyāvādins understand it, does not fit the contexts of the *śāstras*. Śaṅkara is also guilty of doing away with *oṃ*, the primary, and falling back on "*tat tvam asi*," the secondary.

125. The Veda is the absolute. If one puts secondary and tertiary interpretations upon it, one is placing one's own intelligence and imagination over the divine word. If one has to do that, it is proof that the primary meaning is not understood.

131. Aiśvarya: divinity, sovereignty.

132. Sambandha is a technical term in rhetoric, meaning the matter which is to be discussed. [Bhagavān as *sambandha* is the topic of 2.20-21. TKS]

133. Nirviśeṣa: without differentiation.

134. Śravaṇa: "listening" to stories of Kṛṣṇa, the recitation of the *BhP*, and the interpretations of the Vaiṣṇava texts by holy men; this is one of the sixty-four acts of *vaidhi-bhakti*. See 2.22.60-84 and commentary.

135. Abhidheya: that which is to be explained, or, in this case, "means." [*Sādhana* as *abhidheya* is the topic of 2.22. TKS] *Sādhana-bhakti* is here the ritual or *vaidhī bhakti* by which one is prepared to attain the state of *rāgānugā*. Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out that the nine primary kinds of it are cited in the Vedas: (1) *śravaṇa*, listening to the stories, in *Ṛg Veda* 1.56.2, and in many places in the *Vedānta Sūtra*, e.g. 4.4.1; (2) *kīrtana*, "praising" the name and qualities of Kṛṣṇa: *Ṛg*

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cept that for Kṛṣṇa can remain in him. 137 That great wealth of *prema* is the fifth end of man, which makes one taste the *mādhurya-rasa* of Kṛṣṇa. 138 By *prema* Kṛṣṇa is under control of his own *bhaktas*; by *prema* one gains the *rasa* of the happiness of the service of Kṛṣṇa. 139 All the *sūtras* conclude on these three ends: *sambandha*, *abhideya*, and *prayojana*."

140 Hearing the explanation of all the *sūtras* in this way, all the *saṃnyāsins* said with humility, 141 "You are the *mūrti* full of the Vedas, the apparent Nārāyaṇa; forgive our transgressions, that previously we abused you." 142 Because of that the *saṃnyāsins*' minds were changed, and they always took the name of Kṛṣṇa. 143 In this way, having forgiven the transgressions of them all, he gave the grace of the name of Kṛṣṇa to all of them. 144 Then all the *saṃnyāsins* took Mahāprabhu, and seated him among them, and gave him food. 145 After taking food, Mahāprabhu returned to the place where he was living; such wonderful *līlā* did Gauraṅga-sundara make.

146 Candraśekhara, Tapana Miśra, and Sanātana, when they heard and saw all this, were greatly delighted in their hearts. 147 All the *saṃnyāsins* came to see Prabhu, and all the people of Vārāṇasī sang his praises, 148 "Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya has come to Vārāṇasī city, and the city and the people are greatly blessed." 149 *Lakhs* and *lakhs* of people came to see Prabhu; there were such crowds around his door that no one could enter. 150 When Prabhu went for a *darśana* of Viśveśvara, *lakhs* and *lakhs* of people came and gathered in that place. 151 When he went to the banks of the Gaṅgā to bathe, there also all the people came in great crowds. 152 Raising up his arms, Prabhu called "*Bol* Hari Hari!" and the people filled the earth and heavens with the sound of "Hari." 153 Having saved the people, Prabhu thought to leave; he sent Śrī Sanātana to Vṛndāvana. 154 Observing the commotion of the crowds day and night, Prabhu left Vārāṇasī and came to Nīlācala. 155 Later I shall explain all this *līlā* in full; I have mentioned it briefly here, by way of introduction.

Veda 1.154.1; (3) *smaraṇa*, "remembering," meditating upon the deity, a mental transformation: *Ṛg Veda* 1.154.3; (4) *pādasevana*, "serving the feet" of the image of the deity, and of the *guru*: *Ṛg Veda* 1.154.4; (5) *arccana*, "dedication" of the self to the deity: *Ṛg Veda* 1.55.1; (6) *vandana*, "obeisance" or "bowing" to the deity or the *guru*: *Yajur Veda* 31.20; (7) *dāsya*, "service" of the deity or the *guru*: *Ṛg Veda* 1.56.3; (8) *sakhya*, "friendship" with the deity: *Ṛg Veda* 1.154.5; and (9) *ātmanivedana*, "self-dedication" to the infinite, the creator, the eternal: *Ṛg Veda* 1.156.2.

138. Vaśa: control; see 1.4.216; 1.17.71, *śl.*5; 2.23.26.

139. Prayojana, i.e., the object or end, is here *prema*. [*Prema* as *prayojana* is the topic of 2.23. TKS]

150. Viśveśvara is the name of an image of Śiva, or more properly a *liṅgam* of Śiva, at Benares.

152. Bol: speak, say (imv.).

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156 In the form of the five *tattvas*, Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya made the world blessed by distributing the Kṛṣṇa-name and *prema*. 157 He sent Rūpa and Sanātana to Mathurā, and these two generals propagated *bhakti*. 158 Nityānanda Gosvāmī he sent to Bengal, and he preached *bhakti* endlessly and in a variety of ways. 159 He himself went to the south, and village to village he preached the name of Kṛṣṇa. 160 He preached *bhakti* all the way to Setubandha, and by Kṛṣṇa-*prema* he saved all. 161 Thus have been explained the five *tattvas*, and by the hearing of it will come the realization of the *tattva* of Caitanya. 162 Śrī Caitanya, Nityānanda, Advaita—these three, and Śrīvāsa and Gadādhara and so many *bhaktas*, 163 to the lotus-feet of all of them a crore of obeisances. Thus I have told something of the activities of Caitanya.

164 *Kṛṣṇadāsa*, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of 'the nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

157. Senāpati: literally, "generals."
160. Setubandha: the bridge of Rāma, Cape Comorin, at the southern tip of India.

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Ādi Līlā
Chapter 8

Śloka 1.

I salute that Caitanya Deva, the Bhagavān, by whose will even this fool publicly dances wonderfully, on the stage of this book.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya Gauracandra, glory to Paramānanda, glory to Nityānanda. 2 Glory, glory to Advaita Ācārya, full of mercy; glory, glory to the honored Gadādhara Paṇḍita. 3 Glory, glory to all the *bhaktas*—Śrīvāsa and the rest—I bow prostrate at the feet of all. 4 Remembering that august company allows the dumb to make poetry, the lame to cross mountains, the blind to see the stars; 5 while all the reading and knowledge of the *paṇḍitas* who do not honor them is but the croaking of frogs. 6 He who has *bhakti* toward Kṛṣṇa but does not honor all of these does not receive the grace of Kṛṣṇa; there is no way for him. 7 As Jarāsandha and the other kings, formerly, preserved the Vedic *dharma* and worshiped Viṣṇu, 8 but did not reverence Kṛṣṇa, and were considered *daityas*, so he who does not reverence Caitanya is considered to be a *daitya*. 9 "If they do not honor me, all the people will be destroyed"—for this reason, tender with mercy, Prabhu took *saṃnyāsa*. 10 "In respect for a *saṃnyāsin*, people will make obeisance

1. Rādhāgovinda Nātha notes that this *bandanā* is to the *pañca-tattva* (the five *tattvas*), which would make *paramānanda* refer to Nityānanda, though the structure is peculiar: *jayajaya paramānanda jaya nityānanda*. The more literal reading is preferred, with Paramānanda referring to Paramānanda Purī.

8. Daitya is usually considered to be *asura*, an anti-god; Rādhāgovinda Nātha defines the term however, as one whose nature is opposed to *bhakti*.

10. It is a peculiar tenet of the system that proper action, even if done for nonreligious reasons or for wrong reasons, is efficacious: as will be seen, the name of Kṛṣṇa, even if uttered by mistake, brings salvation. So here: people will respect Caitanya because they respect *saṃnyāsins*, not because of *bhakti*, but that in itself is enough.

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to me; so their sorrow will be broken, and they will gain salvation." 11 He who does not worship such a Caitanya, full of mercy, even though he be the best of men, he is counted as an *asura*. 12 Thus I say again, with uplifted arms: Leave all false philosophy, and worship Caitanya and Nityānanda. 13 If any philosopher says philosophy is proof, that he who is accomplished in the *śāstras* of philosophy is the one who is worthy of service, 14 [I say to him:] reflect on the mercy of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, and when you reflect your mind will be greatly astonished. 15 If one performs *śravaṇa* and *kīrtana* through many births, still he does not attain the wealth of *prema* at the feet of Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 2. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sāmānyabhakti-laharī*] 1.1.36:

Mukti is easily attained through *jñāna*, *bhukti* results from merits from sacrifice, etc. But *bhakti* to Hari is very hard to obtain, with thousands and thousands of *sādhanas*.

16 If Kṛṣṇa evades the *bhaktas*, giving them enjoyment and *mukti*, he never gives *prema-bhakti*, but keeps it hidden away.

11. At this point a rather serious question arises. Kṛṣṇadāsa has been saying that he who does not worship or have *bhakti* for the *pañca-tattva* and for Caitanya are *asuras*, even though they are otherwise excellent men. This presumably means not only non-Hindus, but non-Vaiṣṇava Hindus, and even Vaiṣṇava Hindus who are not the Gauḍīya school. This might seem strange to one who is used to thinking of Hinduism in terms of tolerance. Judging from the treatment the Bengalis received at Vṛndāvana at the hands of the Vallabha *sampradāya*, such exclusiveness did exist. Nevertheless, Rādhāgovinda Nātha has an ingenious if somewhat pious explanation of the whole thing: Hanumān served Rāma, and received his grace; Jarāsandha served Viṣṇu, and did not. The reason is that Rāma, as an *avatāra*, participated fully in the *svarūpa*; Viṣṇu only partially. Similarly, in v. 6, Kṛṣṇa in *svarūpa* includes not only himself, but the *pañca-tattva* as well; thus if one is to worship Kṛṣṇa in *svarūpa*, he must worship the *pañca-tattva* also.

15-17. Śravaṇa: listening to the stories of Kṛṣṇa, an important devotional act. These are puzzling verses; Rādhāgovinda Nātha explains in this way: there are two classes of people: those among whom there is no offence to Vaiṣṇavas or to the name, and those among whom there is. And among those who have no offence or opposition, there are again two classes: those who are "sinless" (*niṣpāpa*) and those who are "attached to evil deeds" (*duṣkarmarata*). Obviously, those who are pure encounter no opposition in gaining *prema*. Those who are sinners (*pāpī*), such as Jagāi and Mādhāi, have to exert themselves, through the name, through *kīrtana*, etc., to gain it. They gain it through the grace of Caitanya. Vv. 15-17, then, say that if one is of the class which has no opposition to Vaiṣṇavism, one can gain the grace of Caitanya—but through Caitanya alone; one can worship others all one likes, but Kṛṣṇa hides his *prema*, distributing it freely only through Caitanya.

Śloka 2. Bhukti: the enjoyment of heaven.

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Śloka 3. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 5.6.18:

O king, to you and the Yādavas, Bhagavān is equally lord, *guru*, deity, dear friend, head of the family, and sometimes he is your servant. But this be for sure: Bhagavān Mukunda grants *mukti* sometimes, but not *bhakti-yoga*.

17 That same *prema* Śrī Caitanya spread everywhere, even to Jagāi and Mādhāi, to say nothing of others. 18 The independent Īśvara distributed the profound store of *prema* to everyone, and made no distinction. 19 See—even now, he who takes the name of Caitanya, becomes overwhelmed with tears and thrilling, in Kṛṣṇa-*prema*. 20 To say "Nityānanda" brings the rise of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*; it makes the whole body weak with emotion, and streams of tears to flow. 21 There are sufficient offences against the name of Kṛṣṇa, [such that] should the offender say "Kṛṣṇa," he is not transformed.

Śloka 4. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.3.24:

If one takes the name of Hari, and there is no change in his heart, tears in his eyes, and gooseflesh on his body, one's heart alas is made of stone, it is not melted by the name.

17. Jagāi-Mādhāi: These were two brothers, sons of a *brāhmaṇa*, who lived in Navadvīpa. They were very evil men, indulging in all manner of foul deeds, especially tormenting Vaiṣṇavas. One day, at the order of Caitanya, Nityānanda and Haridāsa went to them; they were drunk, and drinking. One of them struck Nityānanda on the head with an earthen pot, and cut his head so that the blood streamed down. But Nityānanda did not get angry. When he heard of this, Caitanya went running to the place; when they saw Nityānanda's calm, and heard his prayers to Caitanya to forgive and grant his grace to the one who had struck him, the hearts of Jagāi and Mādhāi melted. Caitanya cleansed them, and granted them the gift of *prema*. For the complete narrative, see Vṛndāvana Dāsa, *CBh* 2.13.1-325. A translation of the story can be found in Tony K. Stewart, trans., "The Rescue of Two Drunkards," in *The Religions of India in Practice*, ed. Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 375-88.

18. *Svatantra*: independent, self-dependent; a mark exclusive to the supreme lord.

21. Offences (*aparādha*) are of three general kinds: those against the name, those against the service, and those against Vaiṣṇavas. Kṛṣṇadāsa is saying here that the results of an offence against the name are not easily dispelled. There are ten basic kinds of offences to the name: (1) insult to holy men; (2) considering the name and qualities of Śiva and other deities as separate from those of Nārāyaṇa and other Vaiṣṇava deities; (3) scorn for one's *guru*; (4) insults to the Vedas and other *śāstras*; (5) considering that one has praised the name too much; (6) an inclination to use the power of the name for wrong purposes; (7) considering that *dharma*, *vrata*, charity, fire-sacrifice, etc., are equal to the name; (8) instructing anyone in the name who has no faith, or does not pay close attention; (9) even while listening to the name, giving primacy to thoughts of other matters; and (10) listening to or taking the name mindlessly.

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22 One Kṛṣṇa-name destroys all sins; it manifests *bhakti*, which is the source of *prema*. 23 In the rise of *prema* is the transformation through *prema*, with sweat and trembling and gooseflesh, choking, and streams of tears. 24 Easily there is destruction of the world, in the service of Kṛṣṇa—such wealth is gained as the result of a single Kṛṣṇa-*nāma*. 25 If one takes the same Kṛṣṇa-name several times, and there is no *prema* or streams of tears, 26 then we know that his offences have been very great. The seed of the Kṛṣṇa-name does not take root in him. 27 But all these judgments are not present in Caitanya and Nityānanda; taking that name yields *prema*, and the streams of tears flow. 28 Prabhu is the non-dependent Īśvara, infinitely generous and noble; if one does not worship him, he will never be saved.

29 O ignorant and foolish people, listen to the *Caitanya Maṅgala*, from which you will know all the greatness of Caitanya. 30 Vedavyāsa has spoken of the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* in the *Bhāgavata*; the Vyāsa of the Caitanya-*līlā* is Vṛndāvana Dāsa. 31 Vṛndāvana Dāsa spoke the *Caitanya Maṅgala*, by the hearing of which all unholy things are destroyed. 32 In it we know the greatness of Caitanya and Nitāi; by it we know the limits of the perfection of the *bhakti* of Kṛṣṇa. 33 As much of the essence of perfection of *bhakti* as is in the *Bhāgavata*, he has extracted and written in this [book.] 34 If *pāṣaṇḍīs* or Yavanas hear the *Caitanya Maṅgala*, they at once become great Vaiṣṇavas. 35 A human could not compose such a beautiful book; it is the speech of Śrī Caitanya in the mouth of Vṛndāvana Dāsa. 36 At the feet of Vṛndāvana Dāsa a crore of obeisances; by writing such a book he has saved the world. 37 Nārāyaṇī was the vessel for the leavings of the food of Caitanya; in her womb Śrī Dāsa Vṛndāvana was born. 38 He wrote such a wonderful description of the

23. I.e., as through the name, *prema* increases in the *bhakta*, these symptoms show. See commentary to 1.7.86-93.

24. I.e., the breaking of the ties with the world, with the round of rebirths.

27. Rādhāgovinda Nātha comments: if one pronounces the name of Kṛṣṇa once, all *pāpa* will be destroyed, the ties with the world will be broken, and *prema* will be gained; but that is only for the class of men who have no offence or antagonism (*niraparādha*); for those who have offence, especially *nāma-aparādha*, the result is not so easily obtained. The number of those in the world without offence is not great; Caitanya and Nityānanda have mercy on those who have offence, and taking their names brings true *prema*.

29-31. Caitanya Maṅgala: *CBh* of Vṛndāvana Dāsa, as it has come to be known, for the reason given here: as Vyāsa described the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*, in the *BhP* so the new Vyāsa, i.e., Vṛndāvana Dāsa, describes the Caitanya-*līlā*.

34. Yavana: Muslims.

37. Nārāyaṇī, mother of Vṛndāvana Dāsa, was the niece of Śrīvāsa, the early intimate follower of Caitanya. Caitanya was very fond of her, from all accounts; when she was four years old, Vṛndāvana Dāsa tells us, Caitanya gave her the remnants from his meal—*prasāda*, an act of grace [see *CBh* 2.2.319; 2.10.288-94. TKS]. She was five years old when Caitanya took *saṃnyāsa*.

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actions of Caitanya that the three worlds are purified when they hear it. 39 Thus, O people, worship Caitanya and Nityānanda: this will break the sorrow of the world, and you will get the joy of *prema*. 40 Vṛndāvana Dāsa wrote the *Caitanya Maṅgala*, and in it he described the whole Caitanya-*līlā*. 41 He wrote the whole *līlā* in *sūtra* form, and afterwards he expanded and elaborated on it. 42 The *līlā* of Caitanya is infinite and shoreless, and in describing it the book became expanded. 43 Seeing this expansion, he decided to condense it; some *līlā*s supported by the *sūtra*s he did not describe. 44 He was absorbed in the description of the *līlā* of Nityānanda, and the *śeṣa-līlā* of Caitanya remained unfinished. 45 To hear the description of all those *līlā*s the minds of the *bhakta*s dwelling in Vṛndāvana were anxious.

46 In Vṛndāvana in a *kalpa*-grove is a golden house; there is a *mahā-yoga-pīṭha* there, and a jeweled throne. 47 On it Vrajendranandana is always sitting, a veritable Madana, named Śrī Govindadeva. 48 In various ways he is served like a king, with divine articles, divine dress and ornaments. 49 A thousand servants serve him incessantly, and even a thousand mouths could not describe his service. 50 The principal among the servants is Śrī Paṇḍita Haridāsa; his fame and qualities are known through the world. 51 He is of good character, patient, peaceful, generous, sober, sweet spoken, sweet-acting, very serene; 52 he is respectful toward all, and he seeks for the benefit of all; malice, envy, dishonesty are unknown to his mind. 53 The fifty ordinary *sad-guṇa*s of Kṛṣṇa all have their dwelling place in his body.

43. In the *CBh* the *sūtra*s cover the whole life of Caitanya, but the expanded commentary only the early part of his life. Kṛṣṇadāsa's reason for writing is to fill this gap. The next verse might be read as a gentle censure of Vṛndāvana Dāsa, whose *guru* was Nityānanda, but it justifies Kṛṣṇadāsa's own interest in writing about Caitanya's later life.

46. See ante, 1.5.195 commentary. The description is of the image Govinda in Vṛndāvana, one of the three primary images of the Bengali Vaiṣṇavas there. Madana: Kāma-deva.

50-60. [Haridāsa Paṇḍita is in the *guru*-lineage of Gadādhara Paṇḍita through Ananta Ācārya. He is not to be confused with the converted Muslim, Haridāsa, or the unfortunate devotee, Choṭa Haridāsa, who drowned himself in the Triveṇī (see 3.2). TKS]

53. Of the infinite qualities, fifty are primary; *BhRS* [*dakṣina-vibhāga, vibhāva-laharī*] 2.1.23-29. They are: (1) beautiful body; (2) possessing all good signs; (3) pleasant; (4) radiant; (5) strong; (6) youthful; (7) well-spoken; (8) truthful; (9) gentle; (10) eloquent; (11) learned; (12) wise; (13) intelligent; (14) clever; (15) skillful; (16) mischievous; (17) dexterous; (18) honorable; (19) aware of proper place and time; (20) eyes on the *śāstra*s; (21) pure; (22) controlled; (23) calm; (24) continent; (25) merciful; (26) grave; (27) patient; (28) looking on all things as equal; (29) generous; (30) acting according to *dharma*; (31) brave; (32) kind; (33) honoring that which should be honored; (34) honest; (35) humble; (36) modest; (37) the protector of those who come for protection; (38) happy; (39) with devoted heart; (40) absorbed in *prema*; (41) possessing all auspicious marks; (42) shining; (43) illustrious; (44) trustworthy; (45) refuge for holy men; (46) charming to women; (47) worshipful to all; (48) prosperous; (49) large; and (50) divine.

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Śloka 5. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 5.18.12:

Who has absolute *bhakti* toward Kṛṣṇa, the group of gods possessed of all qualities dwell in him. But how [could this be] the virtue of the great person who is devoid of *bhakti* to Hari, who runs outside with a desire for the unreal?

54 Ananta Ācārya is the pupil of Paṇḍita Gosvāmī; his body is made of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*, he is generous and respected by all. 55 Who can describe his unending qualities; and his beloved pupil is Paṇḍita Haridāsa. 56 He has deepest faith in Caitanya and Nityānanda; his highest joy is in the actions of Caitanya. 57 He accepts the qualities of the Vaiṣṇavas, and sees no sin; he seeks the happiness of the Vaiṣṇavas by his word, thought, and deed. 58 He listens incessantly to the *Caitanya Maṅgala*, and by his grace all the Vaiṣṇavas listen to it. 59 And at the word, all are illuminated, as by a full moon; by the nectar of his own qualities he spreads the joy of the Vaiṣṇavas. 60 He, being greatly merciful, gave a command to me, to describe the *śeṣa-līlā* of Gaurāṅga.

61 The pupils of Kāśīśvara Gosvāmī are Govinda Gosvāmī—and there was no more beloved servant of Govinda—62 and Yādavācārya Gosvāmī, the companion of Śrī Rūpa, who was greatly entranced by the actions of Caitanya. 63 A pupil of Paṇḍita Gosvāmī was Bhūgarbha Gosvāmī; except for words of Gaura, there was no other word in his mouth. 64 His pupils were the worshiper of Govinda, Caitanya Dāsa, and Mukundānanda Cakravartī, and the *premī* Kṛṣṇadāsa. 65 A pupil of Ācārya Gosvāmī was Śivānanda Cakravartī; Caitanya and Nityānanda were constantly in his mind. 66 A great many other *bhaktas* lived in Vṛndāvana, and they all wanted to hear the *śeṣa-līlā*. 67 They all, being merciful, gave me an order, and at the command of all of them I write, without reticence. 68 With an anxious mind I received the order of the Vaiṣṇavas, and I went to Madanagopāla to beg his command. 69 Making *darśana*, I bowed at his feet. Gosvāmī Dāsa was the *pūjāri* then serving his feet. 70 When I prayed for instructions at the feet of Prabhu, a garland loosened and fell from Prabhu's neck. 71 All the Vaiṣṇavas then gave the Hari-sound, and Gosvāmī Dāsa brought the garland and put it on my neck. 72 Getting permission [in the form of] the garland, I was in great delight, and at that moment

Śloka 5. See 2.22.*śl.*33.

54. Paṇḍita Gosvāmī: Gadādhara Paṇḍita.

60. See commentary to v. 43 above.

62. [This Yādavācārya was Yādava Miśra, brother of Caitanya's second wife, Viṣṇupriyā, thus Caitanya's brother-in-law. TKS]

65. Ācārya Gosvāmī: Advaitācārya.

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I began to write this book. 73 Madanamohana causes me to write this book; my writing is but the speech of a parrot. 74 I write that which Madanagopāla causes me to write, as the magician causes the wooden doll to dance. 75 Madanamohana is the primary *devatā* of my *kula*; his servants are Raghunātha, Rūpa, and Sanātana. 76 I meditate at the lotus-feet of Vṛndāvana Dāsa, and taking his instructions I write, in which is great happiness. 77 Vṛndāvana Dāsa is the Vyāsa of the Caitanya-*līlā*; without his blessing there can be no revelation to others. 78 I am foolish, low, and insignificant; I long for material things. I undertake such rashness only by the strength of the command of the Vaiṣṇavas. 79 Such strength is from the feet of Śrī Rūpa and Raghunātha, by remembrance of whom all desires are fulfilled.

80 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

75. *Kula-devatā* would usually refer to the special god of one's family; here his family consists of Rūpa, Sanātana, and Raghunātha: these three were servants of the image of Madanagopāla in Vṛndāvana, and Kṛṣṇadāsa's *śikṣā-gurus*.

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Ādi Līlā
Chapter 9

Śloka 1.

I bow down to that Śrīmat Kṛṣṇa Caitanya Deva, the *guru* of the world, by whose compassion even a dog is able to cross over the great sea.

1 Glory, glory to Kṛṣṇa Caitanya Gauracandra, glory glory to Advaita, glory glory to Nityānanda. 2 Glory to Śrīvāsa and the Gaura-*bhaktas*, the memory of whom is the source of the fulfillment of all desires. 3 Śrī Rūpa, Sanātana, Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa, Śrī Jīva, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, and Raghunātha Dāsa, 4 by the grace of all these I write the qualities of the *līlā* of Caitanya; whether I know or do not know, I purify myself.

Śloka 2.

He himself is the gardener, he himself is the immortals' tree of the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa; he who gives and eats the fruits of that tree is Caitanya, my refuge.

5 Prabhu said, "Let me take the name Viśvambhara; the name is meaningful, if I fill the universe with *prema*." 6 So thinking, Prabhu took the *dharma* of a gardener, and in Navadvīpa he began the work of [planting] a fruit-garden. 7 The gardener Śrī Caitanya brought to the earth the wishing-tree of *bhakti*, and planted it and watered it with the water of his will. 8 Glory to Śrī Mādhava Purī, the stream

4. I.e., "it does not matter whether or not I know what I write about—I write by the grace of my *gurus*; in any case, I purify myself by writing."

8. Kalpataru: wishing-tree. [The metaphor of the wishing-tree of *bhakti* will be developed in this chapter in general terms, then in specific detail in 1.10-12. Chapter 10 details Caitanya's personal devotional lineages; chapter 11 those of Nityānanda; and chapter 12 those of Advaitācārya and of Gadādhara Paṇḍita. It should be noted that virtually every individual listed in the following three chapters was considered a member of the incarnate Kṛṣṇa-*dhāma* and listed in their eternal

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of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*; he was the first sprout of the wishing-tree of *bhakti*. 9 The sprout was nourished, in the form of Śrī Īśvara Purī; Caitanya-*mālī* himself became its main trunk. 10 By his own *acintya-śakti*, he who was the *mālī* became the main trunk; that trunk is the basic source of all the branches. 11 Paramānanda Purī and Keśava Bhāratī, Brahmānanda Purī and Brahmānanda Bhāratī, 12 Viṣṇu Purī, Keśava Purī, Kṛṣṇānanda Purī, Śrī Nṛsiṃha Tīrtha, and Sukhānanda Purī— 13 these nine roots grew on the root of the tree, and kept it steady. 14 The taproot is Paramānanda Purī, greatly serene; on eight sides the other eight roots kept the tree stable. 15 On the main trunk many branches grew, and branches grew on branches, until they became innumerable. 16 Each *maṇḍala* is made up of groups of twenty branches, and the huge main branches shade all the Brahmā-worlds. 17 And on each branch, hundreds and hundreds of smaller twigs—who can count how many smaller branches grew? 18 The names of the principal branches are uncountable; later I shall try, but now hear the description of the tree.

19 From the trunk of the tree there came two limbs. One is called Advaita, the other Nityānanda. 20 From these two limbs many branches grew, and from them smaller twigs, until the whole world was covered. 21 Who can write how many smaller branches there were: branches, smaller branches, and from them even smaller branches. 22 Pupils, pupils' pupils, and their pupils—they spread out over the world, and there is no numbering of them. 23 As the wild fig tree bears fruit on all its limbs, in the same way, fruit hangs everywhere on the *bhakti*-tree. 24 The limbs of the main trunk, and the smaller branches on them, bore the fruit of *prema*, sweeter than nectar. 25 The *prema*-fruit ripened, as sweet as nectar; Caitanya as gardener distributed it, and took no price for it. 26 As much wealth, as many jewels as there are in the three worlds, this all cannot be counted as worth a single fruit.

(*nitya*) forms in Kavikarṇapūra's *GGUD*. Some of the more important identities will be noted in the commentary. TKS]

9. Mālī: gardener.

11-12. Members of the order into which Caitanya was initiated—his *gurus*.

13. [The nine roots may well be envisioned as under the ground, but it seems more likely that the image is that of the banyan tree [*ficus benghalensis*] with its multiple roots dropping from the lower branches; see above 1.3.34. TKS]

16. Maṇḍala is an obscure term here; it means "circle" or "group." In present-day Vaiṣṇavism a *maṇḍala* is a sub-grouping within the Vaiṣṇava community (see Ralph W. Nicholas, "Vaiṣṇavism and Islam in Rural Bengal" in *Bengal: Regional Identity*, edited by David Kopf [East Lansing, MI: Asian Studies Center, Michigan State University, 1969], 33-47), and judging from the precision with which Kṛṣṇadāsa defines it, it had something of that same meaning in his time; Rādhāgovinda Nātha does not comment.

23. [Wild fig: *uḍumbaravṛkṣa* (*ficus glomerata*), which is notable for its profusion of fruit-bearing branches resulting in high yields of fruit, and its extraordinarily thick canopy. TKS]

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27 Whether or not one asked, whether or not one was worthy—he considered this not at all; he only gave. 28 Handfuls upon handfuls he scattered in the four directions; the poor gathered it and ate, and the gardener smiled. 29 The gardener said, "Hear, O tree-family, as many roots, branches, and smaller branches as there are. 30 This unworldly tree does the work of all the senses; it is a stationary thing, yet it acts as would a moving one. 31 The limbs of this tree all have consciousness, and they grow and spread out, covering the whole world. 32 I am a single gardener; where shall I go? Alone, how many fruits can I gather and distribute? 33 To give alone is labor; some receive, and some do not, so their minds remain whirling. 34 Thus I give instruction to all, to everyone everywhere; I give the fruits of *prema*. 35 I am the single gardener; how much fruit can I eat? If I do not give these fruits, what else shall I do [with them]? 36 According to the nectar of my own will, I water and nourish the tree, and because of this there are uncountable fruits on it. 37 Thus I give the fruit to whomsoever there is; let people eat of it, and become eternally young and immortal. 38 My fame and merit will spread over the whole world, and full of joy the people will sing my praises. 39 Let him who takes his human birth on the earth of Bhārata fulfill his birth; let him do good to others.

Śloka 3. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.22.35:
This much is life's reward for the souls in this world, that they always act with their lives, their properties, spirits, voices, and wealth.

Śloka 4. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 3.12.35:
That which here and hereafter leads to the well-being of creatures, is that one should wisely love with act, thought and word.

40 I am a human gardener; I have neither wealth nor kingdom; I acquire merit by my fruits and flowers. 41 Being the gardener, I became the tree, by my own will; and from the tree comes the doing of good to all living creatures."

Śloka 5. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.22.33:
Ah, these trees are the best, who provide sustenance for the hearts of all living things, as good people do not avert their faces from the beggars.

30. I.e., the tree acts as does a sentient object; there are two basic classes of beings, those which move and those which do not; the tree is an unmoving being, but acts with the senses of a moving one.

39. This seems to refer to all people born in India, not just Nadīyā; presumably, India being the place where the *śāstras* were propagated, Indians have a special duty in regard to beneficence.

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42 When the gardener Caitanya gave this advice, the family of trees was greatly overjoyed. 43 And they distributed the fruit of *prema* to all; at the taste of the fruit the people all became intoxicated. 44 They ate and filled their bellies with the fruit of *prema*, greatly intoxicating—all the people were drunk; they laughed and danced and sang. 45 Some writhed upon the ground, some shouted aloud, and seeing this the gardener smiled, greatly delighted. 46 The gardener eats the fruit of *prema*, and remains always intoxicated, helpless with ecstasy. 47 He made all the people drunk like himself; no one could be seen, except for people drunk with *prema*. 48 Those who formerly had abused him, calling him a drunkard, also ate the fruit, and danced, and said, "Excellent, excellent!" 49 So I have spoken of the distribution of the fruits of *prema*; now hear of the branches which gave the fruits.

50 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

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Ādi Līlā
Chapter 10

Śloka 1.

I bow again and again to the bees at the lotus-feet of Śrī Caitanya, in which even a dog instinctively takes refuge should he get their scent.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya and Nityānanda; glory to Advaita, glory to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 The story of this tree and of this gardener is impossible to tell; hear now the description of the names of its chief branches. 3 As large a group of followers as there was of Caitanya Gosvāmī, there was certainly no feeling of higher and lower among them. 4 As many great-hearted men as there were, having enumerated all of these, no one can distinguish gradations of superior and inferior. 5 Thus I bow down to them all, that in listing only their names, no fault will be attributed to me.

Śloka 2.

I salute the beloved of the immortal tree of *prema*, Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, those hosts of votaries who, in the form of its branches, bestow the fruit of the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa.

6 Śrīvāsa Paṇḍita and Śrīrāma Paṇḍita—these two brothers are branches, famed in the world; 7 Śrīpati and Śrīnidhi—two blood brothers of them, and the servants

2. [The image of Caitanya tending the tree of *bhakti* is carried over from the previous chapter and continues through 1.12. TKS]

5. Two interpretations are possible: that listing only their names, and not their accomplishments, is a possible offence; and that since there has to be order in a list, some will be first and some last: this is not proper, and a possible offence.

6. It was in their courtyard that Caitanya held *kīrtana* in his days in Navadvīpa, immediately after his return from Gayā. The two brothers had lived in the east, in a place called Kumārahaṭṭa, near Hālisahara; at the order of Advaita they moved to Navadvīpa.

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and maid-servants of the four brothers, the retinue of their household, 8 all of these are counted as branches on the two limbs; in their house Mahāprabhu always made *saṃkīrtana*. 9 The four brothers and all their family served Caitanya, and they recognized no other god or goddess than Gauracandra. 10 One main branch has the name Ācāryaratna; his retinue are branches and twigs of him. 11 Ācāryaratna's name is Śrī Candraśekhara, in whose house Īśvara danced, in the *bhāva* of the goddess. 12 Puṇḍarīka Vidyānidhi is also known as a main branch; Prabhu took his name, and himself wept. 13 A main branch is Gadādhara Paṇḍita Gosvāmī, as beautiful as Lakṣmī, there is none like him. 14 His pupils and their pupils were his branches and twigs; thus are the branches and twigs listed. 15 Vakreśvara Paṇḍita was a greatly beloved servant of Prabhu; he danced for twenty-four *praharas*, without a break in *bhāva*. 16 And when he was dancing, Mahāprabhu himself sang; holding the feet of Prabhu, Vakreśvara said, 17 "You show me the moon-like faces of ten thousand *gandharvas*; they sing, I dance, and in that is my joy." 18 Prabhu said, "You are like a wing to me; if I had another wing like you, I would rise up into the sky." 19 Paṇḍita Jagadānanda was to Prabhu like his very heart; people say that he was Satyabhāmā in *svarūpa*. 20 In deep love he wanted to comfort and protect Prabhu; out of fear for others and his asceticism, Prabhu never allowed it. 21 Stiffness and quarreling arose between the two; I shall tell the whole story of this deeply loving man later on. 22 Rāghava Paṇḍita was one of the first followers of Prabhu, and one of his main branches was Makaradhvaja Kara. 23 His sister Damayantī was a beloved servant of Prabhu—for all twelve months she prepared the food for him. 24 And filling many sacks with those preparations Rāghava took them secretly and went [to Caitanya]. 25 Those Prabhu accepted throughout the

11. At the house of Candraśekhara Ācārya Caitanya and his followers once acted out the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*. Caitanya dressed as Rukmiṇī and acted the part of Rukmiṇī at her wedding, and afterwards danced in the *bhāva* of the goddess (*devī*), which led him to be absorbed in and subsequently to manifest the *bhāva* of a mother; see *CBh* 2.18.

12. Puṇḍarīka (Vidyānidhi, "storehouse of wisdom," was his title) was born in Caṭṭagrāma, but had a house in Navadvīpa. It is said that he was so devoted to the Gaṅgā that he would not bathe in it, for fear of touching it, or her, with his foot. He was the *mantra-guru* of Gadādhara.

15. *Prahara*: one watch, the eighth part of a day and night, three hours.

17. *Gandharva*: musician of the gods.

19-20. In the Dvāpara-*līlā* he was Satyabhāmā; when Caitanya was in Puri, Jagadānanda wanted to bring him scented oils and other luxuries, but Caitanya, saying that these were not appropriate for a *saṃnyāsin*, refused to accept them.

21. See 3.12.

23. I.e., according to what was appropriate in each of the twelve months.

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year, and that is famous as the Rāghava-*jhāli*. 26 I shall expound on all those preparations later on—[a story] which, when the *bhaktas* hear of it, causes their eyes to stream with tears.

27 Infinitely beloved of Prabhu was Paṇḍita Gaṅgādāsa; by remembering and reflecting on him all fetters are destroyed. 28 An associate of Caitanya was Śrī Ācārya Purandara, whom Gaurasundara called "father." 29 Dāmodara Paṇḍita was a branch, huge in *prema*, who criticized Prabhu in his speech. 30 Later I shall expand on these words of criticism; pleased by the reproach, Prabhu sent him to Nadīyā. 31 His younger brother and branch was Śaṅkara Paṇḍita, whose name is known as the "cushion for the feet of Prabhu." 32 And Sadāśiva Paṇḍita, whose hope lies at the feet of Prabhu, housed in his own home Nityānanda, at the very first. 33 There is Pradyumna Brahmacārī, the worshiper of Śrī Nṛsiṃha, whom Prabhu called "the bliss of Nṛsiṃha," 34 and the most noble Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita, who knows nothing except the feet of Caitanya. 35 And the branch Śrīmān Paṇḍita, the personal servant of Prabhu; he held the torch, when Prabhu danced. 36 Śuklāmbara Brahmacārī is greatly fortunate; Bhagavān forcibly took rice received as alms and ate it. 37 Nandana Ācārya is a branch famed in the world; in his house

26. See 3.10.

27. *Smaraṇa*: remembering and reflecting. Presumably this is the Gaṅgādāsa in whose *ṭola* Prabhu studied grammar; he lived in Vidyānagara, in Navadvīpa. He is said to be the *viśvaprakāśa* of Vaśiṣṭha Muni.

28. Gaurasundara: the beautiful golden one, Caitanya; Purandara Ācārya: Caitanya's father, Jagannātha Miśra.

29-30. Dāmodara (not to be confused with Svarūpa Dāmodara) was Śaivyā in the Vraja-*līlā*. There will be related later on a story of how he reproached Caitanya rather strongly for befriending a boy who was the son of a beautiful *brāhmaṇa* widow; see 3.3.

31. Śaṅkara was Bhadrā in the Vraja-*līlā*. The nickname comes from an incident in which he took Caitanya's feet in his lap, for Caitanya's comfort.

32. I.e., when he first returned to Navadvīpa from Puri; see *CBh* 3.9.17 [= 3.8 GM ed.].

36. Śuklāmbara: a very devout Vaiṣṇava of Navadvīpa; whatever he got by begging he first offered to Kṛṣṇa and then took it as *prasāda*. The story is told in *CBh* 2.16.107-50 of how he was dancing one day at the *kīrtana* of Caitanya, with a bag for alms over his shoulder. Caitanya went to him and pulled out and ate fistfuls of rice which he had received by begging, while reminding Śuklāmbara of similar interaction in the previous ages.

37. While Nityānanda was staying at Paryyaṭana Tīrtha, it was revealed to him that Caitanya would appear at Navadvīpa; he went to Navadvīpa, and when at first he did not meet Caitanya, he went to the house of Nandana Ācārya. Caitanya went there with his followers and met him (*CBh* 2.3.123-88). Another time, being angry with Advaita, Caitanya leapt into the Gaṅgā; Nityānanda and Haridāsa pulled him out, and to keep the matter quiet they took him secretly to the house of Nandana (*CBh* 2.17.30-65). From these episodes it is possible to interpret the "two Prabhus" as Caitanya and Nityānanda. But from another episode related by Vṛndāvana Dāsa (*CBh* 2.6.8-91), the phrase might mean Caitanya and Advaita, although less likely: on one occasion Caitanya sent Rāmāi Paṇḍita to Śāntipura to tell Advaita to tell his wife to prepare *pūjā* for him, and to come to

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the two Prabhus stayed hiding. 38 And the branch Śrī Mukunda Datta was a fellow student of Prabhu, at whose *kīrtana* Caitanya Gosvāmī danced. 39 Vāsudeva Datta is the most respected servant of Prabhu; I could not tell his qualities if I had a thousand mouths. 40 As many *jīvas* as there are in the world, he wanted to take their sins upon himself; he wanted to suffer hell, on behalf of the *jīvas*.

41 The activities of the branch Haridāsa Ṭhākura were wonderful; he took three *lakhs* of names, without faltering. 42 I speak only in survey; his qualities are infinite; Ācārya Gosvāmī fed him dishes [prepared] for *śrāddha*. 43 The wave of his qualities is like Prahlāda; even at the lashing of the Yavanas, he did not bat an eye. 44 When he gained perfection, taking up his body, Caitanya Prabhu danced in great joy. 45 Vṛndāvana Dāsa has described this *līlā*; the rest of it, I shall show later on. 46 Branches of his branches were as many people as there were in Kulīnagrāma; Satyarāja and the rest are all receptacles of his grace.

Navadvīpa for the service. Advaita wanted to test Caitanya's claim to worship, and hid himself in Nandana's house, instructing Rāmāi to tell Caitanya that he had not come to Navadvīpa. Caitanya, because of his powers, knew all this, and Advaita was convinced.

40. The story is told in *CC* 2.15.158-178.

41. I.e., he repeated the names of Kṛṣṇa 300,000 times, presumably without stopping.

42. It is forbidden to give non-*brāhmaṇas* food which has been prepared for the *śrāddha*, the funeral, ceremonies. But one day Advaita, saying that because of his devotion he considered Haridāsa the best of *brāhmaṇas*, though he had been born a Muslim, gave him such food. Rādhāgovinda Nātha, giving the *Varendra-brāhmaṇakula-śāstra* as authority, goes on to say that because of this the other *brāhmaṇas* considered that the family of Advaita was disgraced, and refused to take food at their house. As a result, Advaita and his family fasted. It happened that the next day it rained very hard, and the fires in all the houses in the village were extinguished, and the *brāhmaṇas* were unable to cook. It occurred to them that this was a divine judgment because of what they had done to Advaita, and they went to him and offered to accept what had been prepared the previous day. Advaita took them all to the cave where Haridāsa was living; and there a fire was burning. Acknowledging his greatness, they all praised him.

43. Prahlāda was the son of Hiraṇyakaśipu, and was a great Viṣṇu-*bhakta*. Hiraṇyakaśipu tried in many ways to get his son to abandon the way of *bhakti*, but he clung firmly to his faith. (*Mahābhārata* 2.61, 3.29; the story is also told in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*). Similar trials were undergone by Haridāsa, as told in *CBh* 1.11.67-155 [= 1.16 GM ed.], in which, by order of the Muslim *qazi*, he was whipped through twenty-two market places of the town because he would not renounce his faith; his *bhakti* toward Caitanya gave him the strength to endure the torture. For a complete translation of the story see: Tony K. Stewart, "The Exemplary Devotion of the 'Servant of Hari'" in *The Religions of South Asia in Practice*, edited by Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 564-77.

44. Siddhi: perfection, the ultimate state of realization, [here referring to Haridāsa's death. Caitanya picked up his body and danced with it on the beach at Puri. See *CC* 3.11; for other stories of Haridāsa see 3.3.48-259. TKS].

46. Haridāsa stayed in Kulīnagrāma for some time and brought many people into the Vaiṣṇava fold, including Satyarāja Khān, who, judging from his surname or title, may have been Muslim.

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47 The branch Śrī Murāri Gupta is a storehouse of *prema*; at his humility, the heart of Prabhu was melted. 48 He accepted no donation, nor took any money from others, but by his own profession he supported his family members. 49 He was kindly, and cured illness—illness of the body and illness of the mind, both were destroyed by him. 50 Śrīmān Sena was a chief servant of Prabhu; he knew nothing other than the feet of Caitanya. 51 Śrī Gadādhara Dāsa was the branch above all; he caused the name of Hari to [come forth from] the mouth of the *qazi*.

52 Śivānanda Sena was the intimate servant of Prabhu; he took all with him to the place of Prabhu. 53 Each rainy season, taking the followers of Prabhu with him, he went, guarding them on the path to Nīlācala. 54 Prabhu bestows his mercy on his *bhaktas* in these three *svarūpas*: *sākṣāt*, *āveśa*, and *āvirbhāva*. 55 In *sākṣāt*, all *bhaktas* see, without differentiation. In the body of Nakula Brahmacāri was the *āveśa* of Prabhu. 56 Pradyumna Brahmacārī, as his name was before Prabhu named him Nṛsiṃhānanda— 57 in him was the *āvirbhāva* of Caitanya; such are the many unworldly natures of Prabhu. 58 Śivānanda Sena tasted all these *rasas*; all this bliss I shall expand upon later on. 59 The smaller branches of the Śivānanda branch were his retinue—his sons, servants, and the rest, all servants of Caitanya. 60 Caitanya Dāsa, Rāmadāsa, and Karṇapūra were the three sons of Śivānanda and

47. Murāri Gupta was a *vaidya* by caste, and was a practicer of medicine in Navadvīpa; he was one of the earliest followers of Caitanya, a very learned man, and wrote *KCC* in Sanskrit, which is more popularly known as Murāri Gupta's *Kaḍacā*.

51. The story is told in *CBh* 3.5.395-411. Gadādhara was almost always absorbed in the *gopī-bhāva*. There was a Muslim *qazi* who "was beside himself in an anger like fire"; but when he saw Gadādhara he asked him the reason for his coming. He replied that because of the grace of Caitanya and Nityānanda, the name of Hari was on everyone's lips, except those of the *qazi*, and that he had come to cause the *qazi* to take Hari's name. "I shall save you from all your sins." The *qazi* smiled and said, "I'll do it tomorrow; now you go home." But Gadādhara Dāsa insisted that he do it now, and, perhaps to humor him, the *qazi* did. From that day, the actions of the *qazi* were gentle and charitable.

52-53. Each year at the time of the Car Festival of Jagannātha, the *bhaktas* of Bengal, including those from Kulīnagrāma, would journey to Puri to see Caitanya. Their steward on these journeys was Śivānanda.

54. *Sākṣāt*: manifest, an apparent form, which all can see. *Āveśa*: possession; Bhagavān sometimes enters into the pure heart of a *bhakta*, and takes control of him; he loses all awareness of what is happening externally, and when this happens his actions are no longer in his control (see commentary on 1.7.86-93). *Āvirbhāva*: appearance; sometimes Bhagavān is merciful to particular *bhaktas*, and reveals his own form visibly to them; they are able to see him, but no one else can.

58. I.e., Caitanya appeared in all three ways to Śivānanda.

60. Karṇapūra, the youngest of the three sons, was named Paramānanda Dāsa. One day in Puri he composed a *śloka* on the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* which filled (*pūrṇa*) the ears (*karṇa*) of Caitanya, whence his nickname, Kavikarṇapūra. He also has several Sanskrit works to his credit, the most famous

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leaders among the *bhaktas* of Prabhu. 61 Śrī Vallabha Sena and Śrīkānta Sena were related to Śivānanda, they were powerful *bhaktas* of Prabhu.

62 The beloved of Prabhu, Govindānanda was a *mahābhāgavata*; and the primary *kīrtanīyā* of Prabhu was Śrī Govinda Datta; 63 The scribe of Prabhu, named Śrī Vijaya Dāsa copied many manuscripts for Prabhu; 64 Prabhu gave him the name Ratnabāhu. And Akiñcana Kṛṣṇadāsa was beloved of Prabhu. 65 The nut-seller Śrīdhara, beloved of Prabhu, was one with whom Prabhu laughed and joked every day, 66 and from whom Prabhu took daily the *thoḍa* and *mocā* and fruit of the plantain tree, and drank water from his broken iron vessel. 67 There was the most beloved servant of Prabhu, Bhagavān Paṇḍita, in whose body Kṛṣṇa formerly was established; 68 and Jagadīśa Paṇḍita, and Hiraṇya Mahāśaya, to whom, in childhood, Prabhu full of mercy, gave grace— 69 in their house on Ekādaśī day, he begged the food offered to Viṣṇu and ate it himself. 70 Two students of Prabhu—Puruṣottama and Sañjaya, two students of grammar—were both most respected; 71 and the branch Vanamālī Paṇḍita, is famed throughout the world; he saw that the golden pestle was in the hand of Prabhu. 72 Very beloved of Śrī Caitanya was Buddhimanta Khān; obedient from his birth, he is chief among the servants; 73 and Garuḍa Paṇḍita takes the blessed holy name; on him poison could not exert its strength, because of the strength of the name. 74 Gopīnātha Siṃha was a servant of Caitanya, whom Prabhu smilingly called Akrūra; 75 and Devānanda was a stu-

being a work on poetics, *Alaṃkāra-kaustubha*, two hagiographical works on Caitanya, the *KCCM* and *CCN* (see Introduction, Sect. VI.1), and a variety of other works including the popular *Ānanda-vṛndāvana-campu* and the previously mentioned *GGUD*. [It is somewhat puzzling that Kṛṣṇadāsa does not mention Kavikarṇapūra's literary works when he is so clearly indebted to them, especially the *CCN*, as will become apparent later (see especially 2.2.19.109, 2.24.259, and 3.6.259; see also the *śloka* index for other citations). The possibility should be entertained that when he composed this section of the *CC*, Kṛṣṇadāsa was not familiar with the works of Kavikarṇapūra. The implication would be that either Kṛṣṇadāsa started to compose the *CC* somewhat earlier, perhaps more than a decade, than usually speculated, or the works of Kavikarṇapūra were inexplicably slow to circulate, the former possibility being somewhat more feasible considering the heavy traffic of text-carrying devotees between Puri, Navadvīpa, and Vṛndāvana. TKS]

65-66. The story is in *CBh* 1.8.178-213 [= 1.12. GM ed.]. One day during *kīrtana* Caitanya went to Śrīdhara's house; he saw in the courtyard a broken iron vessel, an unclean vessel, and drank from it. *Thoḍa* is a plantain shoot, and *mocā* the flower of the plantain.

69. During the childhood of Caitanya, Hiraṇya and Jagadīśa were preparing a food offering for Viṣṇu on the Ekādaśī day; Prabhu began to cry for the food, and the two, knowing the reason for it, brought him all the food and fed it to him; see *CBh* 1.4.16-40 [=1.6. GM ed.].

71. Mūṣala: a kind of pestle for husking rice. The implication is that he was at the time in the *bhāva* of Baladeva, who often carries the pestle and a plow.

74. Akrūra was Kṛṣṇa's uncle.

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dent of the *Bhāgavata*, who through the mercy of Vakreśvara gained from Prabhu the significance of *bhakti* in the *Bhāgavata*.

76 The Khaṇḍa-dwellers—Mukunda Dāsa, Śrī Raghunandana, Narahari Dāsa, Cirañjīva, and Sulocana— 77 all these are great branches, receptacles of the grace of Caitanya; they gave the flowers and fruits of *prema* to everyone and anyone. 78 The Kulīnagrāma dwellers—Satyarāja, Rāmānanda, Yadunātha, Puruṣottama, Śaṅkara, and Vidyānanda, 79 Vāṇīnātha Basu and the rest—as many as lived in the village, all were the servants of Caitanya, the wealth of Caitanya's heart. 80 Prabhu said, "Even the dogs which live in Kulīnagrāma are beloved of me, not to speak of others." 81 The fortune of the dwellers in Kulīnagrāma cannot be described; the Ḍoms, while herding their swine, sing [the name of] Kṛṣṇa.

82 Anupama Vallabha, Śrī Rūpa, and Sanātana—these three are the best of all the branches to the west of the tree. 83 Of these, Rūpa and Sanātana are the great branches, and Anupama, Jīva, Rājendra, and the rest are smaller branches of them. 84 At the will of the gardener the branches grew large, and expanding they covered the whole of the western country, 85 up to the banks of the Sindhu River and the Himālaya, and all the *tīrthas* that there are—Vṛndāvana, Mathurā, and the rest. 86 The whole world was flooded by the fruit of the *prema* of these two branches, and tasting the fruit of that *prema* people became intoxicated. 87 The people of the west are all ignorant and act improperly; there the two propagated the pure performance of *bhakti*. 88 Shown by the *śāstras*, they rescued *tīrthas* which had been abandoned, and in Vṛndāvana they propagated the service of the *śrīmūrti*.

89 The beloved servant of Mahāprabhu was Raghunātha Dāsa; abandoning everything, he made his home at the feet of Prabhu. 90 Prabhu gave him into the

76. Khaṇḍa or Śrīkhaṇḍa is a village in Burdwan district, about twenty-five miles northwest of Navadvīpa. The place was also called Vaidyakhaṇḍa. Śrīkhaṇḍa and Kulīnagrāma were the major centers of Vaiṣṇava activity, outside of Navadvīpa itself.

82. I.e., in Vṛndāvana-Mathurā, west of Bengal.

83. Rūpa and Sanātana were great leaders of the Vaiṣṇavas; Anupama, though he was their brother and a great *bhakta*, died young, and did not contribute as much as did the others. Jīva was his son. The name Rājendra is a problem; there is a tradition that he was the son of Sanātana, but this is not attested in any reliable source; [Haridāsa Dāsa in his *Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Abhidhāna* cites several references making Rājendra the nephew of Sanātana. TKS]

85. Sindhu River: Indus River.

87. Such sectarian statements bear out the suggestions of the texts of the Vallabhacārīs, that the various Vaiṣṇava groups did not always get on well together. As to who was primary, it depends on whose texts are read. See 1.1.2 commentary.

88. Rūpa served the image called Govinda, and Sanātana that called Madanamohana; these images, as we shall see, had fallen into disuse; they were reestablished by the Gosvāmins.

90. *Gupta-sevā*: secret service, which Rādhāgovinda Nātha describes as common washing of

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hands of Svarūpa, and with Svarūpa he performed secret service to Prabhu. 91 He performed service intimately for sixteen years, and when Svarūpa disappeared, he went to Vṛndāvana. 92 Having seen the feet of the two brothers at Vṛndāvana, he wanted to abandon his body by jumping from a cliff on Govarddhana. 93 Having decided upon this, he came to Vṛndāvana; and having come he made his obeisance to the feet of Rūpa and Sanātana. 94 But the two brothers did not allow him to die, but kept him near them, like their own third brother. 95 The two brothers heard endlessly from his mouth the many *līlās*—inner and outer—of Mahāprabhu. 96 He abandoned food and water and talk about all other things, and he ate only two or three *palas* of *māṭhā*. 97 He made a thousand prostrations, he took a *lakh* of names, and every day he made obeisance to two thousand Vaiṣṇavas. 98 Day and night he mentally served Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, and spent a full watch speaking of the actions of Mahāprabhu. 99 He offered the three prayers morning, noon, and evening, and bathed endlessly in the Rādhākuṇḍa. And he gave respectful embraces to the Vraja-dwelling Vaiṣṇavas. 100 For seven and a half watches he performed the *sādhana* of *bhakti*; he spent four *daṇḍas* in sleep, and on certain days not even that. 101 To hear the regulation of his *sādhana* is wonderful. And that Raghunātha Dāsa was my *prabhu*. 102 How all these joined Prabhu, I shall give the description later. 103 Śrī Gopāla Bhaṭṭa was one branch, the best of all, who used to converse about *prema* with Rūpa and Sanātana.

104 Śaṅkarāraṇya Ācārya was a branch of the tree, and Mukunda, Kāśīnātha, and Rudra were branches of his branch. 105 Śrīnātha Paṇḍita was a receptacle of the mercy of Prabhu, seeing whose worship of Kṛṣṇa the three worlds are subdued. 106 Jagannātha Ācārya was a beloved servant of Prabhu; at the order of Prabhu he

the feet, etc., but done at night. There is a possibility that Svarūpa was a Vaiṣṇava Tāntric, a Sahajīya (see *PHM* 48 n.); if so, the *gupta-sevā* may well have been something decidedly more esoteric. It is true that it was to the care of Svarūpa and Rāmānanda, and presumably Raghunātha Dāsa also, that Caitanya fell when in his last years he could not control himself in fits of frenzy, and that these friends guarded him at night. [Alternately, "*gupta*" may simply denote an act or set of actions that were hidden from view, i.e., not public, as would be appropriate for intimate devotees. TKS]

92. "Seen the feet," i.e., paid his respects.

95. These interpretations Raghunātha had learned from Svarūpa, who, it is constantly said, "knew the secret meaning of the *līlā* of Caitanya." According to Rādhāgovinda Nātha, the outer *līlās* were those manifest in Nīlācala, the inner those eternal, unmanifest *līlās* in Vraja.

96. Māṭhā: balls of a milk and curd preparation; *pala*: a unit of weight. Eight *tolas* make a *pala*, a very small amount.

98. Prahara: see commentary to v. 15 above.

99. Rādhākuṇḍa: a tank at Vṛndāvana.

100. Daṇḍa: the sixtieth part of a day, about twenty-four minutes.

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went to live by the Gaṅgā. 107 Kṛṣṇadāsa Vaidya, Śekhara Paṇḍita, Kavicandra, and the *kīrtanīyā* Ṣaṣṭhīvara, 108 Śrīnātha Miśra, Śubhānanda, Śrīrāma, Īśana, Śrīnidhi, Śrī Gopīkānta, Bhagavān Miśra, 109 Subuddhi Miśra, Hṛdayānanda, Kamalanayana, Maheśa Paṇḍita, Śrīkara, Śrī Madhūsudana, 110 Puruṣottama, Śrī Gālima Jagannātha Dāsa, Śrī Candraśekhara Vaidya, Dvija Haridāsa, 111 Rāmadāsa Kavicandra, Śrī Gopāla Dāsa, Bhāgavatācārya, Sāraṅgadāsa Ṭhākura, 112 Jagannātha Tīrtha, Vipra Śrī Jānakīnātha, Gopāla Ācārya, Vipra Vāṇīnātha, 113 Govinda, Mādhava, Vāsudeva—three brothers, at whose *kīrtana* Caitanya and Nitāi danced— 114 and Rāmadāsa Abhirāma, a mass of *sakhya-prema*, who picked a bamboo of sixteen links, and made a flute of it.

115 At the command of Prabhu, Nityānanda went to Gauḍa, and with him three men came, by the order of Prabhu: 116 Rāmadāsa, Mādhava, and Vāsudeva Ghoṣa; and Govinda remained with Prabhu, very happy. 117 And there were Bhāgavatācārya, Cirañjīva, Śrī Raghunandana, Mādhavācārya, Kamalākānta, Śrī Yadunandana; 118 and the receptacles of the very great mercy of Prabhu, Jagāi and Mādhāi—two brothers, eyewitnesses to [the appropriateness of] his name "Savior of the Fallen." 119 I have mentioned briefly the *bhaktas* in Bengal—the number of Caitanya-*bhaktas* is unending, and cannot be counted. 120 All these *bhaktas* were with Prabhu at Nīlācala, and with varieties of delight served Prabhu in both places.

121 Those who were the *bhaktas* of Prabhu only at Nīlācala, let me say briefly a few words about them. 122 Of all those *bhaktas* who were with Prabhu at Nīlācala, two were chief, [who knew] the innermost secrets of Prabhu— 123 Paramānanda Purī and Svarūpa Dāmodara. And there were Gadādhara, Jagadānanda, Śaṅkara, Vakreśvara, 124 Dāmodara Paṇḍita, Haridāsa Ṭhākura, Raghunātha Vaidya, and Raghunātha Dāsa. 125 These great *bhaktas* were the early companions of Caitanya, and remaining at Nīlācala they served Prabhu. 126 And many *bhaktas* were living in the Gauḍa country, who every year came to see Prabhu at Nīlācala.

127 Now let me enumerate those *bhaktas* who first met Prabhu at Nīlācala. 128 There is one great branch—Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya; and his sister's husband Śrī Gopīnāth Ācārya. 129 And Kāśī Miśra, Pradyumna Miśra, and Bhavānanda Rāya—meeting [the latter of] whom Prabhu gained great happiness. 130 Having embraced him, Prabhu said to him these words, "You are Pāṇḍu, your sons are the five Pāṇḍavas— 131 Rāmānanda Rāya, and Gopīnātha Paṭṭanāyaka, and Kalānidhi,

110. Śrī Gālima Jagannātha Dāsa: Rādhāgovinda Nātha defines *gālima* as "one who is eloquent."
118. See the commentary on 1.8.17 above.
120. They lived in Bengal, but visited Caitanya at Puri (Nīlācala) once a year.

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and Sudhānidhi, and Nāyaka Vāṇīnātha. 132 These your five sons are receptacles of my love; Rāmānanda is divided from me in body only." 133 The Rājā Pratāparudra, Oḍra Kṛṣṇānanda, Paramānanda Mahāpatra, and Oḍra Śivānanda, 134 Bhagavān Ācārya, Brahmānanda Bhāratī, Śrī Śikhi Māhitī, and Murāri Māhitī, 135 and Mādhavī Devī, the sister of Śikhi Māhitī: her name is counted among the maid-servants of Śrī Rādhā. 136 The pupil of Īśvara Purī, Brahmacārī Kāśīśvara, and his most beloved follower, by name Śrī Govinda. 137 At the time of his death, both these received his order; and they came to the place of Prabhu at Nīlācala and met him. 138 Because of their relationship to [his own] *guru*, [Prabhu] honored them both, and honoring his instructions, they both gave him service. 139 Īśvara Purī gave Govinda as his personal servant, and while going to see Jagannātha, Kāśīśvara would precede him, 140 and Gosvāmī passed through the mass of people untouched; Kāśī by force made him a path through the people. 141 Rāmāi and Nandāi both were servants of Prabhu, and with Govinda they served him endlessly. 142 Every day Rāmāi filled twenty-two pots with water, and Nandāi served according to the instructions of Govinda. 143 The pure *kulīna brāhmaṇa* named Kṛṣṇadāsa he took with him when he went on his trip to the south. 144 Balabhadra Bhaṭṭācārya was chief in *bhakti*, who was the *brahmacārī* of Prabhu on the trip to Mathurā. 145 And Baḍa Haridāsa, and Choṭa Haridāsa, two *kīrtanīyā*s, remained by the side of Mahāprabhu. 146 There were Rāmabhadrācārya, and Oḍra Siṃheśvara, Tapana Ācārya, and Raghu and Nīlāmbara, 147 Siṅgābhaṭṭa, and Kāmābhaṭṭa, and Danttara Śivānanda, and Kamalānanda, the most beloved servant of Prabhu, formerly in Gauḍa. 148 And Acyutānanda, the son of Advaita Ācārya stayed at Nīlācala, taking refuge at the feet of Prabhu. 149 The hairless Gaṅgādāsa, and Viṣṇudāsa—all these lived with Prabhu at Nīlācala.

150 In Vārāṇasī there were three *bhakta*s of Prabhu—Candraśekhara Vaidya, and Tapana Miśra, 151 and Raghunātha Bhaṭṭācārya, the son of Miśra. When Prabhu

132. [The first meeting of Caitanya and Rāmānanda, according to Kṛṣṇadāsa, led to the revelation that Caitanya was both Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in a single body (see 2.8). Rāmānanda plays a significant role in the Nīlācala-*līlā*s of Caitanya. TKS]

133. Oḍra: Oriya, one who lives in Orissa.

139. Or: "gave Govinda, his personal servant." [Govinda served as personal servant during his stay in Nīlācala. Vṛndāvana Dāsa refers to him as the guard or doorkeeper (*CBh* 1.7.2 [=1.10 GM ed.]). It is alleged by some that this Govinda was Caitanya's personal servant on his pilgrimage south and whose memories of that trip are recorded in the hotly disputed *Kaḍacā* of Govinda Dāsa. Kṛṣṇadāsa, however, names another servant, a *kulīna brāhmaṇa*, Kṛṣṇadāsa, as the accompanying man (see below v. 143; 2.9.passim). TKS]

144. Balabhadra accompanied Caitanya on his Mathurā trip, begging food for him and generally serving him; see 2.17-18.

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came to Kāśī, after having seen Vṛndāvana, 152 he stayed for two months at the house of Candraśekhara. He took his food for two months at the house of Tapana Miśra. 153 As a child, Raghunātha served Prabhu, cleaning up the leavings of his food and massaging his legs. 154 When he grew up he went to Nīlācala, to the place of Prabhu; he lived there eight months, and served him food on certain days. 155 Receiving the order of Prabhu, he came to Vṛndāvana, and when he arrived, he stayed near Śrī Rūpa Gosvāmin. 156 At his place Rūpa Gosvāmin listened to the *Bhāgavata*; by the mercy of Prabhu he was intoxicated with the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa.

157 Thus the number of the *bhaktas* of Caitanya has been enumerated; I have written only sketchily; it cannot be described in full. 158 For on each branch there are crores and crores of branches, pupils and pupils of their pupils, branches on the branches. 159 All of them are filled with the fruits and flowers of *prema*; they flood the three worlds with the water of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*. 160 The power of each branch is of infinite greatness; if one had a thousand mouths he could not describe the limits of it. 161 So in brief have been described the *bhaktas* of Mahāprabhu; even the thousand-headed one cannot speak of them all.

162 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

153. Raghunātha Bhaṭṭācārya, son of Tapana Miśra; see v. 151 above.

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Ādi Līlā
Chapter 11

Śloka 1.

After bowing to all the bees around the lotus-feet of Nityānanda, drunken on the honey of *prema*, I shall write down the names of some of the foremost among them.

1 Glory, glory to Mahāprabhu Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya; Glory, glory, to Śrī Advaita, glory to the blessed Nityānanda.

Śloka 2.

I show praise to the hosts, who are the branches of the spotless moon Avadhūta, the wishing tree of good *prema* for Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya.

2 From the heavy trunk of the tree of Śrī Nityānanda grew many branches and their branches. 3 The branches grew, watered by the will of the gardener, and laden with fruits and flowers of *prema*, they covered the earth. 4 Who can count the uncountable and unending numbers; to purify myself, let me count the chief among them. 5 Śrī Vīrabhadra Gosvāmī was the great branch of the trunk; how many are

Śloka 2. Avadhūta-indu: The pure moon, Nityānanda, the *avadhūta* ascetic.

2-3. [The image of Caitanya the gardener tending the tree of *bhakti* is carried over the previous two chapters and continues through 1.12. TKS]

5. As the story is told in various texts, including Narahari Cakravartī's *BhR* 12.3870-3947 (see *PHM*, 48-50), Sūryadāsa Paṇḍita, a brother of Gaurīdāsa Paṇḍita, had two daughters named Jāhnavā Devī and Vasudhā Devī. Nityānanda married both of them and went to live in Khaḍadaha. Vīracandra or Vīrabhadra was the son of Vasudhā; after Nityānanda died, Jāhnavā became a powerful figure in the movement, and very possibly a Sahajiya (*PHM*, 96-102). In *BhR* 13.249-64 it is said that at the wish of Jāhnavā, the two daughters of Yadunandana Ācārya of Jhāmaṭapura, were married to Vīracandra. Nityānanda also had a daughter, named Gaṅgā, and she was married to Mādhava Ācārya. Vīrabhadra, *BhR* says, had three sons. The Jhāmaṭapura MS reads "a branch like a trunk," which may be preferable given the image of the banyan.

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his branches, cannot be written. 6 Being Īśvara, he is called a great Bhāgavata; though he is beyond Vedic *dharma*, still he acts according to the *dharma* of the Vedas. 7 Inwardly he is Īśvara, outwardly he is without arrogance; he is the main pillar in the *maṇḍapa* of *bhakti* for Caitanya. 8 Up to today, by the greatness of his mercy, all the people of the world sing of Caitanya and Nityānanda. 9 I take the memory of that Vīrabhadra Gosvāmī, by whose grace all desired things are fulfilled.

10 Śrī Rāmadāsa and Gadādhara Dāsa are *bhaktas* of Caitanya Gosvāmī who remain by [Nityānanda's] side. 11 When he commanded Nityānanda to go to Gauḍa, Mahāprabhu sent these two with him. 12 And to these two there are added two more: Mādhava and Vāsudeva Ghoṣa. 13 Rāmadāsa is the main branch, with quantities of *sakhya-prema*; he took a bamboo of sixteen sections for his flute. 14 Gadādhara Dāsa was full of *ānanda* in the *gopī-bhāva*; Nityānanda performed the *dānakeli* in his house. 15 Śrī Mādhava Ghoṣa was chief among the *kīrtanīyās*, at whose song Śrī Nityānanda Prabhu danced. 16 In his songs Vāsudeva made descriptions of Prabhu, and sticks and stones would melt, when they heard it. 17 There is the unworldly *līlā* of Murāri Caitanya Dāsa, who slapped a tiger and who played with a snake. 18 However many people of Nityānanda there were—all were friends in Vraja, with horns and reeds and in the dress of *gopas*, on their heads peacock feathers. 19 Raghunātha Vaidya was a great teacher and a gentleman, the sight of whom aroused *prema-bhakti* for Kṛṣṇa; 20 and Sundarānanda, was a branch

6. Rādhāgovinda Nātha says: One of the *vyūhas* of Saṅkarṣaṇa (i.e., Nityānanda) was Payobdhiśāyī Nārāyaṇa; he was incarnated as Vīrabhadra. As he is undivided in *vigraha* from Caitanya, he is Īśvara.

7. Even though he is Īśvara and therefore dependent only on self and not on society and custom, still he has the Vaiṣṇava virtues: humility, modesty, etc. *Maṇḍapa*: an open pavilion erected for ceremonies and rituals, which recalls here the image of the wild-fig with its thick canopy.

14. *CBh* 3.5.372-94; Nityananda acted out the *dāna-līlā*, in which Kṛṣṇa demands a payment of love from Rādhā before he ferries her across the river. [This Gadādhara Dāsa is not to be confused with Gadādhara Paṇḍita, whose own lineages are noted in the next chapter (1.12.77-88), even though both figures do share certain characteristics (e.g., preference for *gopī-bhāva*, etc.). TKS]

16. Vāsudeva Ghoṣa was one of the excellent early *pada-kartās* (lyric-writers) on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa and Caitanya themes.

17. *CBh* 3.6.89 [= 3.5.725 GM ed.] has Caitanya Dāsa as another name for Murāri Paṇḍita. That text (*CBh* 3.5.425-33) says that one day, completely absorbed in *prema* and unconscious of the outside world, he was playing with a snake and a tiger; they did him no harm. He rode upon the tiger, slapping it, and took the snake into his lap.

18. *Vetra*: reeds, for herding the cattle. *Sakhā*: friends. [This appears to be an oblique reference to Nityānanda's chief disciples who were twelve in number, the *dvadaśa gopāla*, all of whom are listed here. TKS]

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of Nityānanda, the beloved servant, with whom Nityānanda joked in the *bhāva* of Vraja. 21 There was Kamalākara Pippalāi, whose ways were wonderful, whose wonderful *prema* is famous throughout the world, 22 and Sūrya Dāsa Sarkhel and his brother Kṛṣṇadāsa, who had deep faith in Nityānanda, the storehouse of *prema*. 23 Gaurīdāsa Paṇḍita, whose *bhakti* was wild in *prema*, holds great power to give and to take Kṛṣṇa-*prema*. 24 He presented to Nityānanda his class and *kula* and caste, and made Caitanya and Nityānanda the lords of his life. 25 Purandara Paṇḍita, most loved of Nityānanda Prabhu—like a crocodile he swims in the sea of *prema*. 26 Parameśvara Dāsa, whose sole refuge is in Nityānanda—whoever meditates on him gains Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*. 27 Jagadīśa Paṇḍita is the savior of the world; like a rain cloud, he rains the nectar of the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa. 28 Dhanañjaya Paṇḍita is a beloved servant of Nityānanda, always indifferent to the world, always full of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*. 29 And there was Maheśa Paṇḍita, the generous herdsman of Vraja; drunk with *prema* he danced to the playing of the *ḍhaka* drums.

30 In Navadvīpa, there is Puruṣottama Paṇḍita Mahāśaya, who becomes greatly intoxicated by the name of Nityānanda, 31 and Balarāma Dāsa, the taster of the *rasa* of the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa, most maddened with the name of Nityānanda, 32 and Yadunātha Kavicandra, the great *bhāgavata*, in whose heart Nityānanda always dances. 33 Kṛṣṇadāsa, of *brāhmaṇa* family, was born in Rāḍha, a most dedicated servant of Śrī Nityānanda. 34 Kālā Kṛṣṇadāsa is chief among the great Vaiṣṇavas, who knows nothing other than the moon Nityānanda. 35 Śrī Sadāśiva Kavirāja was greatly to be revered, and his son Śrī Puruṣottama Dāsa, 36 who from his birth was absorbed in the feet of Nityānanda, and eternally makes the *bālya-līlā* with Kṛṣṇa. 37 His son was Śrī Kānu Ṭhākura Mahāśaya, whose body remains full of the nectar of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*.

38 Uddhāraṇa Datta was the best of the great *bhāgavatas*; in all the *bhāvas* he served the feet of Nityānanda. 39 Ācārya Vaiṣṇavānanda, whose former name was Raghunātha Purī, was chief among the *bhaktas*. 40 Viṣṇudāsa, Nandana, and Gaṅgādāsa were three brothers, and in their house Nitāi Ṭhākura once stayed.

22. This Sūryadāsa was presumably the father in law of Nityānanda (above, v. 5); that his name is given here as Sarkhel would indicate that he was a servant of the Muslim king of Bengal. Nityānanda was an Avadhūta, therefore casteless and able to accept the daughters of one who had served the Muslims.

24. Kula: family or family honor; see Inden, *MRBC*, 11-22. Gaurīdāsa was the brother of Sūryadāsa, and they were *brāhmaṇas*. The implication here seems to be that although his brother had lost his caste and social status by serving Muslims, Gaurīdāsa had not done so. He gave it up voluntarily, flouting the laws of society, by allowing his nieces to be married to a casteless Avadhūta.

36. Bālya-līlā: boyhood; the *bhāva* was that of one of Kṛṣṇa's friends, the *gopas*.

40. Nitāi Ṭhākura: Nityānanda.

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41 The servant of Nityānanda was Paramānanda Upādhyāya, and Śrī Jīva Paṇḍita, who sang the glories of Nityānanda. 42 And Paramānanda Gupta was a Kṛṣṇa-*bhakta* of great intelligence, in whose house Nityānanda formerly lived. 43 Nārāyaṇa, Kṛṣṇadāsa, Manohara, and Devānanda were four brothers, the servants of Nitāi. 44 Bihārī Kṛṣṇadāsa, the life of Nityānanda Prabhu, knew nothing other than the feet of Nityānanda. 45 And there were Nakaḍi, Mukunda, Sūrya, Mādhava, and Śrīdhara, Rāmānanda Basu, Jagannātha, and Mahīdhara, 46 Śrīmanta, Gokula Dāsa, Hariharānanda, Śivāi, Nandāi, and Avadhūta Paramānanda, 47 Vasanta, Navamī Hoḍa, Gopāla, Sanātana, Viṣṇāi, Kṛṣṇānanda, Sulocana, 48 Kaṃsāri Sena, Rāma Sena, Rāmacandra Kavirāja, and Govinda, Śrīraṅga, and Mukunda—three [other] Kavirājas. 49 There were Pītāmbara, Mādhavācārya, and Dāmodara Dāsa, Śaṅkara, Mukunda, Jñānadāsa, and Manohara, 50 Narttaka Gopāla, Rāmabhadra, and Gauraṅga Dāsa, Nṛsiṃha Caitanya, and Mīnaketana Rāmadāsa. 51 There was the son of Nārāyaṇī, Vṛndāvana Dāsa, who wrote the *Caitanya Maṅgala*. 52 In the *Bhāgavata*, Vedavyāsa described the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*; the Vyāsa of the Caitanya-*līlā* is Vṛndāvana Dāsa.

53 The best of all the branches is Vīrabhadra Gosvāmī; how many are his branches—there is no end to them. 54 Who can count the unending people of Nityānanda; I have mentioned a few of them for the purification of myself. 55 And all these branches are full of ripened fruits of *prema*; whomever they see, they give to him, and flood everyone. 56 Profuse *prema* was given to all, and their attempts are unending to give *prema*, and while giving they clasp Kṛṣṇa powerfully. 57 In brief I have mentioned these people of Nityānanda; even the thousand-mouthed one could not count them all.

58 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

48. Kavirāja: practitioner of Ayurvedic medicine.
51. *Caitanya Maṅgala*: *Caitanya Bhāgavata* (*CBh*).
52. See 1.8.29-43.

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Ādi Līlā
Chapter 12

Śloka 1

All the bees around the lotus feet of Advaita carry either *sāra* or *asāra*;
I leave aside those who carry *asāra*, and praise those who carry the *sāra*
from the life of Caitanya.

1 Glory, glory to Mahāprabhu Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, glory, glory to Nityānanda and the blessed Advaita.

Śloka 1. Sāra: meaning, essence; *asāra*: lack of meaning. For certain reasons, some of the followers of Advaita took up the way of knowledge, the *jñāna mārga*, while others continued with *bhakti*. It is possible to speculate that Advaitācārya's name came from his having been a teacher of monistic doctrine, the *vedānta*, before taking up *bhakti*; this is not the orthodox interpretation, however. Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *CBh* 2.19.6-176 explains the whole thing in this way: because Advaita had been a student of Mādhavendra Purī, Caitanya honored him greatly. This distressed Advaita, who considered himself a servant of Caitanya. Thus Advaita devised a scheme which he felt would earn him chastisement at Caitanya's hands. As below, vv. 37-39, he thought to denigrate the way of *bhakti*, and thereby offend Caitanya, so began to teach the *Yoga-vāśiṣṭha* and propound the way of *jñāna*. He said, according to the *CBh*, "What power does Viṣṇu-*bhakti* hold, apart from *jñāna*? . . . Viṣṇu-*bhakti* is the mirror, but *jñāna* is the eye; what is the use of the mirror for eyeless people?" And so on. When Caitanya heard of this, he was very angry, and he came, with Nityānanda, to Śāntipura, where Advaita lived. *CBh* 2.19.124-76 continues: Advaita was sitting with some pupils, expounding the superiority of *jñāna*. When they saw Caitanya, "the glory of Viśvambhara being like a crore of suns, fear rose up in their minds." Caitanya then questioned Advaita as to the position he held on *jñāna*, and Advaita replied that *jñāna* was superior to *bhakti*. Then "great anger arose in Śacīnandana, and he dragged Advaita from his seat." Receiving this punishment, "Advaita was full of highest joy." Caitanya also, in his anger, revealed his divine form. Then some of his pupils realized that it had all been a trick on Advaita's part, and returned to the path of *bhakti*; others, however, had been convinced, and remained following the *jñāna*-path, and no longer acknowledged Caitanya as *svayaṃ bhavagān*. Because of this, it is said, Advaita abandoned them. Whether or not one accepts this explanation, it is clear that there was a split in the ranks of Advaita's followers, some of them leaving the *bhakti-mārga* to follow *jñāna*, and that Advaita himself, for whatever purposes, was an apostate.

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Śloka 2.

He who has the form of a second trunk of the divine tree of Caitanya, of him, Śrīmad Advaitacandra, we praise those crowds who form his branches.

2 A second limb of the tree is Ācārya Gosvāmī, and there is no describing all those crowds who form his branches. 3 Irrigated by the water of the mercy of the gardener Caitanya, nourished by that water, the limb grows day by day. 4 On that limb how many fruits of *prema* grow, and with that fruit of Kṛṣṇa-*prema* the world is flooded. 5 That water is infused through the limb into the branches; the fruits and flowers grow, and the branches are extended. 6 At first the followers of Ācārya were of one opinion; later, because of fate, they were [divided into] two. 7 Some followed the instructions of Ācārya, others were independent; according to destiny, they imagined their own opinions. 8 Those who followed the opinions of Ācārya—their opinion is *sāra*; those who transgressed his instructions—they are *asāra*. 9 There is no need of naming these *asāra* people; I make one mention of them only to make clear the distinction, 10 as in measuring a pile of rice the grain is separated from the husks, and afterwards the husks thrown away to improve [the rice].

11 Acyutānanda was the great branch, the son of Ācārya; from his birth he served the feet of Caitanya. 12 "The *guru* of Caitanya Gosvāmī was Keśava Bhāratī"—hearing this speech of his father, he was greatly saddened. 13 "You give such instruction about the *guru* of the world; the country is destroyed by such instructions of yours. 14 Caitanya Gosvāmī is the *guru* of the fourteen worlds. That his *guru* was another—this is not in any *śāstra*." 15 As a boy of five years he spoke this essence of perfection and when he heard it Ācārya was greatly pleased. 16 Another son of Ācārya is Kṛṣṇa Miśra; Caitanya Gosvāmī dwelt in his heart.

3. Mālī: gardener; [the image of Caitanya the tree of *bhakti* is carried over from the three previous chapters. TKS.]

6-10. See the commentary to *śloka* 1 above.

12-15. According to *CBh* 3.4.137-87, the story is that one day, when Acyuta was five years old, a *saṃnyāsin* came to the house of Advaita and in the course of conversation asked who the *guru* of Caitanya was; Advaita answered, "Keśava Bhāratī." Acyuta was greatly distressed, feeling that since Caitanya himself was *guru* of the fourteen worlds, he could not himself have had an earthly *guru*. [Advaita, appropriately chastised, recognizes that his son is a member of Caitanya's personal entourage (*pārṣada*); *CBh* 3.4.186. This explains why Acyutānanda is counted as a member of Caitanya's personal branches of the tree of *bhakti* (see *CC* 1.10.148), as well as his father's. Vṛndāvana Dāsa also reports that even earlier Acyutānanda had recognized Caitanya as *svayaṃ bhagavān*, much to everyone's amazement; *CBh* 3.1.208-15. TKS]

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17 Another son of Ācārya was named Gopāla: hear his actions, infinitely wonderful. 18 In the Guṇḍicā temple, before Mahāprabhu, he danced in the *kīrtana* in the happiness of great *prema*. 19 In his body many *bhāvas* arose [during his] wonderful dance, and the two Gosvāmīs cried "Hari!" their hearts filled with joy. 20 While he was dancing, Gopāla became unconscious; he fell on the earth, no sense in his body. 21 Sadly the Ācārya took his son onto his lap, and to save him uttered the *mantra* of Nṛsiṃha. 22 The Ācārya uttered many *mantras*, but he did not regain consciousness; at the misery which had befallen Advaita the Vaiṣṇavas began to weep. 23 Then Mahāprabhu, putting his hand over his heart, [said,] "Rise up, Gopāla; say 'Hari, Hari!'" 24 And feeling Prabhu's touch and hearing the sound of his voice, Gopāla arose; and all, in great joy, shouted Hari's name. 25 Ācārya had another son—Śrī Balarāma; and another, a branch like a son, named Jagadiśa.

26 The servant of Ācārya was called Kamalākānta Viśvāsa; all the daily affairs of Ācārya were his realm. 27 He wrote a letter to Nīlācala, and sent it to Pratāparudra. 28 The Ācārya knew nothing about that letter; by some circumstance it came to the place of Prabhu. 29 In that letter it was written, "The Ācārya has been established as divinity. 30 Because of fate he has incurred a little debt; to make good his debt I want three hundred *ṭaṅkās*." 31 Reading the letter, the heart of Prabhu was saddened; but smiling outwardly, the moon-faced one said, 32 "The Ācārya was been established as Īśvara. In this there is no harm—Acārya is the divine Īśvara. 33 But by begging, Īśvara has been humiliated; thus I shall punish him and teach

18. The Guṇḍicā *mandira* is the temple in Puri in which Jagannātha resides when he is taken out of the main temple during the Car Festival.

25. [There are several possibilities here. Rādhāgovinda Nātha attributes four sons to Advaita, i.e., Acyutānanda, Kṛṣṇa Miśra, Gopāla, and Balarāma. The fifth, Jagadiśa, is "like a son" (*putra-svarūpa*). But, Rādhāgovinda Nātha notes, some editions of the text read "*āra putra rūpa*" (not "*svarūpa*") and thereby attribute six sons to Advaita, adding Rūpa and Jagadiśa. The two older MSS consulted both read "*āra putra rūpa*." Haridāsa Dāsa in his *Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Abhidhāna* concurs with the number six and adds corroborative evidence from two later texts, Īśāna Nāgara's *Advaita Prakāśa* (ch. 15) and Nityānanda Dāsa's *Prema Vilāsa* (ch. 24). He further notes that there are significant chronology problems internal to the *Advaita Prakāśa*, which cast doubt on the attribution, a doubt that seems especially warranted [see Tony K. Stewart and Rebecca Manring, "In the Name of Devotion: Acyutacaraṇa Caudhurī and the Hagiographies of Advaitācārya," *Journal of Vaiṣṇava Studies* 5, no. 1 (Winter 1996-97): 103-26]. Īśāna, who emerges in the tradition as a minor but relatively intimate companion of Advaita's family, should have been in a position to know, were the text authentic. Perhaps significant is Īśāna's absence from the list of Advaita's companions in this chapter of the *CC*. With respect to Nityānanda Dāsa's *PV*, many editions do not even include the chapter in question. TKS]

26-30. Kamalākānta was in charge of the daily affairs of Advaita; presumably he wanted to save Advaita the worry of the debt, and therefore wrote without telling Advaita of it. Pratāparudra was then *mahārājā* in Puri (Nīlācala). *Ṭaṅkā* is *ṭākā*: rupee.

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him this." 34 He gave this instruction to Govinda, "From today do not allow that madman Viśvāsa to come here." 35 Hearing of this punishment, Viśvāsa was very sad; but hearing of the punishment of Prabhu, the Ācārya was very delighted. 36 He said to Viśvāsa, "You are most fortunate. Prabhu Bhagavān has punished you. 37 Formerly Mahāprabhu honored me greatly; because of this I was very sad in my heart, and so began to plan. 38 I expounded the *vāśiṣṭha*, holding *mukti* to be the ultimate. Prabhu, in anger, railed against me. 39 Receiving this punishment I was greatly joyful. That punishment which the fortunate Śrī Mukunda received, 40 that punishment which Śrī Śacī, the most fortunate received—is it possible for anyone less intimate to receive that grace?" 41 Saying this the Ācārya gave him hope, and in great joy came to the side of Mahāprabhu. 42 He said to Prabhu, "I do not understand this *līlā* of yours. You made Kamalā a greater receptacle for your grace than me. 43 Such grace you have never given to me; what offence have I done at your feet?" 44 Hearing this, Prabhu began to laugh, and, delighted, he had Kamalākānta called. 45 Ācārya said, "Why do you give *darśana* to him? He has put me into trouble in two ways." 46 Hearing this, the heart of Prabhu was delighted, for each knew the inner meaning of the other. 47 Prabhu said, "You mad-

39. See above, commentary on *śloka* 1. According to Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *CBh* 2.10.172-258, one day Caitanya had summoned all the *bhaktas* to see him, with the sole exception of Mukunda Datta. Śrīvāsa said to Caitanya, "Why do you exclude Mukunda? He loves you greatly, and the songs which he sings give you great pleasure. He is very hurt." Caitanya replied, "Mukunda is not firm in his dedication. When he is in the company of monists, he holds the position of monism; and when he is with *bhaktas*, he proclaims the superiority of *bhakti*. Therefore I shall never see him again." Mukunda was listening to the conversation, and resolved to kill himself; and weeping, he asked Śrīvāsa to ask Caitanya when he would be able to have *darśana* of him again. Caitanya replied, "After a crore of births." Hearing this, Mukunda began to dance with joy, that he would see Caitanya again; seeing this, Caitanya smiled, and ordered that Mukunda be brought at once.

40. The story is in *CBh* 2.22.12-58. Caitanya's mother Śacī felt that she had lost her first son Viśvarūpa because he was continually visiting Advaita's house, talking of religious things, and that because of this he had taken *saṃnyāsa*. Gradually, as Viśvambhara grew up, the pain of this loss faded from her mind. But as Viśvambhara grew older he too began to visit Advaita as his brother had done, and fear again began to develop in Śacī's mind. She began to say, "He is called Advaita (undivided) but he divides me from my sons." Annoyed by such remarks, Viśvambhara withheld *prema* from her. Later she gained the forgiveness of Advaita for her offense, and Caitanya granted her *prema*. The paradoxical joy that the *bhaktas* feel when punished stems from the idea that any real passion is efficacious, and anger is infinitely better than indifference, for anger means that love exists, at least potentially.

45. I.e., first he sent the letter without telling me about it; and secondly in the letter he spoke of my divinity.

46. Rādhāgovinda Nātha says that this means that Advaita was not really angry, and that Caitanya knew it.

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man, why do you do these things? That action destroyed *dharma* and is the shame of the Ācārya. 48 Never accept the wealth of a king; if you eat the food of worldliness, your heart becomes depraved. 49 When your heart becomes depraved, there is no memory of Kṛṣṇa, and without memory of Kṛṣṇa, life is fruitless. 50 There is shame in the eyes of men, and *dharma* and renown are lost; know this well, and never do such things." 51 This teaching was to all, and all took it to their hearts; and in his heart Ācārya Gosvāmī gained great joy. 52 Only Prabhu understood the meaning of the Ācārya; and the deep speech of Prabhu, Ācārya understood. 53 On this subject there is much to be discussed; but I cannot write it all, for fear of the size of this book.

54 A branch of Advaita was Śrī Yadunandana Ācārya, and his branches and their branches are too numerous to be described. 55 He was the vessel of the grace of Vāsudeva Datta; in all *bhāvas* he took refuge at the feet of Caitanya. 56 Bhāgavata Ācārya and Viṣṇudāsa Ācārya, Cakrapāṇi Ācārya and Ananta Ācārya, 57 Nandinī, and Kāmadeva, and Caitanya Dāsa, Durlabha Viśvāsa, and Vanamālī Dāsa, 58 Jagannātha Kara, and Bhavanātha Kara, Hṛdayānanda Sena, and Bholanātha Dāsa, 59 Yādava Dāsa, Vijaya Dāsa, Janārdana Dāsa, Ananta Dāsa, Kānu Paṇḍita, and Nārāyaṇa Dāsa, 60 Śrīvatsa Paṇḍita, Brahmacārī Haridāsa, Puruṣottama Brahmacārī, and Kṛṣṇadāsa, 61 Puruṣottama Paṇḍita, Raghunātha, Vanamālī Kavicandra, and Vaidyanātha, 62 Lokanātha Paṇḍita, and Murāri Paṇḍita, Śrī Haricaraṇa, and Mādhava Paṇḍita, 63 Vijaya Paṇḍita and Śrīrāma Paṇḍita; how many names shall I take of the uncountable branches of Advaita?

64 The gardener supplied water to the Advaita-limb, and with that water the branches prospered, and grew fruits and flowers. 65 Some branches demonstrated an execrable disrespect toward the gardener. They did not honor him who gave them birth, who nourished them; 66 they were ungrateful, and toward them the limb became angry. 67 Being angry, the limb did not nourish them with water; and for want of water the branches became weak and dried up and died. 68 A body barren of Caitanya is like a withered stick; even though he lives, he is dead, and when he dies, he is punished by Yama. 69 This punishment is given not only to these, but to those who have their faces averted from Caitanya, those who are evil people. 70 Whether he be a *paṇḍita*, or an ascetic, or a householder, or a sage, this is the way of him who has his face averted from Caitanya. 71 But those who ac-

48. Manu 4.91 and Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's *HBhV* 11.456.

64. Mālī-datta: giver or provider as gardener, Caitanya.

65-67. Advaita became angry with those of his followers who had turned away from Caitanya and followed the *jñāna-mārga*. There is the possibility also, judging from the letter of Kamalākānta, that there were some among his followers who gave Advaita primacy over Caitanya.

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cepted the views of Acyutānanda, those followers of the Ācārya are great *bhāgavatas*. 72 The views of Acyuta are the best of all, and all other views are like ashes. 73 They are the vessels of the grace of the Ācārya; easily they gain the feet of Caitanya. 74 A crore of my obeisances to the followers of the Ācārya, who, like Acyutānanda, had Caitanya as their life. 75 So I have spoken of the followers of Ācārya Gosvāmī, describing in brief the three primary branches of the trunk. 76 There is no numbering the branches and their branches; I speak, merely surveying the horizon.

77 Śrī Gadādhara Paṇḍita is the very foremost among the branches; let me enumerate one or two of his branches. 78 The best of the branches are Dhruvānanda, and Śrīdhara Brahmacārī, Bhāgavata Ācārya, and Haridāsa Brahmacārī, 79 Ananta Ācārya, Kavi Datta, Miśra Nayana, Gaṅgāmantrī, Māmu Ṭhākura, and Kaṇṭhābharaṇa. 80 There were Bhūgarbha Gosvāmī and Bhāgavata Dāsa, both of whom came and settled at Vṛndāvana. 81 Vāṇīnātha Brahmacārī was greatly revered, and Vallabha Caitanya Dāsa, full of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*. 82 There were Śrīnātha Cakravartī, Uddhava Dāsa, Jitā Mitra, and the wood-cutter Jagannātha Dāsa, 83 Śrī Hari Ācārya, Sādipurisā Gopāla, Kṛṣṇadāsa Brahmacārī, and Puṣpagopāla, 84 Śrīharṣa, Raghu Miśra, Lakṣmīnātha Paṇḍita, Raṅgavāṭī Caitanya Dāsa, Śrī Raghunātha. 85 Strongest of faith among the branches was Śivānanda Cakravartī, who dwelled at the feet of Madanagopāla [in Vraja]. 86 Amogha Paṇḍita, Hastigopāla, Caitanya Vallabha, Yadu Gāṅgulī, and Maṅgala Vaiṣṇava. 87 So in brief I have spoken of the people of the Paṇḍita Gosvāmī; thus could be enumerated many more branches and their branches. 88 All the people of the Paṇḍita are most blessed *bhāgavatas*, and the best beloved of all their hearts is Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya.

89 So I have enumerated the branches of these three limbs; by the remembrance of all of them, the bonds of the world are released. 90 By the recollection of all of them, the feet of Caitanya are gained; by memory of all of them, all desires are fulfilled. 91 Thus bowing down to the feet of all of these, I speak in sequence of the life of the Caitanya-gardener. 92 The sea of the nectar of the *līlā* of Gaura is shoreless and without bottom; who can dare to bathe in it? 93 By the very scent of its sweetness the heart grows greedy, thus standing on the shore, I taste only a drop.

94 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

75. I.e., the branches of Caitanya himself (ch. 10), of Nityānanda (ch. 11), and Advaita (ch. 12.1-76).

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Ādi Līlā
Chapter 13

Śloka 1

May that Caitanya Deva be gracious to me, by whose grace this unworthy person gains the ability instantly to describe his *līlā*.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya Gauracandra, glory to Advaitacandra, glory glory to Nityānanda. 2 Glory, glory to Gadādhara, glory to Śrīnivāsa, glory to Mukunda, Vāsudeva, glory to Haridāsa. 3 Glory to Svarūpa Dāmodara, glory to Murāri Gupta; by the rising of all these moons, the darkness has been dispelled. 4 Glory to the *bhakta*-moons of Śrī Caitanya-candra; by the radiance of all of them the three worlds are illumined. 5 Thus, in the beginning of the book, I have given an introduction; now let me speak of the gradual development of the Caitanya-*līlā*. 6 At first I shall state this in the form of *sūtras*, and afterwards I shall expand upon them.

7 Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya descended at Navadvīpa, and for forty-eight years his sport was apparent. 8 1407 of the *śaka* era witnessed his birth, and in 1455 he disappeared. 9 For twenty-four years Prabhu lived as a householder, always praising Kṛṣṇa. 10 At the end of twenty-four years he took *saṃnyāsa*, and for twenty-four years he lived at Nīlācala. 11 Of this, six years [were spent] in wandering, sometimes in the south, sometimes in Gauḍa, sometimes to Vṛndāvana. 12 For eighteen years he remained at Nīlācala, and caused all to float in the nectar of name and *prema* of Kṛṣṇa. 13 The *līlā* of Prabhu in the householder stage is called the

2. [Śrīvāsa is, as here, occasionally called Śrīnivāsa, not to be confused with the next generation's leader of the same name, who was one of a trio of "missionaries" responsible for organizing the disparate lineages into a loosely coherent movement. TKS]

7. *Prakaṭa*: apparent, manifest. The Caitanya-*līlā*, like all *līlā*s, is eternal, and it is only in *avatāra* that the earth is able to catch a glimpse of that eternity.

8. 1407 *śaka* is 1486 AD; 1455 *śaka* is 1533 AD.

13. *Gṛhastha*: householder.

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ādi līlā; *madhya* and *antya* are the two names of the *śeṣa līlā*. 14 All the activities of Prabhu in the *ādi līlā* have been woven together in *sūtra*-form by Murāri Gupta. 15 And the *śeṣa līlā* of Prabhu has been woven together within a book, in *sūtra*-form, by Svarūpa Dāmodara. 16 Seeing and hearing the *sūtras* of these two men, [other] Vaiṣṇavas composed narratives. 17 Childhood, boyhood, adolescence, and youth—there are these four parts; and thus there are four subdivisions of the *līlā* in the *ādi khaṇḍa*.

Śloka 2.

I greet the full moon night of Phālguna, full of all excellent qualities,
when with the names of Kṛṣṇa, Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya descended.

18 So in the evening of the full-moon night in Phālguna, Prabhu was born. At that time, by divine power, there was an eclipse of the moon. 19 The people were greatly delighted, and called out "Hari Hari!" Then Caitanya Prabhu was born, giving birth [also] to the Name. 20 From his birth to his childhood, boyhood, adolescence, and youth, under many pretexts Prabhu caused people to take the name of Hari. 21 Under the pretext of his childhood, Prabhu wept much; but hearing the names "Kṛṣṇa" and "Hari," his crying stopped. 22 Thus the women said "Hari, Hari" to him, and friends all came to see. 23 All the women laughing called him Gaurahari, and thus his name became Gaurahari. 24 In his childhood

16. ["Vaiṣṇavas" presumably refers to authors such as Kavikarṇapūra and Vṛndāvana Dāsa, both of whose works he used extensively. The *KCC* of Murāri Gupta, in its modern printed form, does include more than the early life of Caitanya, but it is clear that other authors, e.g., Kavikarṇapūra, relied on it primarily for that early chronology; Murāri was, of course, the only biographer to witness Caitanya's early life. Svarūpa, on the other hand, was perhaps Caitanya's closest associate in Nīlācala, and the obvious source for much of Kṛṣṇadāsa's own writing, through Raghunātha Dāsa and perhaps the *Kaḍacā* of Svarūpa himself; see the commentary to 1.4.*śl.*8 and 1.4.*śl.*44; see also Introduction, Sect. VI.1. TKS]

13-17. [The biographies recognize two basic divisions of Caitanya's life, one two-fold, the other three-fold. In the former, the *ādi* (beginning) phase covers birth to renunciation, while *śeṣa* covers the remainder of his life. In the latter, the divisions depend on the emphasis of the biographer. For Vṛndāvana Dāsa's CBh, the *ādi* follows Caitanya to his ecstatic experience at Gayā, *madhya* covers the Nadīyā-*līlās* up to his renunciation, with *antya* tracing his trip to Puri with only brief mention of his final years. For Kṛṣṇadāsa, *ādi* (beginning = 24 years) follows Caitanya to his renunciation, *madhya* (middle = 6 years) covers his pilgrimages and instruction to Rūpa and Sanātana, while *antya* (end = 18 years) covers the remainder of his life in Puri. TKS.]

19. Because of Caitanya's birth, and because of the eclipse, the people shouted the name of Hari—this was giving birth to the Name.

23. Gaurahari: The golden-colored Kṛṣṇa.

24. Childhood is generally considered to be up to age five; boyhood up to age ten; adolescence up to age fifteen; and youth after that.

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he was taught to write; in his boyhood he did not marry. 25 He married when he was in his first youth, and everywhere caused people to take the name of Kṛṣṇa. 26 In his adolescence he studied, and taught pupils; and everywhere explained the Kṛṣṇa-name. 27 The essential truth of the *sūtras*, *vṛttis*, *pañjis*, and the commentaries was in the name of Kṛṣṇa, and his students were delighted at this wonderful power. 28 To whomever he saw, he said "Speak the name of Kṛṣṇa!" and he caused the whole of the town of Navadvīpa to float in the name of Kṛṣṇa. 29 In the days of his youth he began *saṃkīrtana*; day and night he danced in *prema*, his *bhaktas* with him. 30 He wandered from *nagara* to *nagara*, making *kīrtana*, and caused the three worlds to float, by giving *prema-bhakti*. 31 Twenty-four years it was thus in the town of Navadvīpa; he caused all people to take Kṛṣṇa-*prema* through the name. 32 And after twenty-four years he took *saṃnyāsa*, and taking his *bhaktas* he went to live at Nīlācala.

33 In that time at Nīlācala, for six years, he danced and sang and eternally gave the gift of *prema-bhakti*. 34 To Setubandha and throughout Gauḍa, and to Vṛndāvana he went, preaching the name and *prema*. 35 This is called the *madhya līlā*, and is the chief repository of *līlā*. The last eighteen years have the name *antya līlā*. 36 And within this, for six years with his *bhaktas* he caused people to take *prema-bhakti*, in the delight of song and dance. 37 Twelve years at the end he remained at Nīlācala; under the pretext of tasting it himself, he taught the condition of *prema*. 38 Day and night he trembled with *viraha* of Kṛṣṇa; he behaved like a madman, and his speech was raving. 39 As Rādhā raved at the sight of Uddhava, he raved so night and day. 40 Together with Svarūpa and Rāmānanda, he tasted the songs of

25. There is no real indication that he was intensely religious until two years before his *saṃnyāsa*. Before that, it seems, expressions like "everywhere explained the Kṛṣṇa-name" are merely pious.

26. It seems unlikely that at the age of fifteen he would be prepared to teach; but Rādhāgovinda Nātha says that at this age he had his own *ṭola*, and that this is borne out by 1.16.2.

27. His subject was grammar, and these are all texts of that subject: *pañji*, for example, refers to a commentary on the grammar text *Kalāpa*, according to Rādhāgovinda Nātha. Presumably what Kṛṣṇadāsa means here is that he interpreted these texts from a Vaiṣṇava point of view by using grammatical examples from *bhakti* literature, using grammatical logic to establish a religious position, etc.

30. *Nagara* to *nagara*: here probably from "section to section" of Navadvīpa, rather than "city to city."

37. *Chala*: pretext; this is a difficult word in this context. It does not mean that Caitanya himself was only pretending to taste the *prema*, in order to teach, that he did not really himself experience it. It rather means "by indirection"; he showed people what the manifestations of the experience were, rather than preaching it to them. Furthermore, this teaching was only the secondary purpose of the *avatāra*; the primary one was the experience. This is the "pretext."

38. *Viraha*: the burning pain of separation, usually from one's beloved.

39. When Kṛṣṇa was staying at Mathurā and sent Uddhava back to Vraja, Rādhā, meeting

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Vidyāpati, Jayadeva, and Caṇḍīdāsa. 41 All the types of *prema*, in separation from Kṛṣṇa, he tasted fully, in accordance with his own desires. 42 What wretched *jīva* is able to describe the infinite Caitanya-*līlā* in full? 43 If Ananta himself counted it in *sūtras*, even with his thousand mouths he could not reach the end of it. 44 Svarūpa Dāmodara and Murāri Gupta have described the major parts of the *līlā* by writing in *sūtras*. 45 Following them, Vṛndāvana Dāsa has expanded on their *līlā-sūtras*, describing them in detail. 46 The Vyāsa of the Caitanya-*līlā* is Vṛndāvana Dāsa, and he wrote on the *līlā* very sweetly. 47 On those parts which he omitted, for fear of the size of [his] book, I shall write a little. 48 He tasted the nectar of the *līlā* of Prabhu; I take a little of the leavings of his meal.

49 Thus let me write the *sūtras* of the *ādi līlā*; hear O *bhaktas*! I write in brief; it cannot all be written. 50 Vrajendrakumāra, for the fulfillment of a certain wish, decided to become an *avatāra*. 51 First he caused to appear those who were his elders; let me mention them in brief—writing in detail is not possible. 52 Śrī Śacī and Jagannātha, Śrī Mādhava Purī, Keśava Bhāratī, and Śrī Īśvara Purī, 53 Advaitācārya and Śrīvāsa Paṇḍita, Ācāryanidhi, Vidyānidhi, and Haridāsa Ṭhākura. 54 And there was Śrī Upendra Miśra, the dweller in Śrīhaṭṭa, a Vaiṣṇava, a *paṇḍita*, a wealthy man, and the foremost in all virtues of truth. 55 The seven Miśras his sons were seven lords among *ṛṣis*: Kaṃsāri, Paramānanda, Padmanābha, Sarveśvara, 56 Jagannātha, Janārdana, and Trailokyanātha. Jagannātha settled in Nadīyā, by the banks of the Gaṅgā. 57 Jagannātha, the best of Miśras, whose title was Purandara, was an ocean of good qualities, in the form of Nanda and Vasudeva. 58 His wife's name was Śacī, a true wife, a *pativratā*, whose father was a Cakravartī named Nīlāmbara. 59 Ṭhākura Nityānanda was born in Rāḍha. And Gaṅgādāsa Paṇḍita, Murāri Gupta, and Mukunda, 60 and uncounted *bhaktas* he caused to descend; and finally Vrajendrakumāra came down.

Uddhava, raved with the sorrow of her *viraha*; this is the *bhramara gīta*, the "song of the bee" (*BhP* 10.47).

51. [This is the beginning of the *avatāra* of the realm and entourage (*dhāma*) which accompanies Kṛṣṇa everywhere, usually effected by Baladeva as Ananta Śeṣa (see below vv. 72-73). TKS]

54-56. Upendra Miśra was born in Ḍhākādakṣiṇagrāma of Śrīhaṭṭa (Sylhet) district; he had seven sons: Kaṃsāri, Paramānanda, Padmanābha, Sarveśvara, Jagannātha, Janārdana, and Trailokyanātha. Jagannātha, desiring to live on the banks of the Gaṅgā, moved to Nadīyā, where Caitanya was born.

57. Purandara: primary, the best. In the Dvāpara-*līlā*, Jagannātha had been Nanda, a storehouse of good qualities.

58. Śacī was Yaśodā in the Dvāpara-*līlā*; *pativratā*: a woman who upholds her own and her husband's *dharma* by observing all vows, etc.

59. In the village of Ekacākā, in modern Birbhum district, according to Rādhāgovinda Nātha. Rāḍha is the name given to the western part of modern West Bengal state.

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61 Before the appearance of Caitanya, many *bhaktas* came to the place of Advaitācārya. 62 Ācārya Gosvāmī would speak on the *Gītā* and *Bhāgavata*, expounding the greatness of *bhakti* and condemning the [paths of] *jñāna* and *karma*. 63 In all the *śāstras*, he said, Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti* is explained; *jñāna-yoga*, and *karma-yoga* no one respects. 64 And the Vaiṣṇavas who were with him were much pleased with his stories of Kṛṣṇa, his worship of Kṛṣṇa, and his *nāma-saṃkīrtana*. 65 But seeing all the people with faces averted from Kṛṣṇa, seeing people immersed in worldly affairs, he was very sorrowful. 66 He reflected on a source of salvation for the people, how all these people could be saved. 67 "If Kṛṣṇa himself descends and propagates *bhakti*, then the people will be saved." 68 So the Ācārya prayed that Kṛṣṇa himself appear; he performed Kṛṣṇa-*pūjā*, with *tulasī* and Gaṅgā-water. 69 He summoned Kṛṣṇa with a loud outcry, and Vrajendrakumāra was attracted by the shout.

70 In the womb of Śacī, the wife of Jagannātha Miśra, eight daughters had been born in succession, and all had died at birth. 71 In *viraha* for his children, Miśra's heart was very sad, and he prayed at the feet of Viṣṇu for a son. 72 So a son was born, and named Viśvarūpa; he was possessed of all great virtues, the Baladeva-*dhāma*. 73 The *prakāśa* [form] of Baladeva was Saṃkarṣaṇa in Paravyoma, and he is the cause both efficient and material of the universe. 74 We see nothing else but him in the universe, thus Viśvarūpa was his name.

Śloka 3. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.15.35.

Nothing is surprising in the eternal Bhagavān, the lord of the universe, on whom this universe is woven, warp and woof like the threads of a piece of cloth.

75 Thus Prabhu called him, "elder brother"; Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, these two are Caitanya and Nitāi. 76 So getting a son, the hearts of the husband and wife were greatly delighted, and they especially served the feet of Govinda.

77 In 1486 *śaka*, at the end of the month of Māgha, Kṛṣṇa entered into the bodies of Jagannātha and Śacī. 78 Miśra said to Śacī, "I see other than the usual things,

73. All that was said (ante, 1.5) about the theological significance of Nityānanda as Balarāma Saṃkarṣaṇa here applies to Viśvarūpa. As Caitanya was Kṛṣṇa, so his blood brother Viśvarūpa was Balarāma; but after Viśvarūpa took *saṃnyāsa* and disappeared, the functional brother of Caitanya-Kṛṣṇa became Nityānanda.

74. Viśvarūpa: "whose form is the universe."

78-83. [Rādhāgovinda Nātha has these lines marked as singlets; the older MSS consulted do not. TKS]

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79 your body is full of light, [as if] Lakṣmī has settled there. 80 Everyone around pays great respect, 81 and to the house they send wealth, and clothing, and food." 82 Śacī said, "I see, above in the sky, 83 people in the forms of the gods, praising." 84 Jagannātha Miśra said, "I saw a dream; a container of radiance entered into my heart. 85 From my heart it went to your heart, and now I understand, that some greatly-to-be-revered person will be born." 86 Saying these things, the two remained, greatly pleased in their hearts, and they made special service to the *śālagrāma*. 87 Time went on and on, and the pregnancy was in the thirteenth month; but there was still no delivery, and Miśra was apprehensive. 88 Nīlāmbara Cakravartī made a calculation, "In this month, at an auspicious moment, a son will be born."

89 In 1407 *śaka*, in the month of Phālguna, on the night of the full moon, in the evening, the auspicious moment came. 90 It was at the sign of the Lion, the entrance of the sun into the sign of the Lion, and the planets were on the ascendant, and in the sixth and eighth houses, with all signs auspicious, 91 the stainless Gaura, the golden moon, appeared; was there any need for a stained moon? 92 Realizing this, Rāhu swallowed the moon, and the three worlds were filled with the [sounds of the] name "Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa, Hari!" 93 Filling the world, the people called out "Hari, Hari!" and at that moment the golden Kṛṣṇa himself descended to the earth. 94 Delighted were the hearts of all the people of the world, and Yavanas laughed together with the Hindus, saying "Hari." 95 Crying "Hari!" the women gave the *hulāhuli* sound, and the *devas* in heaven, in great joy, danced and sang. 96 The ten directions were bright, and the water of the rivers pure, and all things moving and unmoving were transported with joy.

97 In Nadīyā Udayagiri,
the full-moon Gaurahari

86. Śālagrāma: the black stone sacred to Viṣṇu.

90. Even without the precise meanings of these technical astrological terms, it is easy to tell that the time of birth was highly auspicious. No text, Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out, gives the day of Phālguna when Caitanya was born, but it is easy enough, on the basis of the above information, to calculate it from the astrological texts. In the journal *Prabāśi* for Pauṣa, 1336 BS, Yogeścandra Rāya writes that an eclipse of the full moon occurred in Nadīyā on Saturday, the twenty-third of Phālguna in 1407 *śaka*.

92-93. The GM edition has an extra couplet between these two, which however is redundant: "The earth was filled with the sound 'Hari, Hari!' Astonished, the people reflected on this in their minds."

95. Hulāhuli: the ululating trill that women make on auspicious occasions, such as weddings.

97. Udayagiri: "the mountain of rising"; it is considered that the horizon to the east, where the sun and moon rise, is a mountain, and over the horizon of Nadīyā Gauracandra rose.

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by his mercy has appeared.
Sin and darkness were destroyed,
the three worlds rejoiced,
and earth filled with the sound of Hari's name.

98 At that time, in his own house,
Advaita Rāya rose up
and danced, his heart filled with joy.
With Haridāsa, he shouted out
in an ecstasy of *kīrtana*;
why they danced, nobody could tell.

99 Seeing the eclipse, they laughed,
and quickly ran to the Gaṅgā's ghat,
and in joy bathed in the river.
On the pretext of the eclipse,
in the happiness of their own hearts,
they distributed many gifts to *brāhmaṇas*.

100 The world was full of joy;
seeing it, his mind was astonished,
and because of these hints, Haridāsa said,
"Such is your ecstasy,
such is the joy in my own mind—
I see that in such things there is a sign."

101 And Ācāryaratna, and Śrīvāsa,
hearts filled with joy,
went to bathe in the Gaṅgā.
Their hearts intoxicated with happiness
they made Hari-*saṃkīrtana*,
and many gifts they gave with joy.

102 In this way all the *bhaktas*,
in whatever country they were living,
gained that joyfulness of mind.
They danced and made *saṃkīrtana*,
their minds enraptured,
and on pretext of the eclipse, gave gifts.

99. "Pretext" again here means that there were reasons other than the eclipse why they were giving gifts and generally celebrating; they would in any case have performed certain rituals because of the eclipse.

100. Haridāsa Ṭhākura.

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103 *Brāhmaṇa*s and good people and women,
with platefuls of many things,
came bringing gifts.
Seeing the form of the boy,
with a radiance like raw gold,
they gave their blessings, in great joy.

104 Sāvitrī, Gaurī, Sarasvatī,
Śacī, Rambhā, Arundhatī,
and how many [other] goddesses,
filling vessels with many goods,
and dressed like *brāhmaṇa* women,
all came to see.

105 The *deva*s in the sky,
the *gandharva*s, *siddha*s, and *cāraṇa*s,
with dances of praise, all sang and played.
The dancers, musicians, and *bhāṭa*s,
whose play was in Navadvīpa,
all came and danced, in the throes of love.

106 Some came, some went,
some danced, some sang,
no one could keep from talking.
Sorrow and grief were all dispelled,
people were filled with great delight.
Miśra was intoxicated with joy.

107 Acāryaratna and Śrīvāsa
came to the side of Jagannātha Miśra,
and having come, cautioned him,
and had him perform the birth-rites
which were ordained;
then Miśra distributed many gifts.

104. Rādhāgovinda Nātha says that they came as women and not as goddesses because if they had come as goddesses the human aspect of the *līlā* would have been destroyed; and they came as *brāhmaṇa* women because the birth was in a *brāhmaṇa* house; others were not allowed.

105. *Gandharva*s and *cāraṇa*s are both kinds of heavenly musicians. *Bhāṭa* is also a musician, though it had meant, and possibly at this time still meant, a panegyricist, a eulogiser of a king. "Play" is literally that: *nāṭa*.

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108 As many people as there were
in the house gained much;
he gave expensive gifts to all *brāhmaṇas*.
And to as many dancers, singers, *bhāṭas*,
and humble people as were there,
he distributed riches and honored all.

109 The *brāhmaṇa* woman, wife of Śrīvāsa,
whose name was Mālinī,
together with the wife of Ācāryaratna,
[brought] vermilion, turmeric, oil, paddy,
bananas, and coconuts—and the women,
worshiping, offered these with joy.

110 The wife of Advaita Ācārya, an honored woman,
revered throughout the world
whose name was Sītā Ṭhākurāṇī,
taking instruction from Ācārya,
went with presents,
to see this crest-jewel of infants:

111 Golden waist-ornaments and
foot-ornaments of silver coins,
golden armlets and bracelets,
divine conch-shell ornaments for his arms,
curved anklets made of silver,
and necklaces made of golden coins,

112 tiger claws overlaid with gold,
strings of silken thread for his waist,
all kinds of ornaments for hands and feet,
vari-colored silken cloth,
a woven cloth with silken border,
and much wealth in gold and silver coins,

113 and *dūrbā* grass and rice and *gorocana*,
turmeric, saffron, and sandal—
a vessel filled with such auspicious things.

109. These are traditional gifts for a new-born child. Presumably these two women also went to assist Śacī.

113. Gorocana: a cloth dyed with yellow ochre and worn around the head; *dolā*: a litter or hanging panlanquin that "swings," covered with curtains or veils on all sides.

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Mounting her litter, covered by cloth,
she came with her maid servants
and a basket filled with clothes and ornaments.

114 With arms full of goods
of various kinds and presents,
she arrived at the house of Śacī.
She saw the beautiful form of the boy,
manifested Kān of Gokula,
only the color was its complement.

115 His whole body was beautifully formed,
radiant as a golden image,
all his limbs were full of auspicious signs.
Seeing the divine lustre of the boy,
she was filled with affection,
and her heart melted with a mother's love.

116 On his head she put the *dūrbā* grass
and rice, and many blessings,
"May the two brothers live long."
In her mind sprang a fear
of *ḍākinīs* and *śākinīs*,
and out of this fear she named the boy "Nimāi."

117 On the day of the bath of mother and son,
she gave cloth and ornaments,
paid homage to Miśra with his son.
With the honoring of Śacī and Miśra,
she was greatly delighted in her mind
and Sītā Ṭhākurāṇī returned to her house.

118 Thus receiving Lakṣmīnātha as a son,
the wishes of Śacī and Jagannātha
were all fulfilled.

114. Kān: one of the pet names of Kṛṣṇa; also *Kānu*, etc.

115. Vātsalya: a mother's love, one of the primary emotional *bhāvas*.

116. Viśvarūpa and the new-born child Viśvambhara. Sītā, the wife of Advaita, gave the child the nickname Nimāi, which can mean "bitter, salty, or insignificant," in fear of the dangerous spirits called *ḍākinī* and *śākinī*. It was a custom, and remains so among some people in Bengal today, to give the child an unattractive name or nickname, so that the evil spirits will overlook it, or consider it was worthless as its name indicates, e.g., Tincowri.

118. Lakṣmīnātha: the lord of Lakṣmī, thus indirectly the lord of Rādhā, i.e., Kṛṣṇa, i.e., Caitanya.

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Their room was filled with wealth and rice,
their bodies with the respect of people
and day by day their joy [increased].

119 Miśra was a Vaiṣṇava, peaceful,
not lustful, pure, self-controlled,
with no desire for the enjoyment of wealth.
But such was the power of his son,
that much wealth flowed to him,
and in love for Viṣṇu he gave gifts to *brāhmaṇas*.

120 Having prepared the horoscope, delighted,
Nīlāmbara Cakravartī
secretly said to Miśra,
"The signs of a great man,
appear separately on his body and in his stars—
I see that he will save the world."

121 Thus did Prabhu in the house of Śacī
descend by his mercy;
toward him who hears this,
Gaura Prabhu, full of kindness,
becomes benevolent,
and he gains his feet.

122 He who gains birth as a man,
but does not listen to the qualities of Gaura,
makes that birth vain,
He who gains the river of immortal nectar,
yet drinks from the well of poison,
may as well die [as soon as] born.

123 Śrī Caitanya, Nityānanda,
Ācārya Advaitacandra,
Svarūpa, Rūpa, and Raghunātha Dāsa—
the blessed feet of all of these
I take as my own wealth upon my head.
So sings Kṛṣṇadāsa of the *līlā* of his birth.

120. See 1.14.5 and commentary and 1.14.*śl.*3 and commentary.
121. *Kaila avatāre*: descended.

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Ādi Līlā
Chapter 14

Śloka 1.
Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin's *Haribhaktivilāsa* 20.1:
I worship that Caitanya, by whose remembrance even difficult things somehow become easy; by forgetting him the easiest tasks become difficult.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*. 2 The *sūtra* of the birth-*līlā* of Prabhu has been stated, as the son of Yaśodā became the son of Śacī.

3 The development of the birth-*līlā* has been remarked, and now let me speak the *sūtras* of his childhood.

Śloka 2.
I greet the entrancing *līlā* of the childhood of Caitanya Kṛṣṇa; even though that childhood-*līlā* is like an earthly *līlā*, it is mingled with the acts of God.

4 In the childhood-*līlā*, when at first he lay with his face turned upward, he showed to his father and mother the signs on his feet. 5 In the house the two saw the prints of light feet, and on them shone the flag, thunderbolt, conch, disc, and fish. 6 To see this astonished them both; they were not able to ascertain whose

4. This is the *sūtra*; it will be elaborated in vv. 5-10.

5. All signs of Viṣṇu; it is said that there were nineteen signs on the feet of Caitanya: flag, lotus, conch, goad, *yava* (a particularly auspicious line), *svastika*, *ūrddharekhā* (another type of auspicious line), octagon, bow, triangle, *kalasa* (a rounded mark, like a cupola), half-moon, a circle (representing sky), fish, a mark shaped like a cow's foot, a mark like a *jambu*-fruit, discus, conch, and umbrella.

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footprints were in the house. 7 Miśra said, "Bālagopāla is here, with the stone. His *mūrti* being in the house, he plays, I know, in fun." 8 And at that moment Nimāi awoke crying, and Śacī took him into her lap and fed him from her breast. 9 While he was drinking from the breast, she saw her son's feet; and seeing those signs on his feet she had Miśra called. 10 And when he saw, the mind of Miśra was overjoyed, and secretly he had Nīlāmbara Cakravartī called. 11 Seeing the signs, Cakravartī said smiling, "Previously, after calculating the horoscope, I wrote it down; 12 thirty-two signs, the marks of a great man, there are. On the body of this child I saw all those signs.

Śloka 3. *Sāmudrika* 3:
Having five that are long; five fine; seven are red, six are raised; three are short, wide, and deep; a great man is characterized by thirty-two.

13 His hands and feet are marked with the signs of Nārāyaṇa; this child will save all people. 14 He will propagate the Vaiṣṇava-*dharma*, and from that will be the salvation of the two families. 15 Arrange a great festival; have all the *brāhmaṇa*s summoned; today is an excellent day—we shall have the name-giving. 16 This one will be the upholder and protector of all people; his name shall be Viśvambhara, for that reason." 17 Hearing this, the joy grew in the hearts of Śacī and Miśra, and bringing *brāhmaṇa* men and *brāhmaṇa* women, they had a great festival.

18 Then, within a few days, Prabhu was crawling about on his knees, and then he showed many wonderful things. 19 Under the pretext of crying, he caused people

7. Evidently there was in the house an image of Bālagopāla, the child Kṛṣṇa as a cowherd, together with a *śālagrāma*, the black stone sacred to Viṣṇu.

Śloka 3. There are thirty-two signs. (a) Long are: nose, arms, jaw, eyes, and knees; (b) short or delicate (*sūkṣma*: fine) are: skin, hair, fingers, teeth, and body hair; (c) blood-colored are: corners of the eyes, soles of the feet, palms of the hands, roof of the mouth, lips, tongue, and nails; (d) raised are: breast, shoulders, nails, nose, pelvis, and face; (e) short are: neck, thighs, penis; (f) broad are: pelvis, forehead, and chest; and (g) deep are: navel, voice, and understanding or wisdom.

14. The father's and the mother's families.

15. Nīlāmbara has evidently calculated astrologically the auspicious day for the name-giving; varying with the custom of individual families, the ceremony usually takes place on the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, or hundredth day after birth.

16. Viśva: the universe; *bhara*: upholding, bearing.

18. Many wonderful things: Kṛṣṇadāsa does not elaborate, since Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *CBh* 1.3 goes into some detail. An example (*CBh* 1.3.64-76 [= 1.4 GM ed.]): Caitanya used to crawl around getting into everything, completely without fear; he would seize fire, snakes, whatever he got his hands on. One day while he was playing a snake wrapped its tail around him and began to constrict; but Caitanya lay upon the snake (like Nārāyaṇa upon Śeṣa), laughing; people came running

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to say the name of Hari. The women all said "Hari," and Gauradhāma smiled. 20 Then after a few days he was walking on his feet, and mixing with the other children, he played various games. 21 One day Śacī brought *khoi* and *sandeśa* sweets; filling a box with it, she gave it to him and said, "Sit and eat this." 22 So saying Śacī went to do her work in the house. Hiding himself, the boy began to eat mud. 23 Seeing this, Śacī came running, crying "*Hāya hāya*!" and snatching away the mud, she asked, "Why are you eating dirt?" 24 And weeping the child said, "Why are you angry? You gave me mud to eat; what is my fault? 25 *Khoi*, *sandeśa*, rice, are transformations of dirt; this is dirt, that is dirt; what is the difference between them? 26 Consider: the body is earth, food is earth; unthinkingly you blame me; what can I say?" 27 Finally, astonished, Śacī said to him, "Who has taught you philosophical argument and to eat earth? 28 Food is a changed form of earth, and if you eat it the body is nourished; but if you eat earth you become ill, and the body wastes away. 29 I fill the clay jug, which is earth in a changed form, and bring water in it; but when you put it in a lump of dirt, the water is absorbed." 30 So to hide himself, Prabhu said to her, "O mother, why did you not teach me this at first? 31 Now I know that, and I shall not eat dirt; when I am hungry, then I shall drink from your breast." 32 So saying he climbed up into the lap of his mother, and sucking her breast smiled happily. 33 In this way, under various pretexts he showed his divinity, and afterwards hid it by making apparent his childishness.

34 Three times he ate the food of a *brāhmaṇa* guest, and afterwards, secretly, he saved the *brāhmaṇa*. 35 A thief took Prabhu, who was outside; and climbing up

from all around shouting "Garuḍa" (the cosmic bird, enemy of snakes), and drove the snake away. Caitanya immediately began to crawl after it to play some more, but his father and mother picked him up and brought him home, and chanted *mantras* for his safety.

21. Khoi is a kind of fried grain or paddy; *sandeśa* is a sweet made from milk.

27. Jñāna-yoga: translated here as "philosophical argument." What follows is another slap at the Vedāntins, who would, as we have seen, argue that *brahma* is changed by the process of creation.

30. I.e., to hide his true identity as Kṛṣṇa.

34. CBh 1.3.166-315 [= 1.5.16-165 GM ed.]. One night a *brāhmaṇa* on pilgrimage stopped as a guest at the house of Jagannātha Miśra. He was meditating on his *iṣṭa-mantra* over the food which had been cooked, when suddenly he noticed that Nimāi had appeared from somewhere and was eating what had been prepared. The *brāhmaṇa* shouted out, and Jagannātha came and punished the child, and when the *brāhmaṇa* had been appeased, he again prepared a meal; again Nimāi came and ate it, and again was punished by his father. Three times this happened; the third time, Nimāi had been put to sleep in the house, and Jagannātha was standing guard at the door with a stick in his hand; the young Nimāi appeared to the *brāhmaṇa* in the unusual form of the eight-armed Kṛṣṇa (which included Bālagopāla, Vrajendrakumāra, and Mahāviṣṇu) and blessed him.

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on his shoulder he deluded him into returning. 36 On the pretext of illness, in the house of Jagadīśa and Hiraṇya, he ate the food which had been offered to Viṣṇu, on Ekādaśī day. 37 Taking all the boys to the houses of neighbors in the neighborhood, he stole and ate various things; and he beat the other boys. 38 The boys pleaded their case to Śacī, and hearing it Śacī scolded her son. 39 "Why do you steal? Why do you hit the other boys? Why do you go to the houses of others; is there nothing in [your own] house?" 40 Hearing this, Prabhu grew angry, and went inside the house, and broke all the crockery that was in the house. 41 Then Śacī took him into her lap and soothed him; ashamed, Prabhu knew his own faults. 42 Once when Prabhu hit his mother with the palm of his hand, he wept when he saw her fall unconscious. 43 The women said, "Bring a coconut and give it to her; then your mother will be well again." 44 So he went outside and produced two coconuts, and seeing this wonder everyone was astonished.

35. *CBh* 1.3.108-143 [=1.4 GM ed.]. One day two thieves, wanting the rings on Caitanya's fingers, came and took him away to their own place, while he was playing outside. Due to Nimāi's power, they lost their way, and after wandering around lost for a long time, they again arrived at Jagannātha's house, mistaking it for their own.

36. *CBh* 1.4.16-40 [= 1.6 GM ed.]. When as a child he used to cry, people would say the name of Hari to him. One day he was crying, pretending to be ill, and people said the name to him, but his crying did not stop. After they had tried everything, Nimāi said to them, "If you want to save my life, go to the house of Jagadīśa and Hiraṇya; today is Ekādaśī day, and they have prepared an offering for Viṣṇu, but they themselves are fasting. Get me that food, and I shall be well." The people all thought him mad, but when Jagadīśa and Hiraṇya were told of it, they wondered how he could know all this, and concluded that he must be divine. So they brought the offerings and fed them to Nimāi.

37-39. [The young Viśvambhara's mischievousness is described in *CBh* 1.4.41-84 [= 1.6 GM ed.], and in 1.5-7.passim [= 1.7-10 GM ed.]. TKS]

40-41. [The "pot-breaking" episodes occur with some regularity. See *CBh* 1.3.30-40 [= 1.4 GM ed.]. Two variants of this episode are found above in vv. 21-31 (see commentary) and below in vv. 68-71 (see commentary); see also below the comentary on vv. 42-44. TKS]

42-44. [The "coconut cure" episode appears first in Murāri Gupta's *KCC* 1.6.11-30 as part of the "garbage heap" episode: Caitanya sits in a heap of broken pots and garbage, which naturally appalls his Mother, Śacī, who scolds him. He retorts with a lecture on the true nature of purity and impurity, how the self is one and cannot be defiled by the elements; but Śacī will have none of it. She whisks him away to bathe, but a short time later there he sits again. She scolds him a second time, whereupon the angry and impatient Viśvambhara hurls a brick or shard at her, knocking her unconscious. Distressed, he cries, while the women gather around to assist. To distract the obviously distraught child, one woman instructs him to fetch two large, ripe coconuts to cure her. Using his divine powers, he produces the items, much to everyone's amazement, by which time Śacī has recovered. Kavikarṇapūra in his *KCCM* 2.68.68-85 tells the same story. See below vv. 68-71 and commentary. TKS]

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45 Sometimes, with the other children, he took a bath in the Gaṅgā; girls came there to worship the deity. 46 Having taken their baths in the Gaṅgā, they began their *pūjā*, and Prabhu came and sat among the girls. 47 He said to the girls, "Worship me, and I shall give you a boon. Gaṅgā and Durgā are my maid-servants, Maheśa is also my servant." 48 So he put sandalwood and a flower-garland on himself, and snatched and ate the offerings—*sandeśa*, rice, bananas. 49 In anger the girls said, "Listen, you Nimāi, you are our village-relative, you are brother of us all. 50 It is not proper to behave thus toward us; do not take the things prepared for the deity, do not behave so wrongly." 51 Prabhu said, "This boon has been given to you all; the husbands of all of you will be of the greatest beauty. 52 [They will be] wise men, clever, youthful, and very wealthy. Each of you will have seven sons, long-lived and full of wisdom." 53 Hearing this boon the girls were inwardly delighted; but outwardly, in false anger, they scolded him. 54 Some girls fled, taking the offerings away, and Prabhu, angry, called to them and said, 55 "If you are not so kind as to give me those offerings, you will get old men for husbands, and each of you shall have four co-wives." 56 Hearing this, they all became somewhat apprehensive, [and some thought], "Who knows, perhaps he is possessed of some deity." 57 So they brought the offerings and placed them before him, and having eaten the offerings, he granted them each the boon that they desired. 58 In this way he showed his impatience to all the people, and no one had any sorrow, while all gained happiness.

59 One day the daughter of one Vallabhācārya, Lakṣmī by name, came to worship the *devatā*, having taken a bath in the Gaṅgā. 60 Seeing her the mind of Prabhu was filled with attraction; and the sight of Prabhu aroused love in the mind of Lakṣmī. 61 Love arose naturally in both, though certainly concealed by the *bhāva* of children. 62 And seeing each other the minds of both were delighted; both

45-57. [The text gives no details, but presumably the girls have come to the banks of the Gaṅgā to do *pūjā* to Lord Śiva in order to secure a proper marriage and good husband. Girls traditionally fashion mud *liṅgas* to perform this *pūjā*. By making them do *pūjā* to him in lieu of Śiva, Viśvambhara asserts his divinity and grants them their desire, all of course in the guise of an apparently mischevious prank. TKS]

58. Cāpalya: impatience, mischief, fickleness, restlessness, [here perhaps with the overtone of the unpredictable play of divinity (*līlā*) and a desire to get about his business as *avatāra*, to follow his true nature, i.e., as God rather than man. TKS]

61. Lakṣmī in the former *līlā* was of course Lakṣmī, and Caitanya was Kṛṣṇa, her husband. Thus love was natural to them; in *svarūpa* they were already married. [There is another explanation of this immediate and mutual betrothal supplied by Murāri in *KCC* 1.12.13-17: Lakṣmī had been an *apsarā* banished from heaven for committing some grevious act. But after the curse had been levied, its sentence was softened by adding the condition that she would marry Viṣṇu himself,

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manifested it under the pretext of *deva pūjā*. 63 Prabhu said, "Worship me, I am Maheśvara. If you worship me you will get whatever you desire." 64 Lakṣmī put flowers and sandalwood on his body, and offering a garland of jasmine she bowed down to him. 65 Receiving her *pūjā*, Prabhu began to smile, and reciting a *śloka* he expressed his *bhāva*:

Śloka 4. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.22.25:
O virtuous women, worship of me is your known purpose, and I am especially glad of this purpose; it shall be fulfilled.

66 After the two had performed *līlā* in this way, they went home; who can understand the deep Caitanya-*līlā*?

67 Witnessing the mischief of Caitanya everyone in *prema* went to see Śacī and Jagannātha and complained. 68 One day Śacī Devī scolded her son; she went to seize him, but the boy fled away. 69 In a garbage pit, on top of abandoned pots, Prabhu Deva Viśvambhara was sitting happily. 70 Śacī came and said, "Why have you touched this foul stuff; go and bathe in the Gaṅgā and purify yourself."

i.e., Caitanya, after which she would be released from her curse, which is why she dies. This early rationale, which is reminiscent of stories in the popular purāṇic and *maṅgala-kāvya* literature, is dropped by other biographers in favor of the later interpretation mentioned above. TKS]

63. [Caitanya explicitly identifies himself as Śiva here (whereas it was only implicit in vv. 45-57). Presumably Lakṣmī is also preparing to do a *pūjā* similar to the one mentioned above. TKS].

64. *Mallikā*: Arabian jasmine, *Jasminum sambac*.

67-71. *CBh* 1.5.70-203 [= 1.7 GM ed.] elaborates on Caitanya's boyhood: After Viśvarūpa had taken *saṃnyāsa*, Jagannātha reflected that it was his learning and meditation on the impermanence of the world that had led him to take the step. He therefore decided that if he were to prevent the boy Nimāi (Viśvambhara) from following in his brother's footsteps, he would have to stop Nimāi's education right then. He did so. Nimāi, who had quieted down somewhat while he was going to school, became more mischievous than ever, breaking things in his own house and the houses of others, sneaking out at night and locking the door from outside, stealing bananas from the groves, and all kinds of things. But his parents, still very hurt by the departure of their elder son, said nothing. One day he had gone to the refuse dump, and was sitting there smearing his body with the soot from old cooking-pots. His companions went and told Śacī; she came and was astonished at what she saw; she told Nimāi to bathe, not only to clean himself, but because ritual purification was necessary for touching the cooking utensils of others, including undoubtedly non-*brāhmaṇas*. Nimāi replied, "How should I know this? You don't give me any education, and as a result I know neither right nor wrong; I do not know what is pure and what is impure." Then Śacī discoursed for some time on the differences between pure and impure things; but Nimāi replied, "The place I am sitting is a pure place; Īśvara has not created things pure and impure; that certain things are pure and certain things impure is merely custom and the Vedic teaching. Furthermore, you have prepared offerings in these pots—they had in fact contained *naivedya* or food offered to the deity—how then can they be impure?" See above the commentary on vv. 42-44.

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71 Hearing this he spoke to his mother of *brahma-jñāna*; his mother was astonished, but she still made him bathe in the Gaṅgā.

72 Sometimes Śacī lay down with her son, and she saw that divine people had come and filled the earth. 73 Śacī said, "Go, my son, and call your father"; and when he heard his mother's instruction, Prabhu went outside. 74 As he went, the string of bells on his ankles jingled; and hearing this the minds of mother and father were astounded. 75 Miśra said, "This is a most wonderful thing; how do we hear the sound of the anklets coming from the bare feet of the child?" 76 Śacī said, "I saw another wonderful thing. Celestials in great numbers had come and filled our courtyard. 77 They were all shouting aloud, and I could not understand them; I thought that they were praising someone." 78 Miśra said, "Let it be; there is no need for concern. Let Viśvambhara be well; this is my only wish."

79 One day Miśra, seeing the whimsicality of his son, scolded him much, and instructed him in *dharma*. 80 In the night he saw a dream—a *brāhmaṇa* came to Miśra and spoke angrily to him, 81 "Miśra, you know nothing of the real truth about your son. You beat and scold him, considering him only your son." 82 Miśra said, "Whether he be *deva* or *siddha* or *muni*, however great he is, he is only my son. 83 The duty of a father is to teach and rear his son; if I do not teach him, how will he learn the meaning of *dharma*?" 84 The *brāhmaṇa* said, "If your son is the greatest of divinities, he has the knowledge of which a *siddha* is by nature possessed; teaching is meaningless." 85 Miśra said, "If my son is Nārāyaṇa [himself], still the *dharma* of a father is to instruct his son." 86 In this way the two debated *dharma*; such was the pure parental love of Miśra that he knew nothing more. 87 Hearing this, the *brāhmaṇa* went away delighted. And Miśra awoke, much bemused. 88 He spoke of this dream in the places of his friends and relatives, and when they heard it they were all puzzled.

71. Brahma-jñāna: that which is the world is *brahma*, and because it is *brahma* it cannot be impure: Nimāi had said that he knew everything to be non-dual, that pure and impure are conventions only. There is no benefit in following custom alone; See Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's *HBhV* 3.4.

74-75. [The story is told in Murāri Gupta's *KCC* 1.6.34-35 and repeated in Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *CBh* 1.3.144-56 and Kavikarṇapūra's *KCCM* 2.86-89. Once, when his parents were in another room, they heard the distinctive and in this case especially mellifluous sounds of the strings of ankle bells (*nūpura*) jingling on Viśvambhara's feet. The wonder was that Viśvambhara's ankles were bare. The suggestion, of course, is that it was Kṛṣṇa in Vraja, who often wore such articles. TKS]

76-78. [See Murāri's *KCC* 1.6.32-33. TKS]

79-88. [The story is first told in Murāri's *KCC* 1.7.13-17; see also Kavikarṇapūra's *KCCM* 2.103-107. This dream is reminiscent of an encounter and argument Nanda had regarding his treatment of Kṛṣṇa. TKS]

82. Siddha: "perfected one," one who has attained the ultimate, usually through yogic practice.

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89 In such a way did Gauracandra perform his childhood-*līlā*, and day by day the joy of the father and mother grew. 90 And after some days Miśra put the chalk into the hand of his son, and in a very short time he had learned the twelve compound consonants. 91 So developed the *sūtra* of the childhood-*līlā*; this Vṛndāvana Dāsa has described in detail. 92 Thus I have written the *sūtra*s of this *līlā* in brief; I have not elaborated them, for fear of repetition.

93 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

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Ādi Līlā
Chapter 15

Śloka 1.
Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin's *Haribhaktivilāsa* 7.1:
I love that Caitanya Prabhu, by merely offering flowers at whose lotus-feet an evil minded person becomes pure minded.

1 Glory glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra, glory to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 Enumerating the *sūtras* of the boyhood-*līlā*, in the years of the boyhood of Prabhu the foremost is study.

Śloka 2.
Beginning with the learning of Caitanya up until his marriage, the extremely broad boyhood-*līlā* is wonderful.

3 He studied grammar at the place of Gaṅgādāsa Paṇḍita; hearing them only [once] he could recite the *sūtras* and *vṛttis*. 4 In a little time he became learned in the *pañjīs* and *ṭīkās*, and very soon, though himself new, he conquered [the other] students. 5 Vṛndāvana Dāsa has described in his *Caitanya Maṅgala* this *līlā* of Pra-

3-4. Sūtras, etc.: see 1.13.27.

5. CBh 1.6.1-204 [=1.9 GM ed.]. There are many delightful episodes to be found there but little would be gained from giving them fully. As an example, however, here is an incident, rather typical, which Vṛndāvana Dāsa relates in *CBh* 1.6.24-64 [=1.8 GM ed.] in his charming way. Among other things, it shows that boys have not changed much. Miśra said, "I want to give my son to you. You will make him read and hear all that you know." And Gaṅgādāsa said, "My fortune is very great. I shall teach him all that is in my power." When he saw the boy, Gaṅgādāsa was overjoyed, and he kept him by his side, like his own son. Gaṅgādāsa explained much, with learning; and when he heard it once, Ṭhākura [i.e., Caitanya] retained it. And sometimes he refuted the arguments of his *guru*, and sometimes confirmed them. Of the thousands and thousands of students who studied there, none had such power to find mistakes. And when he saw the extraordinary intelligence,

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bhu's. 6 One day he bowed at the feet of his mother and said, "Mother, give a gift to me." 7 His mother said, "I shall give you whatever you ask of me." Prabhu said, "Do not eat on Ekādaśī day." 8 Śacī said, "You have spoken well, I will not eat food." And from then she began to observe the Ekādaśī.

9 Then Miśra, seeing that Viśvarūpa was a youth, began to think of choosing a girl with whom to marry him. 10 Hearing this, Viśvarūpa left the house and fled away; he became a *saṃnyāsin* and went to visit the places of pilgrimage. 11 When they heard of this, the hearts of Śacī and Miśra were grieved; but Prabhu comforted his mother and father, 12 "It is good, that Viśvarūpa has taken *saṃnyāsa*; he has saved his mother's and his father's *kula*s. 13 I shall serve you for both of us." And

he honored him as the best of all his pupils. . . . So every day, reading and listening, he went with his fellow students to the bank of the Gaṅgā. In Navadvīpa there was no end to the number of students, and after studying, at midday they all went to bathe in the Gaṅgā. One teacher had a thousand students, and they were eternally shouting at one another. And as at an early age, Prabhu's nature was mischievous, he would argue with the students. Some said, "What kind of intelligence does your *guru* have?" And others said, "See whose student I am!" In this way, little by little, they would abuse one another, and then they would throw water, and finally sand at one another, and then they would get into fights, those who were able, and they would throw mud and filth at one another, and strike each others' bodies. Some, giving the *rāja*'s prayer (i.e., calling for help), would grab others, and some, being beaten, would flee to the other side of the Gaṅgā. Such an uproar did all the students make, that the water of the Gaṅgā was full of mud and filth. The women were not able to come to carry water, and the *brāhmaṇa*s and good people were unable to bathe. Prabhu Viśvambhara Rāya was very mischievous, and in this way he would go every day to one ghat or another. At every ghat he found no end of students, and at each place Ṭhākura would get involved in an argument. At each ghat Prabhu would swim in the Gaṅgā, and at one ghat would play for two or four *daṇḍa*s. There were some authoritative students, and they would say, "Why do you argue and fight?" And they asked, "Let us see who has what kind of intelligence, who knows the *vṛtti*s and *pañjī*s and *ṭīkā*s." And Prabhu replied, "Good, this is a good thing, ask me whatever is in your mind." And some said, "Why are you so conceited?" And Prabhu said, "Ask me whatever you want to." And those students said, "Explain the *Dhātu-sūtra*." And Prabhu said, "Pay attention, while I expound it." Prabhu was Bhagavān, full of all powers, and so he expounded that which was proven by the *sūtra*. When they heard his exposition, everybody praised him, and Prabhu said, "Now listen, while I refute it." And again he expounded, pointing out its mistakes, and said, "Now, do you consider that established?" And they were all astonished, and agreed, and Prabhu said, "Now listen, while I confirm what I have just refuted." And again Gauracandra expounded, and in all ways the authoritative students were delighted, and embraced him.

6-8. Ekādaśī is a day to be observed by the *bhakta*s of Viṣṇu (Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's *HBhV* 12.7). This and other Vaiṣṇava *vrata*s will be discussed below; see 2.24.253 and commentary. [The story is first told by Murāri in his *KCC* 1.7.18-20; see also Kavikarṇapūra's *KCCM* 2.108-110. TKS]

9-13. [The story of Viśvarūpa's renunciation is poignantly related by Vṛndāvana Dāsa in *CBh* 1.5.9-92 [= 1.7 GM ed.]. TKS]

12. Kula: "family honor or position"; Caitanya is saying that by this act of taking *saṃnyāsa*, his brother has brought added respect to the families of both parents.

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when they heard this, the hearts of mother and father were soothed. 14 One day, having eaten *tāmbūla* which had been offered [to the deity], Prabhu fell to the ground unconscious. 15 In great agitation his mother and father put water on his face; then, being well, Prabhu told a most wonderful story, 16 "Viśvarūpa took me away from here, and he said to me, 'You must take *saṃnyāsa*.' 17 I said, 'My mother and father are without a protector. I am a boy. I know nothing of *saṃnyāsa*. 18 I shall be a householder and serve my mother and father, and because of this Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa will be pleased.' 19 Then Viśvarūpa sent me here, saying 'Crores of obeisances to my mother.'" 20 In this way did Gaurahari make many kinds of *līlā*; what was the cause of the *līlā*—this I cannot understand. 21 After some days, Miśra went to the other realm, and the hearts of mother and son were overcome with grief. 22 Friends and relatives came and consoled the two; and Īśvara performed the rites for his father, according to injunction.

23 After some days Prabhu began to think, "I have become a householder, and now I want [to follow] the *gṛha-dharma*. 24 Without a wife, there is no attraction in the *gṛha-dharma*." So thinking, he decided to marry.

Śloka 3. *Udvāha-tattva* 7:

They do not call the house *gṛha*; the wife is called *gṛha*; for with a wife all the ends of man are obtained.

25 By chance one day, Prabhu was coming back from studying, and saw the daughter of one Vallabhācārya on the path to the Gaṅgā. 26 The previously effected emotion arose in both of them. By chance Vanamālī the matchmaker came to the

14. Tāmbūla: pan or betel, a leaf in which spices are wrapped. The incident only suggested here is a precursor of what is to come, when in the last stages of his life Caitanya taken by fits of fainting at the merest suggestion of the presence of his deity.

21. I.e., he died; it is not clear of what cause. [The story is found in *CBh* 1.6.105-23 [=1.8 GM ed.]. TKS]

22. Īśvara: Caitanya. According to the Vaiṣṇava *śāstras*, the particular act of the *śrāddha* or funeral ceremonies is the offering to Viṣṇu of rice; *HBhV* 9.84. *HBhV* 9.87 [quoting *Padma Purāṇa*] also says that "by rice offered to Viṣṇu, other deities are worshiped; present rice offered to Viṣṇu to the ancestors (*pitṛ*)." But if the day of the *śrāddha* falls on the Ekādaśī day, it should not be celebrated on that day, but on the next day or the fifteenth day; *HBhV* 12.29 [quoting *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*].

Śloka 3. [See 1.7.81ff and commentary for the Vaiṣṇava version of the traditional life-goals, *puruṣārthas*. TKS]

26. "Previously effected": i.e., they had also been in love in the previous *līlā* (see also the commentary on 1.14.61). Vanamālī was the name of the *ghaṭaka*, the matchmaker who calculates the advisability of a marriage, and establishes the auspicious time for it; he also arranges the match by

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house of Śacī. 27 With a sign [of assent] from Śacī, the relationship was established, and the son of Śacī was married to Lakṣmī. 28 Vṛndāvana Dāsa has described this in detail; so the *sūtras* of the boyhood-*līlā* have been recounted. 29 In his boyhood the *līlā* was of many kinds, and Vṛndāvana Dāsa has detailed it all. 30 The *Caitanya Maṅgala* is well-known among all people, so only a synopsis has been indicated here.

31 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

serving as go-between for the two families. *CBh* 1.7.52-54 [= 1.10.52-54 GM ed.] has: "At the wish of Īśvara, a *brāhmaṇa* by the name of Vanamālī, that day went to Śacī . . . and said to the mother, 'Why do you not consider the marriage of your son?'"

27. Sambandha: relationship, an agreement between the two families, regarding dates, dowry, etc. The *CBh* 1.7.52-77 [= 1.10.52-77 GM ed.] tells us that at first Śacī did not agree to the marriage, saying that Nimāi should first finish his study; but when Vanamālī met Nimāi on the path and told him of this, Nimāi returned home and gave a sign to his mother that it was appropriate. Unable to refuse him, but not quite agreeing, she gave her consent.

28. CBh 1.6 [= 1.8 GM ed.]. The narrative of Vṛndāvana Dāsa is extremely interesting from the point of view of detail and local color, and is written in a very lively and delightful style. But it is itself a large work, and we fall back on Kṛṣṇadāsa's own excuse for leaving out much of it: this book would grow too long.

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Ādi Līlā
Chapter 16

Śloka 1.

I worship Caitanya Prabhu, whose nectar-stream of mercy, even though it floods the universe, always appears to be going to the lowly.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra, glory to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

Śloka 2.

He who is worshiped by Lakṣmī, who has come embodied to the householder stage, and by the Goddess of Speech, in the guise of victory over the Digvijayī, may that youth Caitanya be victorious.

2 Thus the *sūtra* of the *līlā* of his youth is developed, when he began to teach pupils: 3 He was always teaching—hundreds and hundreds of pupils—and hearing his explanations the minds of all were astonished. 4 All *paṇḍitas* in all the *śāstras* were defeated, but because of his piety and humility none of them was saddened. 5 With his pupils he did various mischievous things, and with much sport he played in the water of the Jāhnavī.

6 After some days Prabhu went to Vaṅga; wherever he went, he caused people

Śloka 1. Nīcagaiva bhāti: "going to the lowly."

Śloka 2. The *śloka* of course has a double meaning: Caitanya worshiped by his wife Lakṣmī in this *līlā*, and as Kṛṣṇa worshiped by Lakṣmī in the former *līlā*. Digvijayī is "one who conquers the directions" or conquers the world; it was applied to scholars who were so skilled in argument that they could defeat all others, and did so in their peregrinations.

4. That Caitanya was humble, in pretense or any other way, does not seem to fit the description given by Vṛndāvana Dāsa (see ante, commentary on 1.15.5).

5. Jāhnavī: The Gaṅgā.

6. Vaṅga: east Bengal. The term Vaṅga in ancient times applied to the deltaic region in the

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to make *nāma-saṃkīrtana*. 7 Their minds were astonished by the power of his learning, and pupils by the hundreds came and began to study with him. 8 In that country there was a *brāhmaṇa* named Tapana Miśra; he was not able to ascertain what is to be attained nor the way to attain it. 9 In many *śāstras* are many positions, and the mind is confused; the best way of attainment and what is to be attained is not certain. 10 In a dream a *brāhmaṇa* said to him, "Hear, O Tapana; go to Nimāi Paṇḍita. 11 He will ascertain for you what is to be attained and how to attain it; he is the apparent Īśvara; there is no doubt." 12 Having had this dream, Miśra came to the feet of Prabhu, and submitted to him the whole story of the dream. 13 Prabhu was pleased, and spoke of the *sādhya* and *sādhana*. "Make *nāma-saṃkīrtana*"—this was the advice he gave. 14 His wish was to stay at Navadvīpa with Prabhu. [But] Prabhu instructed him, "You go to Vārāṇasī. 15 There you will meet me." And getting this instruction, Miśra went to Kāśī. 16 I cannot understand this incomprehensible *līlā* of Prabhu—why he sent him to Kāśīpurī, causing him to leave his own company. 17 In ways such as these he did great service to the people of Vaṅga: giving them the Name he made them *bhaktas*, and he taught them, as a *paṇḍita*.

18 In this way Prabhu did many *līlās* in Vaṅga; and meanwhile in Navadvīpa, Lakṣmī was greatly sad, in *viraha*. 19 The serpent of *viraha* bit Lakṣmī, and due to

east, but it is possible here that he returned to his ancestral home in Sylhet. It is interesting that up to this point in Kṛṣṇadāsa's narrative he has not propagated *nāma-saṃkīrtana* in Navadvīpa. [The story of his trip east is found in nearly all the biographies that Kṛṣṇadāsa knew: Murāri Gupta's *KCC* 1.11.5-1.12.6; Vrndāvana Dāsa's *CBh* 1.10.48-150 [= 1.14 GM ed.]; Kavikarṇapūra's *KCCM* 3.82-119. Murāri's version has caused no small amount of sectarian anxiety because he reports that Caitanya undertook the trip only to make money; *KCC* 1.11.5. TKS]

8. Tapana Miśra lived on the banks of the Padma River. *Sādhya*: what is to be attained, i.e., heaven, union with *paramātman*, union with *brahma*, etc.; *sādhana*: the way to attain it, i.e., the way of knowledge, or the way of discipline, etc. [*CBh* 1.10.115-48 [=1.14 GM ed.] details this dream and discussion. TKS].

11. Sākṣāt: apparent, manifest.

16. Atarkya: incomprehensible, i.e., that which cannot be gotten at by philosophical or logical discussion. Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out that some MSS read "*ananta*," or "infinite." [The old Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat MS (Cittarañjana Dāsa Collection, no. 92 [dtd. 1537 *śaka*]) reads "*antara*" or "inner." TKS]

18. Viraha: the searing pain of separation, usually from one's beloved.

19. [Murāri Gupta's *KCC* 1.11.21-28 says that while Lakṣmī was alone in the house, a snake came in and bit her on the foot. Śacī learned of this, and tried many remedies and antidotes to the poison, but none of them worked. Giving up hope, with some of the neighbor women she took her to the bank of the Gaṅgā, and while they sang *kīrtana*, Lakṣmī died, her mind firmly focused on Kṛṣṇa. TKS]

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the poison of the serpent of *viraha*, she went to the other world. 20 Inwardly Prabhu knew this, because he was indwelling, and he returned to [his own] country, knowing the grief of Śacī. 21 He came to his house, bringing much wealth and many people, and by his knowledge of the truth of things, he freed Śacī from her grief. 22 With his pupils again he engaged in the activities of learning; by the power of learning he conquered all, in manifest impudence. 23 Then he married Viṣṇupriyā Ṭhākurāṇī, and he conquered the Digvijayī. 24 Vṛndāvana Dāsa has explained all this, but he did not expand on the faults and good points of their disputation.

20-21. [Caitanya's response to his mother's grief has been variously reported, but all accounts agree that he took the news of his wife's death very calmly and assuaged his mother's grief with instruction on the impermanent nature of life and on Īśvara's will. See *CBh* 1.10.165-83 [= 1.14 GM ed.]. Murāri in *KCC* 1.12.13-17 has Caitanya explain that Lakṣmī was only an *apsarā* (see commentary on *CC* 1.14.61). Kavikarṇapūra in *KCCM* 3.123-24 underscores Caitanya's calm and detachment by noting that he smiles at the news, and following Murāri's lead has Caitanya explain that Lakṣmī was not just a woman, but that she had come from heaven, etc. Jayānanda in his *JCM* 2.62.1-9 portrays Caitanya joyously dancing in *kīrtana* at the news, losing himself in the bliss of the love of Kṛṣṇa, an example of his style which has caused some believers and scholars to censure Jayānanda and generally discount his biography. TKS.]

22. *CBh* 1.10.184-207 [= 1.15.1-24 GM ed]. He used to do many things to irritate people, including imitating the dialect of the people of Sylhet living in Navadvīpa; see *CBh* 1.10.161, 198-207. But, according to the texts, at least, he was so bright and good at debate that there was no way to get back at him.

23. Viṣṇupriyā was the daughter of Sanātana Miśra. As Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out, there is an interesting question here. From the *CC* text and from others, it seems clear that Caitanya already had premonitions or intentions of *saṃnyāsa* even before the death of Lakṣmī (e.g., he sent Tapana Miśra to Kāśī, saying that he would see him there soon); why then did he marry a second time? Although it might come under the category of cruel and unusual punishment, Rādhāgovinda Nātha suggests that since a wife is necessary for the *gṛhastha* stage, and since abandonment of that *gṛhastha* stage is what *saṃnyāsa* is all about, it was simply because he intended to take *saṃnyāsa* that he married. [Vṛndāvana Dāsa offers a lavish description of the wedding to Viṣṇupriyā in *CBh* 1.10.218-401 [= 1.15.38-220 GM ed.], as does Murāri in *KCC* 1.13.1-1.14.33. Kavikarṇapūra provides a relatively lengthy account in *KCCM* 3.127.44. That Kṛṣṇadāsa glosses this second marriage in a singlet is perhaps suggestive of sectarian dissension or rivalry between the community in Vraja and that in Navadvīpa where Viṣṇupriyā had a substantial following. TKS]

24. The story of Caitanya's victory over the Digvijayī is in *CBh* 1.9.19-205 [= 1.13 GM ed.]. [The following story provided by Kṛṣṇadāsa is an excellent example of his scholastic powers, but more importantly, his thorough understanding of rhetorical techniques. Throughout the *CC*, Kṛṣṇadāsa will invoke the story of one of his hagiographical predecessors, usually Vṛndāvana Dāsa, Murāri Gupta, or Kavikarṇapūra (the latter often unattributed) and then provide missing detail in the form of sophisticated and highly technical literary, philosophical, and theological arguments. These "expansions" are often the arguments contained in specific texts composed by his *gurus* in Vṛndāvana, e.g., the instructions to Sanātana and Rūpa found in 2.19-24, which summarize many points from Rūpa's *BhRS* and *UNM*, among others. With this technique Kṛṣṇadāsa establishes the authority of the *CC* beyond question and at the same time "expands" or "corrects" his predecessors in such a way as to unify the biographical tradition. TKS]

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25 Making obeisance to him, let me speak of that part. Hearing it, the Digvijayī had contempt for himself.

26 On a moonlit night, Prabhu was sitting with his pupils on the banks of the Gaṅgā, in a discussion of knowledge. 27 At the same time, the Digvijayī came there, and having paid reverence to Gaṅgā, he met with Prabhu. 28 Prabhu, with consideration, sat him down, but the Digvijayī said, with scorn in his heart, 29 "You teach grammar. Your name is Nimāi Paṇḍita. Everyone says that you are full of qualities in regard to the elementary *śāstras*. 30 And among grammars, as I understand it, you teach *kalāpa*; I have heard the conversation of your pupils, as they quibble meaninglessly." 31 Prabhu said, "I do teach grammar; I have that much conceit. If my pupils do not understand, [it is because] I cannot teach them [properly]. 32 You are learned in all the *śāstras* and in poetry; I am a child among all these—a new student. 33 I should like to hear something of your skill in poetry; if you please, describe the Gaṅgā [in verse]."

34 Hearing this, the *brāhmaṇa* began to make the verses, and in a *ghaṭi* proudly composed one hundred *ślokas* celebrating the Gaṅgā. 35 Hearing it, Prabhu paid him much honor, "There is no other poet like you on earth. 36 Who has the power to understand the *ślokas* of your poem—you and Sarasvatī [only] know well the meaning. 37 If you explain in your own words the meaning of one *śloka*, then we will all be most happy." 38 Then the Digvijayī asked which *śloka* [he would like] explained; and Prabhu recited one of the one hundred *ślokas*:

Śloka 3. [Digvijayī's *śloka*]:
The greatness of Gaṅgā is this:
that she gleams eternally and intensely,
that she, lovely, born from the
lotus-feet of Śrī Viṣṇu,
her feet worshiped like a second Śrī Lakṣmī
by gods and men,
resides full of wonderful virtues
on the head of Bhavānī's husband.

29. Bālya-śāstra: elementary (lit., "childhood")-*śāstra*; everyone studied grammar as a boy, as a basis for the study of other *śāstras*.

30. Of the various kinds of grammar, *kalāpa* is supposed to be the simplest.

34. A *ghaṭi* is twenty-four minutes.

Śloka 3. Mahattvaṃ gaṅgāyāḥ satatam idamābhāti nitarāṃ
yadeṣā śrīviṣṇoścaraṇakamalotpattisubhagā /
dvitīya śrīlakṣmīriva suranarairarccyacaraṇā
bhavānībhartturyā śirasi vibhavatyadbhutaguṇā //

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39 "Explain this *śloka*." When Prabhu requested that, the Digvijayī was dumbstruck and asked Prabhu, 40 "I recited the *śloka*s as quick as the wind; how could you remember one *śloka* among them?" 41 Prabhu said, "The gift of the gods to you was the gift of poetry; so by the gift of the gods, some can hold things in their memory."

42 Then the *brāhmaṇa*, being favorably impressed, explained the *śloka*. Then Prabhu said, "What are the qualities and the faults of the *śloka*, tell me." 43 The *brāhmaṇa* said, "There is no hint of imperfection in the *śloka*; its qualities are *upamā-alaṃkāra* and *anuprāsa*." 44 Prabhu said, "If you do not take offence, tell me what the flaws in this *śloka* of yours are. 45 The poetry of your genius pleases the gods; if you discuss it well and thoroughly, then we can understand its qualities and flaws. 46 So expound the *śloka* thoroughly." The poet said, "What I have said is the essence of the Vedas. 47 As a grammarian, you do not study *alaṃkāra*; what will you know of the essence of poetry?" 48 Prabhu said, "That is why I have asked you; if you explain it, then you can make me understand about qualities and flaws. 49 I have not studied *alaṃkāra*, but I have listened; and because of that I see many qualities and flaws in the *śloka*." 50 The poet said, "Speak then, and let me see; what are its qualities and flaws?" Prabhu said, "Listen, then, and let me speak; do not be angry. 51 There are five flaws in this *śloka*, and five *alaṃkāra*s; let me speak of them in order; hear, and then discuss.

42. Guṇa: quality; according to Kavikarṇapūra's *Alaṃkārakaustubha* 6.1-4, *guṇa*s are those elements of poetry, like heroism or sweetness, which cause extraordinary increase in *rasa*, the ultimate impersonal esthetic experience. The three general *guṇa*s are *mādhurya* (sweetness), *oja* (vitality or power), and *prasāda* (perspicuity). *Mādhurya* is pleasing, causing compassion, the melting of the heart; *oja* pervades the mind with brilliance; *prasāda* is when the meaning is pervasive, and dawns upon the mind subtly, like the scent of perfume. The *Kāvyaprakāśa* 8.5 [quoted in Kavikarṇapūra's *Alaṃkārakaustubha* 6.4] describes the *prasāda-guṇa* as "like fire in dry wood," pervading the mind. There are seven *guṇa*s within the three *guṇa*s: *arthavyakti* (half-expression), *udāratva* (expansiveness), *śleṣa* (double meaning), *samatā* (equivalence), *kānti* (brilliance), *prauḍhi* (perseverance), and *samādhi* (profundity). The *doṣa*s are those faults or imperfections which detract from the experience of *rasa*. [The entire sixth chapter of the *Alaṃkārakaustubha* is devoted to this analysis of *guṇa*s and *doṣa*s. TKS.]

43. Doṣa: fault, imperfection; *upamā*: simile; *alaṃkāra*: that which ornaments, a figure of speech like *upamā*. *Alaṃkāra*s are of two general types: *śabdālaṃkāra*, linguistic ornaments such as alliteration and rhyme; and *arthālaṃkāra*, ornaments of meaning such as *śleṣa*, punning or the unusual combination of contrasting words. *Anuprāsa*: alliteration.

51. [Vṛndāvana Dāsa indicates only that the Digvijayī used extensive *śabdālaṃkāra*s (*CBh* 1.9.87 [=1.13.86 GM ed.]) and that there were faults in three places, i.e., at the beginning, the middle, and the end (*CBh* 1.9.94 [=1.13.93 GM ed.]). TKS]

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52 "Twice there are signs of *avimṛṣṭa-vidheyāṃśa*, or incomplete epithets; and there are the three flaws of *viruddhamati* or misleading, *bhagnakrama* or irregularity, and *punarātta* or protraction. 53 'The greatness of the Gaṅgā' is the main predicate of the *śloka*, and the word '*idam*,' 'this,' is the subject—that it comes after is improper. 54 If one speaks the predicate first and the subject only afterwards, the meaning of the *śloka* is obscured.

Śloka 4. Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa*:
He who speaks the predicate first, without having mentioned the subject, support for his words is nowhere established.

55 'A second Śrī Lakṣmī'—this predicates secondariness; the compound is secondary, and the meaning is weakened. 56 The word 'second' is the predicate, but it was recited as a compound; the meaning 'the equivalent of Lakṣmī' was ruined. 57 The name of this flaw is *avimṛṣṭa-vidheyāṃśa*. There is another flaw—listen carefully. 58 You have with great delight given the word 'the husband of Bhavānī'; the name of this great flaw is *viruddhamatikṛt*. 59 By the word '*bhavānī*' is meant the wife of Mahādeva; if you speak of her husband, the implication is of a second husband. 60 It is inconsistent to hear 'the husband of Śiva's wife'; this is called *viruddhamatikṛt*, and is not permitted by the *śāstra*s. 61 'Give a gift into the hand of the husband of the *brāhmaṇa*'s wife': this implies a second husband. 62 The expression is completed by the verb 'resides'; but again comes the qualification 'wonderful virtues': thus is the flaw *punarātta*. 63 In the three *pada*s I see matchless alliteration; but in one there is none, and this flaw is *bhagnakrama*.

64 "Even though there are in the *śloka* five *alaṃkāra*s, by these flaws the *śloka* is spoiled. 65 If one *śloka* has ten *alaṃkāra*s, all the *alaṃkāra*s are spoiled by one

52. *Avimṛṣṭa-vidheyāṃśa*: unconsidered predication. The two *doṣa*s of this type are 'The greatness of the Gaṅgā is this,' and 'a second Śrī Lakṣmī.' The *anuvāda*, the known, should stand first in the construction, and the *vidheya*, the unknown, should stand after; this *doṣa* is the reversal of the order of the predication. The meanings of the names of the other *doṣa*s will be given below, as they are discussed by Kṛṣṇadāsa.

Śloka 4. See 1.2.*śl*.14.

58. *Viruddhamati*: when the syntactic relationship between words or phrases is obscure, thus obscuring the meaning of the sentence.

62. It is not possible to reproduce exactly the syntax of the Sanskrit; the *śloka* ends with the phrase *vibhavatyadbhutaguṇā*, "resides she of wonderful virtues"; the *doṣa* is placing a qualifier or noun after the verb of the *śloka*; the verb should appear in final position.

63. *Pada*: foot; so, in three of the four lines of the *śloka*. *Bhagnakrama*: broken sequence; if an *alaṃkāra* like alliteration is used, it must be used throughout the *śloka*, not only in a single part.

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flaw. 66 As of a beautiful body adorned with ornaments, by a single spot of leucoderma it is spoiled.

Śloka 5. Bhārata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*:

As a beautiful body, richly adorned, is made ugly by one spot of leucoderma, so is a poem, though full of *rasālaṃkāra*, if there is a blemish.

67 Now hear a discussion of the five *alaṃkāras*. There are two *śabdālaṃkāras*, and three *arthālaṃkāras*. 68 The *śabdālaṃkāras*: the alliteration that is in the three *padas*; and in the word Śrī Lakṣmī there is *punaruktavada*. 69 In the first foot there are five instances of '*ta-kāra*'; in the third foot there are five '*rephas*' established; 70 in the fourth foot four '*bha-kāras*' are manifested, and these are the alliteration *śabdālaṃkāras*. 71 By the word '*śrī*' and the word '*lakṣmī*' one matter is stated; it appears as near-repetition, but it is not repetition. 72 In the meaning '*śrīyukta lakṣmī*,' or 'Lakṣmī possessing *śrī*' is a difference of meaning; it is a suggested *punaruktavada*, a kind of *śabdālaṃkāra*. 73 '*Lakṣmīriva*' is an *arthālaṃkāra*, a manifestation of *upamā*; and there is another *arthālaṃkāra*, known as *virodha*. 74 That lotuses grow in the Gaṅgā is well known to all; but 'the birth of the Gaṅgā in a lotus' is greatly contradictory. 75 'The rising of the Gaṅgā from the lotus-feet of this Viṣṇu' is a very astonishing *virodhālaṃkāra*. 76 'The manifestation of the Gaṅgā by the *acintya-śakti* of Īśvara'— in this there is no contradiction, there is only apparent contradiction.

67. See above, commentary on v. 43.

68. Punaruktavada: in a single utterance two words that are used which seem to have the same meaning, but on analysis turn out not to have the same meaning; "seeming repetitiveness."

69-70. Kāra: suffix meaning letter or syllable; *repha*: the letter "r" in simple conjunct form.

70. Anuprāsa: alliteration.

71. I.e., Śrī is another name for Lakṣmī. But "*śrī*" also means "beautiful"; thus Śrī Lakṣmī, as in v. 72. as a compound can be interpreted as Lakṣmī who possesses (*yukta*) beauty.

73. The Sanskrit is "*dvitīya śrīlakṣmīriva*" or "as a second Śrī Lakṣmī." The meaning is: as gods and men worship the feet of Lakṣmī, so they worship the feet of Gaṅgā; thus Lakṣmī and Gaṅgā are alike in respect to worship. This is *upamā*, simile. For *virodhābhāsa*, see below, v. 74.

74. Virodha: contradictory, in that it contradicts the commonly accepted meaning, not that either interpretation is wrong.

75. Virodhābhāsa is thus "a sense of contradiction" or "seeming contradiction"; for, as Kṛṣṇadāsa points out in v. 76., there is no real contradiction, if one places the theological interpretation upon it.

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Śloka 6.
A lotus is born in the water, never water from the lotus. But the astonishing thing is that in Murabhi the contrary of this is true, that the great Gaṅgā issued from his lotus-feet.

77 The greatness of the Gaṅgā is to be established; the process of its establishment, its arising from the lotus-feet of Viṣṇu is the *anumāna-alaṃkāra*. 78 Basically there are these five flaws and five *alaṃkāras*; if there were a minute analysis, many others would be [disclosed]. 79 Your genius is the grace of the gods in the gift of poetry to you; but poetry which is unanalyzed certainly retains the obstruction of flaws. 80 If one makes poetry after analyzing it, it is most stainless; and if it possesses *alaṃkāras*, its meaning glitters."

81 Hearing this speech of Prabhu, the Digvijayī was astonished; he was struck dumb, and his inspiration was paralyzed. 82 He wanted to say something, but no response came; being puzzled, he pondered the matter within himself. 83 'A student boy has obliterated my wisdom; I know that Sarasvatī is angry with me. 84 That explanation which he has made is not within the power of any human; Sarasvatī herself has spoken through the mouth of Nimāi.' 85 Thus reflecting, he said, "Hear, Nimāi Paṇḍita, hearing your exposition, I am astonished. 86 You have not studied *alaṃkāra*, nor are you practiced in the *śāstras*; how is it that you can articulate all these meanings?" 87 Hearing this, Mahāprabhu was very playful, and knowing his heart, he said mischievously to him, 88 "In discussion of the *śāstras* I know neither good nor bad; Sarasvatī caused me to speak; I spoke her words." 89 Hearing this, the Digvijayī decided, 'The Devī defeated me by means of this child. 90 Today I shall petition her, with *mantras* and meditation, to tell me why she brought me such humiliation through this child. 91 Truly, Sarasvatī caused me to compose an imperfect *śloka*, and she hid my wisdom at the time of discussion of it.'

92 Then the pupils began to laugh; but forbidding them all, Prabhu said to the poet, 93 "You are a great *paṇḍita*, the crest jewel of great poets, from whose mouth such poetry can come. 94 Your poetry is like the stream of the Gaṅgā; I have never seen a poet like you anywhere. 95 Bhavabhūti, Jayadeva, and Kālidāsa—in the poetry

Śloka 6. Murabhi: Viṣṇu.

77. "To be established," i.e., the subject of the *śloka* is the greatness of the Gaṅgā, and it has been established as "arising from the lotus feet." This is induction, *anumāna*, and is considered an *arthālaṃkāra*.

83. Sarasvatī: the goddess of learning.

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of all of these are found flaws. 96 A discussion of qualities and flaws—this is but little to be admired; but the power which gives rise to poetry—that is to be praised. 97 Do not mind my childish frivolity—I am not equal to one of your pupils. 98 Now go home; tomorrow we shall meet again, and I shall hear from your mouth a discussion of *śāstras*."

99 So the two went each to their own homes, and in the night the poet worshiped Sarasvatī. 100 In a dream Sarasvatī instructed him, and he knew Prabhu to be the manifest Īśvara. 101 In the morning he came and took refuge at the feet of Prabhu; Prabhu was merciful to him, and he broke his bonds. 102 The fortunate Digvijayī had fulfilled his life; by the power of his learning he gained the feet of Mahāprabhu. 103 All these *līlās* Vṛndāvana Dāsa has described; only a few special parts have been described here. 104 The *līlā* of Caitanya Gosvāmī is a stream of nectar, and at the hearing of it all the senses are satisfied.

105 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

100. [*CBh* 1.9.127-49 [= 1.13 GM ed.] provides details of this dream exchange with Sarasvatī. The goddess explains that she was not free to speak through the Digvijayī because she recognized that Caitanya was her lord, Sarasvatī-*pati*. She then explains to him just who Caitanya is and commands him to go worship at Caitanya's feet. TKS]

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Ādi Līlā
Chapter 17

Śloka 1.

I bow down to that Caitanya, by whose grace even the Yavanas become well-minded and utterers of the Kṛṣṇa-name, whose wondrous desires are spontaneous.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and glory to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*. 2 I have enumerated the *sūtras* of the *līlā* of his adolescence; now let me gradually develop the *sūtras* of the *līlā* of his youth.

Śloka 2.

In the time of his youth, Gauracandra played by the giving of the name and *prema*, by *kīrtana*, dancing, enjoyment, fine dress, beauty, and learning.

3 His body was the decoration of the body entering into youth, with beautiful dress, clothing, garlands and sandalwood. 4 In the arrogance of his learning he counted no one; he taught, defeating all the *paṇḍitas*. 5 Feigning madness he manifested

3. The decoration of the body: this is an old figure of speech: when a thing is so beautiful that there is nothing to compare with it, its only possible comparison is itself.

5. [This refers to an important episode recorded by Vṛndāvana Dāsa in *CBh* 1.8.67-83 [= 1.12 GM ed.]. Although he was not ready to reveal his divinity and his role as *avatāra*, Caitanya could not always contain his *prema*. To disguise this divine love, he pretended madness, *vayū* or "wind-disease": "67 One day Prabhu's body fell into a stupor of *vayū* and manifested all of the signs of *prema-bhakti*. 68 Suddenly Prabhu prattled in glossolalia; he rolled on the ground, he laughed and fell down, banging against the house. 69 He emitted a roaring *huṃkāra* and slapped his arms [like a wrestler], prepared to fight anyone who was before him. 70 Then in a flash his body went limp and the people who witnessed this fainting fit grew concerned." Neighbors, recognizing the wind-disease of madness (*vayū*) applied Āyurvedic medicines—Viṣṇu oil and Nārāyaṇa oil—which caused

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prema, and with his *bhaktas* he did many different things. 6 Then Prabhu made a trip to Gayā, and met with Īśvara Purī. 7 After his *dīkṣā* he manifested *prema*, and, again returning to his [own] country, the activities of *prema*. 8 He gave the gift of *prema* to Śacī, then met Advaita, and Advaita gained the vision of his cosmic form. 9 Then Śrīvāsa performed the *abhiṣeka* of Prabhu, and seated on the cot Prabhu manifested his divinity. 10 Then Nityānanda Svarūpa came, and meeting Prabhu he gained the sight of his six-armed form. 11 First Īśvara showed to him his six-

Caitanya to shudder and jerk and finally admit he was Īśvara (vv. 77-78), before coming to. (See also the text and commentary on *CC* 1.7.86-93; 2.8.135; 2.18.174; and 2.23.31.) TKS]

6. He went to Gayā to make an offering to Viṣṇu in the name of his dead father; *CBh* 1.12.28-29 [=1.17 GM ed.]. Īśvara Purī was a student of Mādhavendra Purī; he had once before come to Navadvīpa, and had begged at Śacī's house; he had met Caitanya on that occasion; see *CBh* 1.7.198-255 [= 1.11.69-127 GM ed.].

7. Caitanya received the ten-syllabled Gopāla-*mantra* from Īśvara Purī; *CBh* 1.12.106 [= 1.17 GM ed.]. Many stories are told in this chapter of the *CBh* of the *prema* which followed his initiation; it is also said in that text that Caitanya took many *bhaktas* with him on his trip to Gayā (1.12.11).

8. Ante, commentary on 1.12.40; previously Caitanya had, from anger, withheld *prema* from Śacī; presumably this means that at this time she became a believing Vaiṣṇava. The revelation to Advaita was much like Kṛṣṇa's showing Arjuna his supernal form in *Gītā* 11. The story is told in *CBh* 2.6.74-85: Advaita sees Caitanya as Kṛṣṇa, and "all around him, gods full of radiance, all saying 'Kṛṣṇa,' and great *nāgas* with seven hoods, spreading their hoods and praising him . . ." [Later Advaita specifically requests that revelation of *BhG* 11, which he receives in *CBh* 2.24.45-55. TKS]

9. *Abhiṣeka*: the ritual bathing of an image. The story is told in *CBh* 2.9: one day Caitanya and Nityānanda went to the house of Śrīvāsa, and there all the *bhaktas* gathered for *kīrtana*; Caitanya, after dancing for a time, seated himself on Viṣṇu's cot, or bed on which the image was put to rest. Another time also he did this, and we are told that on that occasion all the *bhaktas* knew him as Viṣṇu himself, and stood before him with palms together in reverential gesture. Caitanya told them, "Sing my *abhiṣeka*-song"; they did, and brought Gaṅgā water and camphor, and Advaita bathed him, reciting the *puruṣa-sūkta* from the *Ṛg Veda* 10.90.

10. *CBh* 2.3-4 tells that when Nityānanda was very young, his *guru* got permission from Nityānanda's parents to take the boy with him on his travels. They visited many places of pilgrimage, and finally after many years came to Vṛndāvana. There, it is said, he learned that Kṛṣṇa had become incarnate in Navadvīpa, and so he journeyed to that place. Nityānanda became a guest in the house of Nandana Ācārya. Before he arrived, Caitanya told the *bhaktas* that he had seen in a dream that a great man was coming there, a man "of vast body, a huge staff on his shoulder . . . a blue cloth on his head, an earring in his left ear." Two *bhaktas* then went and searched in all the houses for such a person, but returned empty-handed; Caitanya smiled and said, "Come with me," and he led them to the house of Nandana, where of course they found Nityānanda. Caitanya told Śrīvāsa to recite a *śloka* of Kṛṣṇa, and when he heard it Nityānanda fell fainting to the ground. He soon revived, but was mad with *prema*, roaring, laughing, weeping, and exhibiting all the other signs of such possession. No one was able to control him, but Caitanya embraced him, and they conversed quietly. *CBh* 2.5.88-92 tells us that it was on the occasion of Vyāsa-*pūjā*, when Nityānanda was placing a garland over Caitanya's head, that his six-armed form was revealed.

11-13. This is a gradual revelation, since the two-armed form is the *svarūpa*. Kṛṣṇa had six

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armed [form], holding the six: conch, disc, club, lotus, bow, and flute; 12 then his four-armed form, his body bent in three places; with two hands he played the flute, with two he held the conch and disc. 13 Then with only two arms, his flute to his mouth, his body dark, clothed in yellow, Vrajendranandana. 14 Then Nityānanda Gosvāmī worshiped Vyāsa; Nityānanda, absorbed, held the pestle. 15 Then Śacī saw Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, the two brothers; then Prabhu saved Jagāi and Mādhāi. 16 Then for seven *praharas* Prabhu was absorbed in *bhāva*, and everywhere the devotees saw his attributes. 17 At the house of Murāri he was under the control of the Varāha, the Boar; and mounting up on his shoulders Prabhu danced in the courtyard. 18 Then he ate the rice of Śuklāmbara, and he explained the meaning of the *śloka* "*harernāma*":

Śloka 3. *Brhannāradīya Purāṇa* 38.126:
There is only the name of Hari, the name of Hari, the name of Hari; there is no other way, no other way, no other way, in the Kali age.

19 In the Kali age, the *avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa is in the form of the name; from the name there is the salvation of the whole world. 20 To establish it firmly, "*harernāma*" is repeated three times; to cause dull people to understand, the "*eva*" syllable is given.

arms in the Dvāraka-*līlā*, four in his Mathurā-*līlā*, and two in the Vraja-*līlā*. As Kṛṣṇa plays the flute, his body is bent at the neck, waist, and knee. [This progressive revelation is not recorded by Vṛndāvana Dāsa, but is found in Murāri's *KCC* 2.8.26-29 and again in 2.9.7-12, both of which are revealed to Nityānanda. TKS]

14. On the full moon of Āsāḍha, *saṃnyāsins* perform Vyāsa-*pūjā*, which honors the *guru*; *CBh* 2.5.8. Nityānanda was of course the *avatāra* of Balarāma, whose symbol is the pestle; *āveśa*: absorbed, here means in the *bhāva* of Balarāma; *CBh* 2.5.34-44.

15. *CBh* 2.8.28-74. One night Śacī saw in a dream that Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma and Caitanya and Nityānanda, all four, were eating a food offering. The next day Nityānanda came for his midday meal, and Śacī saw Caitanya and Nityānanda, sitting together, as Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. For the Jagāi and Mādhāi episode, see ante, commentary on 1.8.17, and *CBh* 2.13.1-325.

16. *CBh* 2.9.

17. [One day Caitanya went to the house of Murāri Gupta, and when Murāri bowed to him, Caitanya said "Boar, boar" and entered the Viṣṇu temple in the courtyard; and when he saw before him the waterpot used to sprinkle the image, he lifted it up in his teeth (as the boar-*avatāra* supported the world on its tusks); *CBh* 2.3.18-53. On another occasion Caitanya was in the *bhāva* of Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa, climbed upon Murāri's shoulders, saying "Garuḍa" (i.e., the name of the great bird, vehicle of Viṣṇu); and Murāri took on the *bhāva* of Garuḍa, and danced with Caitanya on his shoulders; *CBh* 2.20.78-98. TKS]

18. Ante, 1.10.36 and *CBh* 2.16.107-50.

Śloka 3. See 1.7.*śl.*3; 2.6.*śl.*19.

20. The third phrase of the *śloka* is "*harernāmaiva*"; "*eva*" is here used as an emphatic particle.

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21 The word "only" is again an instrument of emphasis, in it is the prevention of *jñāna, yoga, tapas, karma* and the rest. 22 Who honors other [paths], he is not saved: [thus] "*nāhi nāhi nāhi*"—with three "*eva*" syllables. 23 Being humble as grass, he will take the name of Hari incessantly; he will be modest, and honor others. 24 The Vaiṣṇava will be patient as a tree; though he be beaten and cursed, he will say nothing 25 as a tree says nothing even when it is cut. A tree does not beg for water, even when it dries and shrivels up in the sun. 26 In this way the Vaiṣṇava shall beg nothing from anyone. He shall eat goods unsolicited, or vegetables and fruit. 27 He shall always take the name, by the benefit of which [he shall be] happy; doing this kind of activity is the nourishment of *bhakti-dharma*.

Śloka 4. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 32 [quoting Kṛṣṇa Caitanya]:

He who knows himself as humbler than the grass, who is more forbearing than a tree, who feels no pride but gives honor to other men, he should practice always the Hari-*kīrtana*.

28 I say with arms uplifted, hear, all people! having strung it on the *sūtra* of the name, wear this *śloka* on the neck. 29 According to the orders of Prabhu, do as this *śloka* says, and surely you will gain the feet of Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

30 So Prabhu always in the house of Śrīvāsa each night for one year made *saṃkīrtana*. 31 Closing the door he would make *kīrtana* in the highest absorption; the disbelievers would come to laugh, but not gain entrance. 32 Hearing the *kīrtana* from the outside they fumed and burned with rage, and many discussed how to give sorrow to Śrīvāsa. 33 One day a *brāhmaṇa* named Gopāla Cāpāla, the chief among the disbelievers, a foul-mouthed man and talkative, 34 brought all the paraphernalia for worship of Bhavānī, and in the night he placed them smeared at the door of Śrīvāsa. 35 On a banana leaf he placed china roses, turmeric, vermilion,

22. Nistāra: literally "saved," to save from drowning (in the sea of *saṃsāra*, in this case). The *śloka* has "*nāstyeva*," three times, and "*eva*" is again emphasis.

23-29. This is based on the most famous of the eight *ślokas* of Caitanya, the "*śikṣāṣṭaka*." See 3.20.16-21; the complete *śikṣāṣṭaka* is included in 3.20.

Śloka 4. See 3.6.*śl*.3; 3.20.*śl*.5.

28. The second meaning of *sūtra*, i.e., "string," is here employed.

33-36. These verses cause a great deal of trouble to some, who say that wine could not possibly be a part of the ritual of Bhavānī, but it is possible that she is a Tāntric goddess, and in such a case wine would certainly be a part of the paraphernalia. It is not entirely clear what Gopāla had in mind. These items, especially the wine, would be offensive enough to a Vaiṣṇava. But it is also possible that he wanted to create the impression that the worship going on in Śrīvāsa's courtyard every night was Tāntric and to be scorned.

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red sandalwood, and rice; 36 and he put beside these a pot of wine, and went home. In the morning, Śrīvāsa saw these things, 37 and he summoned all the important people, and smiling said to them all, 38 "Each night I perform Bhavānī-*pūjā*; see my greatness, O true-natured *brāhmaṇas*." 39 Then all these gentle people were astounded, "What evil-doer has done this thing?" 40 And bringing a sweeper they had it all cleaned up, and with water mixed with cowdung they purified the place. 41 Three days afterwards Gopāla Cāpāla had leprosy all over his body, and streams of blood flowed. 42 And all over his body the worms grew, and ate him incessantly; the pain was unendurable, and his heart burnt with sorrow. 43 He remained sitting at a ghat on the Gaṅgā, underneath a tree, and one day he saw Prabhu and said to him, 44 "I am your maternal uncle, by village relationship; O nephew, I have been stricken with leprosy. 45 Your *avatāra* is to save all people; I am suffering greatly—save me." 46 Hearing this Mahāprabhu's heart grew angry, and under the control of anger he said to him menacing words, 47 "O sinner, O calumner of *bhaktas*, I shall not save you; for a crore of births I shall cause you to be eaten by worms in this way. 48 You had Bhavānī-*pūjā* performed for Śrīvāsa; a crore of births are yours in Raurava hell. 49 This *avatāra* of mine is to destroy the disbelievers, and destroying them I shall propagate *bhakti*." 50 So saying, Prabhu went to take his bath in the Gaṅgā; the sinner suffered horribly, but did not die. 51 When Prabhu had taken *saṃnyāsa* and went to Nīlācala, he came to Kuliyāgrāma. 52 Then that sinner took refuge [at the feet] of Prabhu; being gracious, he gave him beneficial instructions, 53 "You have committed an offence against Śrīvāsa Paṇḍita. Go to him; if he is gracious to you, 54 then you will be released from [the consequences of] this sin, if you do not do such things again." 55 Then the *brāhmaṇa* came and took refuge with Śrīvāsa, and by his mercy was released from his sin.

56 Another *brāhmaṇa* came to watch the *kīrtana*; the door was closed, and he was unable to go inside. 57 So being sorrowful the *brāhmaṇa* turned and went home. One day he met Prabhu by the Gaṅgā, and said, 58 "I have gained much misery of heart; I shall curse you." And with a foul-mouthed curse he tore his sacred thread, 59 "May your worldly happiness be destroyed." Hearing this curse the mind of Prabhu was greatly delighted. 60 He who, faithful, hears the story of the curse

44. I.e., not a real uncle, but one who because of age, etc., and living in the same neighborhood (*pārā*) of the town, is treated as an uncle in social situations.

48. The name Raurava comes from *ruru*, the name of the awful beast who with teeth and claws tears the flesh of those suffering in this hell.

51. I.e., on a pilgrimage to Vṛndāvana, after he had lived for some time in Puri, he passed through Bengal, and through the village of Kuliyā.

54. *Pāpa*: sin, i.e., action or thought that cuts against the flow of *dharma* or the will of Bhagavān.

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of Prabhu, is saved from the curse of a *brāhmaṇa*. 61 He gave his grace as punishment to Mukunda Datta, and dispelled all his depression of mind. 62 Prabhu had *bhakti* toward Ācārya Gosvāmī as his *guru*, at which the Ācārya was greatly disturbed. 63 In deception he began to expound the *jñāna-mārga*; under the control of anger Prabhu berated him. 64 Then Ācārya Gosvāmī was overjoyed, and being ashamed Prabhu granted him his grace. 65 Hearing from the mouth of Murāri Gupta the multitude of the qualities of Rāma, he wrote on his forehead the name Rāmadāsa. 66 He drank water from the iron vessel of Śrīdhara; to all his *bhaktas* he gave whatever they desired. 67 He gave his grace to Haridāsa Ṭhākura, and he broke the offence of his mother to the Ācārya.

68 To the *bhaktas* Prabhu spoke of the greatness of the name; hearing it, a student accused him of overstatement. 69 Hearing the name called "eulogy," Prabhu became very sad, and he prohibited everyone, "Do not look upon the face of that one." 70 With all the fellow pupils he went to bathe in the Gaṅgā. He expounded the greatness of *bhakti*, 71 "*Jñāna, karma, yoga, dharma*—these do not control Kṛṣṇa; the source of the control of Kṛṣṇa is one—the *rasa* of *prema-bhakti*."

61. See ante, commentary on 1.12.39. [See also *CBh* 2.10.174-202. TKS]

62-64. See ante, commentary on 1.12.*śl.*1.

65. I.e., on Murāri's forehead, for there is a double meaning here: Rāmadāsa, "servant of Rāma," is Hanumān. Murāri was a *bhakta* of Rāma, and in the previous *līlā* was Hanumān; see *CBh* 2.10.5-32. [See also Murāri's own account in *KCC* 2.7.7-18. TKS]

67. *CBh* 2.10.36-108. Caitanya said to Haridāsa, "When the Muslims were dragging you through the streets whipping you, I felt the pain, and I descended from Vaikuṇṭha to strike them down. But I could do nothing, because you were thinking good things about your abusers. So I laid myself on your back and absorbed the beating; see, here are the marks still on my body. Because I could not bear your pain, I quickly became incarnated." Hearing this, Haridāsa fainted; and ever afterwards he in humility kept expressing his own lowliness. See the commentary to 1.10.43 for more on the story.

CBh 2.22 tells this story: after Viśvarūpa had taken *saṃnyāsa*, Śacī got it into her mind that Advaita had advised him to do so. Caitanya also was in the habit of going and coming in Advaita's house, and Śacī was very afraid that the Ācārya would persuade her second son as well to abandon the world, so she nursed an anger for him (v. 107-115). Caitanya knew of this, and persuaded her that such an anger was an offence, and that she must go to take the dust of Advaita's feet to cleanse herself; she went, but Advaita, seeing her as Yaśodā, refused to let her bow to him. But while expounding on Śacī as the *avatāra* of Yaśodā, he lost consciousness, and Śacī took the dust of his feet.

69. This is a *nāma-aparādha*, an offense against the name.

70. This was probably a ritual bath, to wipe away the association with the student who had offended against the name.

71. *Vaśa:* literally "control." Kṛṣṇa is of course as dependent upon his *bhaktas* for his experience of *rasa* as they are upon him: Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā are incomplete when apart from one another. See 1.4.216; 1.7.138; 2.23.26.

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Śloka 5. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.14.20:
O Uddhava, only that very powerful *bhakti* toward me is able to compel me; I am not [compelled by] *yoga*, *sāṃkhya*, *dharma*, Vedic study, *tapas*, and renunciation.

72 He said to Murāri, "You have won over Kṛṣṇa"; and hearing this Murāri began to recite a *śloka*:

Śloka 6. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.81.16:
Where am I poor and evil; where is Kṛṣṇa Śrīniketana? Knowing me for a bad *brāhmaṇa*, I am still embraced by [his] arms.

73 One day Prabhu and all his *bhaktas*, having performed *saṃkīrtana*, were wearied, and sat down. 74 Prabhu planted a mango seed in the courtyard, and immediately a tree was born and began to grow. 75 While they were watching the tree bore fruit; many fruits ripened, and all were astonished. 76 Prabhu quickly gathered two hundred fruits; washing them, he offered them to Kṛṣṇa. 77 Their color was red and yellow, and they had neither pit nor skin; and if he ate one fruit, the stomach of a man was filled. 78 Seeing this, the son of Śacī was greatly pleased, and he fed them all before he ate. 79 There was neither pit nor skin, and they were full of juice like nectar; if he ate one fruit, one's belly was filled with the juice. 80 In this way there was fruit every day, throughout the full year; the Vaiṣṇavas ate the fruit, to the delight of Prabhu. 81 The son of Śacī performed all these *līlās*; except for the *bhaktas*, other people knew nothing of it. 82 In this way, for twelve months, at the end of the *kīrtana*, Prabhu made each day a great feast of mangoes. 83 While Prabhu was having *kīrtana* the rain clouds came; but according to his own desire he prevented them [from raining].

Śloka 5. See 2.20.*śl.*13; 2.25.*śl.*31; 3.4.*śl.*2. [Compare Murāri's treatment of this verse in his *KCC* 2.7.20-21. TKS]

Śloka 6. See 2.7.*śl.*4. The *śloka* is not entirely clear apart from its context, which is this: There was a *brāhmaṇa* who in childhood was a friend of Kṛṣṇa; they studied and played together, and were fast friends. Later, when Kṛṣṇa was king in Dvārakā, the *brāhmaṇa* was very poor, so poor that at the end of a day of begging he could not feed himself or his family. His wife told him one day that he should go and ask help of Kṛṣṇa, and, with trepidation, he went. When Kṛṣṇa saw him he ran to him and embraced him. Śrīniketana: the abode of Lakṣmī, also of course of wealth and prosperity (*śrī*).

83. [This story can be found in Murāri's *KCC* 2.3.18-27; it was raining, lightning and thundering one day when the devotees wished to perform *kīrtana*. Caitanya began to clap the cymbals and suddenly the clouds dispersed, the sun shone, and the various celestial figures gathered to watch the ensuing spectacle. TKS]

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84 One day Prabhu gave his instructions to Śrīvāsa, "Read the *Bṛhatsahasranāma*; I want to hear it." 85 While reading he came to the praises of the name Nṛsiṃha; hearing it Prabhu the Gauradhāma was possessed. 86 Under the possession of Nṛsiṃha he took a club into his hand and ran to the city to beat the disbelievers. 87 Seeing him, possessed by Nṛsiṃha, full of great radiance, the people left the road and fled in great fear. 88 Seeing the fear of the people, Prabhu regained consciousness, and going to the house of Śrīvāsa he threw away his club. 89 In great dejection Prabhu said to Śrīvāsa, "People were afraid, I have offended them." 90 Śrīvāsa said, "He who takes your name, has a crore of his offences destroyed. 91 There was no offence, but you have saved the people; he who saw you has escaped *saṃsāra*." 92 Saying such things, Śrīvāsa served him, and being soothed Prabhu came to his own house.

93 On another day a Śiva-*bhakta* sang the qualities of Śiva; he danced in the courtyard of Prabhu, and played the *ḍamaru* drum. 94 The son of Śacī was possessed by Maheśa, and climbing on his shoulder he danced a long time. 95 Another day a beggar came to beg; seeing the dancing of Prabhu he also began to dance. 96 With Prabhu he danced in highest joy; Prabhu gave *prema* to him, and he floated in the *prema-rasa*. 97 Another day an astrologer, learned in all things, came; paying respect to him. Prabhu asked, 98 "Who was I in my previous birth? Calculate and tell [me]." Hearing the words of Prabhu, the all-knowing one began to calculate. 99 Having calculated, the all-knowing one saw in his meditation a being full of great radiance, the infinite Brahmā-worlds of Vaikuṇṭha, the refuge of all these. 100 The *parama-tattva*, the *para-brahma*, the *parama-īśvara*: seeing this form of Prabhu, the all-knowing one was perplexed. 101 He could say nothing; he remained silent. Prabhu again asked him, and he began to speak. 102 "In your previous birth you were the refuge of the world; the full Bhagavān, full of all the divine qualities. 103 As you were formerly, so you are now; you are eternal bliss, difficult to know—that is your true form." 104 Prabhu smiled and said, "You know nothing; formerly I was by caste a *gowālā*. 105 I was born in the house of a *gopa*, a tender of cows. Because of that merit I have now become a *brāhmaṇa* boy." 106 The all-knower said, "I saw that in my meditation; but in it seeing your divinity, I was astonished.

84. Bṛhatsahasranāma: the passage of the *Mahābhārata* giving the thousand names of Viṣṇu.

84-92. [The story can be found in Murāri's *KCC* 2.11.6-12. TKS]

85. [Gauradhāma: the replete form (*dhāma*) of the Golden One, Caitanya (Gaura). *Dhāma* here is decidedly difficult to translate, for it includes *svayaṃ bhagavān* and his realm and entourage; see the commentaries to 1.1.45, 1.5.14, 16. TKS]

93. Ḍamaru is the small two-headed drum played by Śiva and by his worshipers.

93-94. CBh 2.8.96-103.

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107 In that *rūpa* and in this one I see one form; but sometimes I see a difference—this is by your *māyā*. 108 Whoever you are, you are; I make obeisance to you." Prabhu rewarded him with *prema*.

109 One day Prabhu was sitting in the Viṣṇu-*maṇḍapa*, he called out, "Bring wine, bring wine!" 110 Nityānanda Gosvāmī knew the possession of Prabhu, so he brought a vessel of Gaṅgā water and placed it before him. 111 Having drunk the water he danced, absorbed; all saw the *līlā* of the plowing of the [new channel of the] Yamunā. 112 His gait, as if he were drunk on wine, imitated Baladeva; Ācārya Śekhara saw him in the form of Rāma. 113 Vanamālī Ācārya saw the golden plow; all together danced, inspired and absorbed. 114 In this way the dancing lasted for four *praharas*; and in the evening, after bathing in the Gaṅgā, all went home.

115 When Prabhu gave the order to the people of the city, they began to make *kīrtana* from house to house. 116 "I bow to Hari, I bow to the Yādava Kṛṣṇa, to Gopāla, Govinda, Rāma, and Śrī Madhusūdana." 117 *Saṃkīrtana*, with cymbals and *mṛdaṅga* drums, rang out, and nothing could be heard except for the sound "Hari Hari!" 118 And hearing it, all the Yavanas became enraged, and coming to the *qazi* they registered a complaint. 119 In the evening, in anger the *qazi* came to a house and broke the *mṛdaṅga* drum and began to say to the people, 120 "For so long a time no one has acted like a Hindu; by whose power do you now act with such enthusiasm? 121 Let no one make *kīrtana* anywhere in the whole city; today I shall pardon it, and am going home. 122 But if such *kīrtana* comes to my attention again, I shall punish everyone and destroy his caste." 123 So saying, the *qazi* went, and the people of the city, in great sorrow, brought their concerns to Prabhu. 124 Prabhu gave this instruction, "Go and make *kīrtana*; today I shall destroy all Yavanas." 125 And going home, all the people made *kīrtana*; but because of fear of the *qazi* it was not spontaneous, and their hearts were uneasy. 126 Prabhu knew

109-111. [This story can be found in *CBh* 2.25.156-57 [= 2.26.66-67 GM ed.]. Compare *BhP* 10.15.25-30, 33. A similar incident occurs in Nityānanda's Vyāsa-*pūjā* in *CBh* 2.5.34-44. TKS]

111-14. The mythological reference is to BhP 10.65 wherein Balarāma, drunk, plows a new channel for the Yamunā. [See Murāri's *KCC* 2.14 for Caitanya's enactment of this episode. TKS]

112. Ācārya Śekhara: Candraśekhara Ācārya. Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out that some MSS read "Ācārya Gosvāmī," which could be Advaita.

115. This is the *nagara-kīrtana*, a procession with drums and cymbals and the repetitive chanting of the name; the procession moves through the streets of the city, increasing as it goes.

118. The *qazi* was the judge, an officer of the Muslim ruler; at this time, according at least to tradition, the *qazi* was Cānd Qazi, and was a son of the daughter of the Nabāb, Husein Shāh.

120. Hinduyānī: Hindu.

122. I.e., he would force the Hindu to do something for which his caste would expel him: eat beef, for example.

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in his heart the fear within them all, and quickly summoning the people he began to say, 127 "Throughout the city today we shall make *kīrtana*; in the evening decorate the whole city. 128 In the evening, light lamps in all the houses; see which *qazi* can prohibit me." 129 So saying, Gaura Rāya came in the evening, and made *kīrtana* in three groups. 130 In the first party Haridāsa was dancing, and in the middle one danced Ācārya Gosvāmī in highest joy. 131 And in that last group Gauracandra danced, and with him danced Prabhu Nityānanda. 132 Vṛndāvana Dāsa in his *Caitanya Maṅgala* has described all this extensively, by the power of the grace of Prabhu.

133 In this way they wandered through the city making *kīrtana*, and in their wandering they came to the *qazi*'s door. 134 The people made a great uproar and commotion; by the power of Caitanya the people were mad with love. 135 At the sound of the *kīrtana* the *qazi* hid himself in the house, and hearing the tumult he did not come outside. 136 Rude people laid waste the house and the flower-garden of the *qazi*; but Vṛndāvana Dāsa has explained all this in detail. 137 Mahāprabhu sat at his door; sending a well-behaved person he summoned the *qazi*. 138 From a distance the *qazi* came, with bent head; sitting the *qazi* down, Prabhu paid him respect. 139 Prabhu said, "I have come as your guest; seeing me you hide—what kind of performance is this?" 140 The *qazi* said, "You have come in anger; I have remained hidden to pacify you. 141 Now you have been pacified, and I have come to meet you. 142 By village relationship Cakravartī is my *cācā*; village relationship is stronger than blood-ties. 143 Nīlāmbara Cakravartī is your mother's father, and by that relationship you are my nephew. 144 A maternal uncle always endures the anger of his nephew, and a nephew does not take offence at his maternal uncle." 145 In this way they spoke together with innuendoes, and no one could understand the inner meaning.

146 Prabhu said, "I have come to your place regarding a question." The *qazi* replied, "Tell me what is on your mind." 147 Prabhu said, "You drink cows' milk; the cow is your mother; the bull makes food to grow, in that he is your father. 148 You kill and eat your mother and father; what *dharma* is this? By what power do you do this kind of evil thing?" 149 The *qazi* said, "As you have Vedas and

132. The *kīrtana* sessions and confrontation with the *qazi* are greatly elaborated in *CBh* 2.23.

136. [See especially *CBh* 2.23.360-415. TKS]

142. Nīlāmbara Cakravartī, the maternal grandfather of Caitanya. *Cācā*: father's younger brother.

147. The bullock, presumably, which pulls the plow.

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purāṇas, so we have a *śāstra*, the book called the Qur'ān. 150 In that *śāstra* it is said that there is a division between *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti mārgas*. In the *nivṛtti-mārga* the killing of any living thing is forbidden. 151 In the *pravṛtti mārga* the killing of cows is allowed. If they are slaughtered according to the instructions of the *śāstra*, there is no fear of sin. 152 In your Vedas there are discussions of the slaughter of cows, and accordingly very great *munis* killed them." 153 Prabhu said, "The Vedas prohibit the slaughter of cows; thus the Hindus do not do so. 154 If one is able to revive it, then one may kill a living thing; in the Vedas and *purāṇas* there are such instructions. 155 Thus the *munis* killed old cows, but with a Veda-*mantra* they brought them back to life. 156 And the old cows were again made youthful; in this there was no injury, but a great favor. 157 In the Kali age no *brāhmaṇas* have such power, and thus now no one slaughters cattle.

Śloka 7. Brahmavaivarta Purāna, kṛṣṇajanmakhaṇḍa 185.180:
Horse-sacrifice, cow-sacrifice, *saṃnyāsa*, offering of *śrāddha* to the ancestors with meat, and the begetting of sons by the husband's younger brother—these five things one must shun in the Kali age.

158 You are not able to revive, you can only kill; you cannot be saved from hell. 159 For as many thousands of years as there are hairs on the body of a cow do killers of cows rot without respite in Raurava hell. 160 The makers of your *śāstras* were mistaken; not knowing the true meaning of the *śāstras* they gave such instructions." 161 Hearing this the *qazi* was struck dumb, and could not say a word. Having considered the matter, he acknowledged defeat and said, 162 "What you say, O *paṇḍita*, is true; our *śāstras* are modern, and do not bear examination. 163 Our *śāstras* are imagined—I know all that; but I honor them in conformity with my *jāti*. 164 Easily in the Yavana-*śāstras* [can be found] discussion built on unstable foundation."

Smiling, Mahāprabhu again asked him, 165 "Let me put another question to you; hear me, you are my maternal uncle; tell me the true meaning of this, and do not deceive me by tricks. 166 In your city there is always *saṃkīrtana*, a tumult of

150. Nivṛtti: obstruction, stoppage; the *nivṛtti-mārga* is that way of life which is not biased toward the fulfillment of the senses; *pravṛtti* "propensity" is that which leans toward sense-fulfillment.

151. The *qazi* is of course arguing also from the Hindu point of view: in sacrifices animals can be killed. This type of slaughter is not sensory in object.

163. Jāti: not here "caste," but the more generalized "genus"; he means Islam. *Kalpita*: imagined, contrived, composed.

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instrumental music, songs, and dances. 167 You are the *qazi*, the chief of the opposition to Hindu *dharma*; that you do not hinder it now, that I cannot understand." 168 The *qazi* said, "Everyone calls you Gaurahari; let me address you by that name. 169 Listen, O Gaurahari; if you were alone, then I would tell you the answer to your question." 170 Prabhu said, "These people are my intimate friends; speak openly, and have no fear." 171 The *qazi* said, "When I went to the house of the Hindu, and broke the *mṛdaṅga* drum and forbade *kīrtana*, 172 on that night a fearful lion, with the body of a man, the face of a lion, roaring most terribly, 173 leapt upon my bed, laughing frightfully and grinding his teeth. 174 He dug his claws into my breast and said in a deep growl, 'I shall tear open your chest in payment for my *mṛdaṅga*. 175 You forbade my *kīrtana*, I shall destroy you!' And I was very much afraid, and closed my eyes, trembling. 176 Seeing my fear the lion said to me more compassionately, 'I have overcome you in order to instruct you. 177 You did not make much trouble on that day; I have forgiven you, and shall not take your life. 178 If you do such things again, I shall not endure it; I shall strike down you and all your family, and I shall destroy the Yavanas.' 179 When he had said this the lion left, and I was afraid. See, the marks of his claws are on my heart." 180 So saying the *qazi* bared his chest, and seeing and hearing this all the people were struck dumb with wonder.

181 The *qazi* said, "This I have not told to anyone. That day one of my servants came to me 182 and said, 'I went to forbid the *kīrtana*'; a spark of fire suddenly touched my face, 183 and burnt my whole beard and left blisters on my face. And whatever servant went, the same happened to him. 184 Seeing this I remained very much afraid—'Forget the *kīrtana*; stay sitting in the house.' 185 Then in the city there will be *kīrtana* whenever it is desired; when they heard this all the *mlecchas* came and petitioned: 186 "In the city the *dharma* of the Hindus will grow unchecked, and except for the sound of 'Hari' nothing else will be heard." 187 And some *mlecchas* said, "The Hindus say 'Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa!' and laugh and weep and dance and sing and roll in the dust. 188 The Hindus make a great commotion, saying "Hari Hari"; if the Bādshāh hears of it, you will reap the fruits.' 189 Then I asked those Yavanas, 'The Hindus say "Hari." You know that is their nature. 190 But why do you, a Yavana, incessantly take the name of a Hindu god?' 191 The *mleccha* said, 'I was mocking the Hindus. Some are called Kṛṣṇadāsa, some are Rāmadāsa,

167. Hindudharma.
172. This was the *avatāra* Nṛsiṃha.
188. Bādshāh: probably Husain Shāh, though the term usually refers to the emperor in Delhi.

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192 some are Hari-dāsa, and they all say "Hari Hari"; I thought that they were going to steal the treasures from somebody's house. 193 And from that time my tongue says "Hari Hari"; I do not want it, but it says it—what can I do?' 194 Another *mleccha* said, 'Hear, I am like this too; from the day when I mocked the Hindus 195 my tongue forms the Kṛṣṇa-*nāma*; I cannot prevent it; I do not know what *mantras* or magic the Hindus know.' 196 Hearing these things I sent them all home; and at the same time some disbelieving Hindus came. 197 Having come they said, 'Nimāi has broken the *dharma* of the Hindus; that *kīrtana* which he is promulgating, we have never before heard. 198 We perform the *jāgaraṇa* of Maṅgalacaṇḍī and of Viṣahari, and with it the playing of instruments and dancing and song, in accepted practice. 199 Formerly this Nimāi Paṇḍita was good; but after coming back from Gayā he goes on in contrary ways. 200 He sings songs in a loud voice, and beats time with his hands, and the sound of *mṛdaṅga* drums and cymbals strikes our ears. 201 We do not know whether they drink when they sing and dance; they laugh and weep and fall down and rise up and roll around on the ground. 202 They have made the people of the town mad, with incessant *saṃkīrtana*; we cannot sleep in the night, but are kept awake. 203 He has abandoned the name of Nimāi, and has people call him Gaurahari; he has destroyed the *dharma* of the Hindus and is instigating contrary ways. 204 By the *kīrtana* of Kṛṣṇa he raises up the lowly; by this sin Navadvīpa will be desolated. 205 In the Hindu *śāstras* the name of Īśvara is a great *mantra*; if everyone hears it, the power of the *mantra* is destroyed. 206 You are the lord of the town; we are all your people. Have Nimāi called, and forbid him.' 207 Then I said to all in gentle words, 'You all go to your homes; I shall prohibit him.' 208 That great Nārāyaṇa, who is the Īśvara of the Hindus, you are he—that I think."

209 Hearing this Mahāprabhu, smiling, gently touched the *qazi* and began to speak, 210 "The name of Kṛṣṇa from your mouth, this is a great strange and wonderful thing; your sins have been destroyed, and you have become most pure. 211 Hari, Kṛṣṇa, Nārāyaṇa—you have taken these three names; you are very blessed,

192. The root "*har*" means "to steal"; the Yavana is saying that he was mocking the Vaiṣṇavas, calling them thieves, but once he said the name of Hari he could not stop saying it.

198. Jāgaraṇa: all-night vigil, as part of *vrata*, the ritual performance of a vow with singing of the songs of the god, or more usually goddess, and instrumental music. Viṣahari is Manasā, goddess of snakes.

205. In the *kīrtana*, the worshipers go about shouting the names of the deity at the tops of their lungs, making thereby the power of that *mantra* available to all.

208. Hindura īśvara: Īśvara or Lord of the Hindus; this is addressed to Caitanya.

211. The name is efficacious, whatever the intention; the *qazi* did not utter the three names out of devotion or any religious feeling. But the power lies in the name itself, spoken for whatever reason.

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and very meritorious." 212 Hearing this, tears fell from the eyes of the *qazi*; and touching the feet of Prabhu, he spoke words of love and devotion, 213 "By your grace my evil nature has disappeared; be so merciful, that I remain in *bhakti* toward you." 214 Prabhu said, "Let me ask one gift from you: do not forbid *saṃkīrtana* in Nadīyā." 215 The *qazi* said: "As many as are born in my line, I shall administer an oath to them, that they shall not obstruct the *kīrtana*." 216 When he heard this Prabhu rose up shouting 'Hari!' and all the Vaiṣṇavas rose up, making the Hari-sound. 217 Prabhu went, making *kīrtana*, and with him came the *qazi*, with joyful mind. 218 The son of Śacī bade farewell to the *qazi*, and dancing came to his own house. 219 In this way Prabhu gave grace to the *qazi*, and he who hears of this has his offences wiped away.

220 One day Gosvāmī was at the house of Śrīvāsa with Nityānanda, the two brothers dancing. 221 The son of Śrīvāsa had gone to the other world, but no grief was born in the mind of Śrīvāsa. 222 In the mouth of the dead boy were words of wisdom, and the two brothers themselves became the sons of Śrīvāsa. 223 Then he gave a boon to all the *bhaktas*; he gave the remains of his food to Nārāyaṇī, and honored her.

224 A Yavana tailor was sewing the clothing of Śrīvāsa, and Prabhu showed to him his own form. 225 Calling "I have seen, I have seen," he became mad; in love he danced, and he became foremost among Vaiṣṇavas. 226 In possession, Prabhu asked Śrīvāsa for a flute; Śrīvāsa said, "The *gopīs* have stolen your flute." 227 Hearing this Prabhu, absorbed, said "Tell me, tell me"; and Śrīvāsa described the *rasa* of the *līlā* of Vṛndāvana. 228 At first he described the sweetness of Vṛndāvana, and on hearing it the joy increased in the mind of Prabhu. 229 Again and again Prabhu said "Speak, speak!" and again and again Śrīvāsa detailed the matter, 230 the attraction of the *gopīs* to the forest at the playing of the flute, and [Kṛṣṇa's] roaming about in the forest with them all. 231 And he described the *līlā* of the six seasons, and told of the drinking of the honey, and the *rāsa*-festival, and the playing in the

222. CBh 2.25.24-83. While Caitanya and Nityānanda were dancing in the courtyard, Śrīvāsa's son died inside the house. Because he did not want to make the two grieve, Śrīvāsa said nothing of it, nor did he outwardly show his own grief. Afterwards, when Caitanya learned of it, he caused the dead boy to say, "Who is whose father, who is whose son?" and so forth concerning the impermanence of existence (v. 60-64). And then at Caitanya's prompting, Śrīvāsa acknowledged the two brothers—Caitanya and Nityānanda—as his sons.

223. CBh 2.10.288-294. Nārāyaṇī was the daughter of Śrīvāsa's brother, and the mother of Vṛndāvana Dāsa. [This verse supports a speculative story that suggests that Caitanya fathered Vṛndāvana Dāsa, since eating the leftover food of a man is reserved for those who are intimate; and Nārāyaṇī was a widow, which rightly or wrongly would have made her suspect. TKS]

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water. 232 And while listening in great delight, Prabhu said "Speak on, speak." Śrīvāsa then spoke of the activities of the *rasa*-producing *rāsa* [dance]. 233 While speaking and listening it became morning, and Prabhu in great pleasure embraced Śrīvāsa.

234 Then in the house of the Ācārya he made the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*, and Prabhu became himself the true form of Rukmiṇī. 235 Sometimes Durgā, sometimes Lakṣmī, he became the *cit-śakti*; sitting on the cot he gave *prema-bhakti* to the *bhaktas*.

236 One day, when Mahāprabhu was fatigued from dancing, a *brāhmaṇa* woman came and held his feet. 237 She took the dust from his feet again and again, and seeing this Prabhu was infinitely sad. 238 Then Prabhu ran and plunged into the Gaṅgā, and Nityānanda and Haridāsa caught him and pulled him out. 239 He passed that night at the house of Vijaya Ācārya, and in the morning all the *bhaktas* brought him back to his house.

240 One day he was sitting in his house in the *gopī-bhāva*, and in a fit of dejection he pronounced the word "*gopī, gopī*." 241 A student came to see Prabhu, and hearing the word "*gopī, gopī*," he began to say 242 "Why do you not take the name of Kṛṣṇa? The name of Kṛṣṇa is blessed; what merit is there in saying '*gopī, gopī*'?" 243 Hearing this Prabhu became very angry, and vomited abuse on Kṛṣṇa; and seizing a stick he rose up to beat the student. 244 In fear the student ran away, and Prabhu ran after him; in great confusion the *bhaktas* restrained Prabhu. 245 When they had pacified him they brought him to his own house; and the student fled to the place where all the students were. 246 There were a thousand students there in that place, and having gone there the twice-born told the story of Prabhu. 247 Hearing it, all the students became very angry, and all together they abused Prabhu,

232. Vilāsa: activities; *rāsarasera vilāsa*: the activities of the *rasa*-producing circle-dance (*rāsa*) as described in *BhP* 10.29-33.

234. CBh 2.18.70-98. I.e., he acted the part of Rukmiṇī when with his *bhaktas* he was enacting the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*.

235. Sometimes, in the plays, he took on the *bhāva* of Durgā and sometimes of Lakṣmī—these two *cit-śaktis* of Kṛṣṇa. We also know from *CBh* 2.18.145-212 that as he sat on the cot in these various *bhāvas*, the *bhaktas* would recite *ślokas* appropriate to each *bhāva*; and in the *bhāva* of the mother, at the end of the night he comforted them in the pain of their separation from their own mothers.

237-38. The touch of a woman was even at this time, before his *saṃnyāsa*, abhorrent to him and his ascetic temperament; he ran to the river for purification.

240-51. CBh 2.25.163-209 [= 2.26.72-118 GM ed.]. Absorbed as he was in the *gopī-bhāva*, he was reflecting on Kṛṣṇa's cruelty and harshness in going to Mathurā and leaving the *gopīs* alone. And the more he reflected on this cruelty, the angrier he got, calling Kṛṣṇa "slayer of women" and so forth; it was at this time that the unfortunate student happened to come along.

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248 "This Nimāi has despoiled the whole country by himself; he wants to beat *brāhmaṇas*, without fear for *dharma*. 249 If he does this again we shall beat him; he is only a man, what can he do?" 250 In their vilification of Prabhu, all their sense was lost nor was it evident even among those who were well-read and learned. 251 The students were arrogant, without any humility, and wherever they went they vilified and laughed at Prabhu. 252 The all-knowing Gosvāmī knew the misery of all of them, and sitting in his house he thought on how to effect the release of all of them, 253 "So many teachers and their pupils, followers of *dharma*, of *karma*, sunk in *tapas*, calumners, wicked people— 254 all these are abusers and in opposition to me; if I do not cause them to take *bhakti*, they cannot take it. 255 I have come to save; but the reverse has occurred. How will the welfare of all these evil people be brought about? 256 If they bow to me, their sins are destroyed; but he takes *bhakti* whom I cause to take it. 257 Those who rant against me, and do not show respect, all these *jīvas* I shall certainly save. 258 Thus I must certainly take *saṃnyāsa*; they will bow to me as a *saṃnyāsin* who is to be honored. 259 They will have to bow, and in this their transgressions will be wiped away; I shall cause *bhakti* to arise in their stainless hearts. 260 Then all these disbelievers will be saved. There is no other way; this means is the best."

261 Having made this firm decision, Prabhu was still living at home when Keśava Bhāratī came to Nadīyā city. 262 Prabhu made obeisance to him and extended to him an invitation. After he fed him, he made this request, 263 "You are Īśvara, the manifest Nārāyaṇa; be merciful and deliver me from *saṃsāra*." 264 Bhāratī replied, "You are Īśvara, indwelling in all hearts. What you cause me to do, that I will do; I have no will of my own." 265 So saying Bhāratī Gosvāmī went to Kāṭoyā; and Mahāprabhu went there and became a *saṃnyāsin*. 266 And with him Nityānanda and Candreśekhara Ācārya and Mukunda Datta—these three performed all the needed duties.

267 Thus the *sūtras* of the *ādi līlā* have been recounted; Vṛndāvana Dāsa has described it all in full detail.

252. All-knowing Gosvāmī: Caitanya.

253-60. [The reasoning and decision to take *saṃnyāsa* are found in *CBh* 2.25.219-32 [= 2.26.128-41 GM ed.]. TKS]

261-66. [The renunciation is described in moving terms in *CBh* 2.26 [=2.27-28 GM ed.] TKS]

265. Kāṭoyā is a city in Burdwan district. Why he went to that place is not told in any of the texts, but is confirmed in *CBh* 2.26.58 [= 2.28.10 GM ed.].

266. I.e., made all the preparations for the ceremony. These could involve gathering the clothing, staff, and begging bowl, and various articles—flowers, etc., for the ritual.

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268 The son of Yaśodā became the son of Śacī, and he tasted *bhakta-bhāva* of four kinds. 269 To taste his own sweetness [in] the *prema-rasa* of Rādhā, in the Rādhā-*bhāva* his body has become beautiful. 270 In the *gopī-bhāva*, in which Prabhu was often gripped, he considered Vrajendranandana as his own beloved. 271 This is the most firm ascertainment of the *gopīkā-bhāva*: there is none other except for Vrajendranandana. 272 He has a dark beauty, ornamented with peacock feathers and *guñjā* flowers, in a cowherd's dress, body bent in *tribhaṅga*, a flute in his mouth. 273 If Kṛṣṇa has any other form except for this one, the *gopikā-bhāva* does not approach him.

Śloka 8. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Lalitāmādhava* 6.14:
What learned man is able to understand the process of the *bhāva* of the *gopīs*, devoted to the Lord of Cattle, scion of Nanda, who passes along paths difficult to comprehend? It is wonderful that when he appeared in his Viṣṇu-body, with its four all-conquering arms, endowed with radiance, the wave of their passion dissipated.

274 In the springtime he made the *rāsa-līlā* on Govārddhana, and he disappeared, with Rādhā, having given [her] a sign. 275 He was sitting in a lonely *nikuñja* grove, watching the path for Rādhā, and a company of *gopīs* came there to search. 276 Seeing Kṛṣṇa from a distance the *gopīs* cried, "Look here—Vrajendranandana within the *kuñja*-grove." 277 Seeing the *gopīs*, Kṛṣṇa became disturbed; he could not hide, he was paralyzed with fear. 278 So he assumed the four-armed *mūrti* and remained sitting there; looking for Kṛṣṇa the *gopīs* came near him and said, 279 "This is not Kṛṣṇa, this is the *mūrti* of Nārāyaṇa," and so saying that all prostrated themselves and praised him, 280 "Homage, O Nārāyaṇa, O *deva*, be gracious to us; grant us Kṛṣṇa's company; destroy our dejection." 281 So saying and making obeisance, the *gopīs* went away; at the same time Rādhā came and showed herself. 282 When he saw Rādhā, to play a joke on her, he tried to retain the four-armed form. 283 Two of his arms disappeared before Rādhā; Kṛṣṇa attempted many times, but he could not retain them. 284 This is the unimaginable wonder of the pure *bhāva* of Rādhā, which made Kṛṣṇa retain his natural two-armed [form].

Śloka 9. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* [*nāyikābheda-prakaraṇa*] 5.7:
At the beginning of the *rāsa*, Hari hid in the *kuñja*-grove; seeing the doe-eyed *gopīs*, he concealed his own form, understanding its arrestive beauty,

272. *Tribhaṅga*: the alluring "triple bend" pose, with knees and waist bent in opposite directions, usually while playing the flute; a favorite in the iconography of Vrajendranandana.

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and majestically displayed [his four-armed form]. But because of the greatness of the love of Rādhā, that source of strength and power, Hari's four-armed form disappeared, and he was not able to sustain it.

285 That Vrajeśvara is the father Jagannātha; that Vrajeśvarī is the mother Śacīdevī. 286 That son of Nanda, he is Caitanya Gosvāmī; and that Baladeva is his brother Nityānanda. 287 That Nityānanda, replete with the three *bhāvas* of *vātsalya*, *dāsya*, *sakhya*, is the companion of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya. 288 He causes the world to float in *prema-bhakti*, nor are people able to understand his actions.

289 Advaita Ācārya Gosvāmī is the *bhakta-avatāra*, who brought about the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa, to propagate *bhakti*. 290 *Sakhya* and *dāsya*, these *bhāvas* were his by nature; sometimes Prabhu treated him as a *guru*. 291 Śrīvāsa and the others—so many *bhaktas* of Mahāprabhu, they served Caitanya according to their own *bhāvas*. 292 And such *rasa* had Paṇḍita Gosvāmī and the others, that by that *rasa* Prabhu was conquered. 293 That one was *śyāma* in color, a flute in his mouth, the lover of the *gopīs*; this one is golden, sometimes *brāhmaṇa*, sometimes *saṃnyāsin*. 294 Thus in himself Prabhu held to the *gopī-bhāva*, and called Vrajendranandana as "lord of my heart." 295 He was Kṛṣṇa, he was a *gopī*—the highest paradox; most impenetrable are the unimaginable actions of Prabhu. 296 Let no one argue this, or entertain a doubt; like this is the *acintya-śakti* of Kṛṣṇa. 297 The activities of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya are unthinkable and wonderful; marvelous are his *bhāvas*, his qualities, and his activities. 298 He who does not honor him because of logical argument is an evil-doer; he rots in hell, and there is no salvation for him.

Śloka 10. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*dakṣiṇa-vibhāga, sthāyibhāva-laharī*] 2.5.93:
The *bhāvas* are inscrutable. Logic cannot touch them. Thus to all these logic cannot be applied, for what is beyond material nature is defined as incomprehensible.

299 He who has faith in this wonderful Caitanya-*līlā* goes to his place beside the feet of Caitanya. 300 Thus the essence of the things to be attained has been discoursed upon, and pure *bhakti* is his who has listened to it.

301 If we recapitulate what has been written in the book, then we taste [again] the meaning of that book. 302 We see that this was the practice of Vyāsa in the *Bhāgavata* [*Purāṇa*]; having told a story, he recapitulates it time and time again. 303 Thus let us enumerate the chapters of the *ādi līlā*: in the first chapter I have

296. Acintya: inscrutable.

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made the *maṅgalācaraṇa*. 304 In the second chapter was the investigation and ascertainment of the Caitanya-*tattva*, that Vrajendranandana who is *svayaṃ bhagavān*, 305 he is Caitanya Kṛṣṇa, the son of Śacī. In the third chapter the ordinary cause of his birth, 306 the giving of *prema*, and the Kṛṣṇa-name have been described. 307 In the fourth chapter I have spoken of the basic necessity of his birth, the tasting of the *rasa* of *premānanda* of his own sweetness. 308 In the fifth was the determination of the Śrī Nityānanda-*tattva*, that Nityānanda is Rāma, the son of Rohiṇī. 309 In the sixth chapter was a discussion of the Ādvaita-*tattva*; Advaita Ācārya—the *avatāra* of Mahāviṣṇu. 310 In the seventh chapter was an explanation of the *pañca-tattva*; the five who together gave the gift of *prema*. 311 In the eighth was the cause of the description of the Caitanya-*līlā*, and in it also was the description of the great power of a single Kṛṣṇa-name. 312 In the ninth was the description of the wishing-tree of *bhakti*, that tree nourished by the gardener Caitanya. 313 In the tenth was the enumeration of the branches growing from the main trunk, and the fruit distributed among the branches. 314 In the eleventh was the description of the Nityānanda-branches, and in the twelfth the description of the branches on the trunk of Advaita. 315 In the thirteenth was described the birth of Mahāprabhu, and the birth of Prabhu with the Kṛṣṇa-name. 316 In the fourteenth, something has been said of the *bālya-līlā*, and in the fifteenth the *paugaṇḍa-līlā* has been discussed in brief. 317 In the sixteenth chapter has been some mention of the *kaiśora-līlā*, and in the seventeenth chapter I have especially treated the *yauvana-līlā*. 318 These seventeen chapters complete the *ādi līlā*, and the first twelve of these are the introduction to the book. 319 In five chapters the actions of the five *rasas* [have been discussed]; I have spoken of them very briefly; I have not expanded upon them. 320 Vṛndāvana Dāsa in his *Caitanya Maṅgala* has expanded upon them, according to the command of Nityānanda.

321 The *līlā* of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya is wonderful and infinite; Brahmā, Śiva, and Śeṣa never find an end to it. 322 He who has listened to that part which has been spoken is blessed, and quickly will Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya meet him. 323 Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, Advaita, Nityānanda, Śrīvāsa, Gadādhara, and the rest, so many hosts of *bhaktas*, 324 to all those who live in Vṛndāvana, I bow my head and hold their feet. 325 The feet of Śrī Svarūpa, Śrī Rūpa, Śrī Sanātana, Śrī Raghunātha Dāsa, and Śrī Jīva 326 I hold upon my head in obeisance; my hope is eternally in them. Kṛṣṇadāsa thus tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

END OF ĀDĪ-LĪLĀ

319. [I.e., the *pañca-tattva* of Caitanya, Nityānanda, Advaitācārya, Gadādhara Paṇḍita, and Śrivāsa. TKS]

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Madhya Līlā

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Madhya Līlā
Chapter 1

Śloka 1.
May that Bhagavān Śrī Caitanya, by whose grace even the ignorant can become all-knowing instantly, be gracious to me.

Śloka 2.
I make obeisance to Kṛṣṇa Caitanya and to Nityānanda, the sun and the moon most wonderful, who destroy the darkness and bestow their blessings, flowering as they rise together over the horizon of Gauḍa.

Śloka 3.
Though I am slow-witted and crippled, let those who are my refuge, whose lotus-feet are possessions to me, let them, Rādhā and Madanamohana, in their love-play, be glorified.

Śloka 4.
I meditate upon Rādhā and Govindadeva, as they sit on a throne in the beautiful jeweled chamber, beneath the wishing-tree in the forest of the heavenly Vṛndāvana, served by most beloved female friends.

Śloka 2. See 1.1.*śl.*2; 1.1.*śl.*36.

Śloka 3. See 1.1.*śl.*15; 3.1.*śl.*3. This and the next two *ślokas* comprise the formal *maṅgalācaraṇa* for all three *līlās* of the text. Madanamohana, with the Govindadeva and Gopīnātha of the next two *ślokas*, are the three primary images of Kṛṣṇa at Vṛndāvana.

Śloka 4. See 1.1.*śl.*16; 3.1.*śl.*4.

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Śloka 5.

May that blessed Gopīnātha, the sound of whose flute attracted the *gopīs* to him, as he sat at the foot of the banyan tree, beginning the *rāsa-rasa*, be the source of blessings unto us.

* * * * *

1 Glory, glory to Gauracandra, glory to the ocean of mercy; glory, glory to the son of Śacī, glory to him, the friend of the wretched. 2 Glory, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra; glory to Śrīvāsa and the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

3 Previously I gave the *sūtras* of the *ādi līlā*, which Vṛndāvana Dāsa has expounded in more detail. 4 Thus I have only given his *sūtras*, and among the *sūtras* I have spoken of a few things in more detail. 5 Now let me state the primary *sūtras* of the *śeṣa līlā*; the *līlā* of Prabhu is unending, and cannot be described. 6 Among them, of that part which Vṛndāvana Dāsa has described in his *Caitanya Maṅgala*, 7 I shall write *sūtras* only, and I shall elaborate on a few particular things. 8 The Vyāsa of the Caitanya-*līlā* is Vṛndāvana Dāsa; with his permission, I shall take his leftover food. 9 In great devotion I hold his feet upon my head, and describe the *sūtras* of the final *līlā*. 10 For twenty-four years Prabhu remained in his home, and at that time performed the *līlā* known as the *ādi līlā*. 11 And at the end of twenty-four years, in the month of Māgha, in the bright fortnight, he took *saṃnyāsa*. 12 He remained a *saṃnyāsin* for twenty-four years, and this *līlā* is called the *śeṣa līlā*. 13 The *śeṣa līlā* has two names, *madhya* and *antya*, for to the two divisions of the *līlā*, the Vaiṣṇavas give different names. 14 Within them, six years were spent in travelling, in Nīlācala,

Śloka 5. See 1.1.*śl*.17; 3.1.*śl*.5.

6. *Caitanya Maṅgala* = *CBh*.

8. [*Ucchiṣṭa*: leftover food. In this context, the food left over from the meal of another Vaiṣṇava, especially that of a great devotee, is of course *prasāda* or grace in substantial form, which possesses even greater efficacy than regular *prasāda*, i.e., it is first offered to Kṛṣṇa and is consumed as leftovers, then consumed a second time with the additional power of the devotee included. In this case, Kṛṣṇadāsa is partaking of those scraps leftover from the narrative of the *CBh* by the great devotee, Vṛndāvana Dāsa. TKS]

13. I.e., the whole of Caitanya's life after his *saṃnyāsa* is called the *śeṣa* (final) *līlā*; it is divided into two parts, the first six years, characterized by pilgrimage, are the *madhya* (middle) *līlā*, and the last eighteen years of his life, when he remained exclusively at Puri, constitute the *antya* (final) *līlā*.

14. Puri, the seacoast city in Orissa where the great temple of Jagannātha is located, was at the time of this text variously called Nīlācala, Nīlādri, Kṣetra, and Śrīkṣetra. The name "Puri" probably comes from "Jagannātha-puri," "the place or citadel of Jagannātha," and is quite recent, perhaps as

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Gauḍa, Setubandha, and Vṛndāvana. 15 And that *līlā* is called the *madhya līlā*, and the *līlā* following that has the name *antya līlā*. 16 So there are the *ādi*, the *madhya*, and the *antya līlā*s; and now I shall describe the *madhya līlā*.

17 For eighteen years he remained only at Nīlācala, and according to his own practice he taught *bhakti* to the *jīva*s. 18 And within that, for six years he was with his *bhakta*s, and he caused them to propagate *prema-bhakti* in the joy of singing and dancing. 19 He sent Nityānanda Gosvāmī to the Gauḍa country, and he caused the Gauḍa country to float in *prema-rasa*. 20 By nature Nityānanda was mad with Kṛṣṇa-*prema*; by the order of Prabhu he distributed *prema* to all. 21 A crore of my obeisances to his feet, who caused the world to take the *bhakti* of Caitanya, 22 whom Caitanya Gosvāmī called "elder brother"; but he called Caitanya Gosvāmī, "my Prabhu." 23 Even though he himself was Prabhu Balarāma, still he was proud to be a servant of Caitanya. 24 "Serve Caitanya, sing Caitanya, take the name of Caitanya; he who has *bhakti* toward Caitanya, he is my life." 25 In this way he caused the people to take the *bhakti* of Caitanya; the poor and humble, the calumners, he saved them all.

26 Then Prabhu sent Rūpa and Sanātana to Vraja; at the order of Prabhu, the two brothers went there. 27 They travelled and preached *bhakti* in all the pilgrimage places; they propagated the service of Madanagopāla. 28 Bringing many *śāstra*s, they prepared the best of books on *bhakti*, and rescued the ignorant and low people. 29 At the order of Prabhu they expounded all the *śāstra*s, and propagated the very profound *bhakti* of Vraja. 30 *Haribhaktivilāsa*, [*Bṛhad*]*bhāgavatāmṛta*, *Daśama-ṭippanī*, and *Daśama-carita*— 31 Sanātana Gosvāmin wrote all these books; Rūpa

late as the nineteenth century. Gauḍa: Bengal, specifically western Bengal, as opposed to Vaṅga, the eastern region.

17. I.e., Caitanya did not preach, but taught his *bhakta*s through his own example.

18. And for the remaining twelve years he was almost totally withdrawn, completely absorbed in his Rādhā-*bhāva*.

19. Gauḍa: see commentary on v. 14 above.

24. It is not clear whether this is Nityānanda or Kṛṣṇadāsa speaking, but appears to be descriptive of how Nityānanda feels.

28-40. [For a similar list of books composed by the Gosvāmins, see 3.4.208-22. TKS]

30. [Contrary to this attribution, a large contingent within the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava community believes that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin composed the *HBhV* either with the help of an outline or with the commentary by Sanātana known as *Digdarśanī*. Others believe Sanātana composed it, but attributed it to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa in order to lend it greater authority because of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's orthodox *brāhmaṇa* standing, as opposed to the somewhat compromised background of Sanātana who worked for the Muslims in Bengal until meeting Caitanya (see below text and commentary to vv. 57; 165; 174-202). See also 2.24.236-57; and 3.4.74, 90-92, 212. TKS]

31. Actually, according to Jīva Gosvāmin, Rūpa wrote seventeen books of theology, philosophy and dramaturgy, and Sanātana four.

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Gosvāmin wrote so many that no one can count them. 32 Mentioning only the very foremost among them, a lakh of books describing the Vraja-*vilāsa*: 33 [*Bhakti*]*rasāmṛtasindhu* and the *Vidagdhamādhava*, the *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* and the *Lalitamādhava*, 34 the *Dānakelikaumudī* and many *stavāvalīs*, and the *Aṣṭādaśa-līlācchanda* and the *Padyāvalī*, 35 the *Govindavirudāvalī* and its *lakṣaṇa*, the *Mathurā-māhātmya* and the *Nāṭakavarṇana*, 36 the *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta* and the rest—who can number them all; and in all of them he described the Vraja-*vilāsa*. 37 His nephew's name was Śrī Jīva Gosvāmin, and there is no end to the books on *bhakti* that he wrote: 38 the huge book, by the name *Bhāgavata-sandarbha*, in which he demonstrated the further shore of the perfection of *bhakti*, 39 and that best of books, the *Gopālacampu*, in which is established the eternal *līlā* full of the *rasa* of Vraja; 40 like this he wrote many books; together with his relatives he settled at Vṛndāvana.

41 In the first year, Advaita and the other *bhaktas* travelled to Nīlādri to see Prabhu. 42 Having seen the Car Festival, they remained for four months, and with Prabhu they danced and sang in highest joy. 43 At the time of farewell, Prabhu said to all of them, "Come each year, to see the Guṇḍicā." 44 According to the instructions of Prabhu, they came each year; they went to see the Guṇḍicā and to meet Prabhu. 45 They came and went in this way for twenty years; there was no happiness on either side as long as they did not see one

34. Stavāvalī: collection of prayers and praises; *Aṣṭādaśalīlācchanda*: a description of the eighteen *līlās* of Kṛṣṇa.

35. Lakṣaṇa: a kind of commentary; *Nāṭakavarṇana* is more usually titled *Nāṭakacandrika*.

38. [*Bhāgavata-sandarbha* is the title of the collection of works by Jīva popularly known as *Ṣaṭ-sandarbha*, composed of the following *sandarbhas*: *Tattva*, *Bhagavat*, *Paramātma*, *Kṛṣṇa*, *Bhakti* and *Prīti*. TKS]

41. This could not have been the first year after the *saṃnyāsa*, for in that year Caitanya was not in Puri; he had departed on his first pilgrimage, to the south.

42. Ratha-yātrā: the famous Car Festival, in which the image of Jagannātha is taken from his temple and brought to various other temples and sacred spots around the city; it takes place in the month of Āsāḍha (June-July). The four months are the four months of the rains, during which mendicants are stationary; this has been true since Buddhist times.

43. Guṇḍicā: when Jagannātha is taken from his temple, together with his brother Baladeva and his sister Subhadrā, he spends a week in the temple called the Guṇḍicā-temple; the journey is called the Guṇḍicā-*yātrā*. It was this temple that Caitanya and his *bhaktas* cleansed and purified every year. The origin of the name of the temple is obscure; Rādhāgovinda Nātha in his *ṭīkā* says that there is a tradition that the queen of an ancient king of Orissa named Indradyumna, was called Guṇḍicā.

45. Presumably, out of the twenty-four years, there were four years when the Bengali *bhaktas* did not go; two of those years (1432 and 1433 BS) when Caitanya was on pilgrimage to the south. And on one other occasion (1436 BS) Caitanya was himself in Bengal. According to *CC* 2.16.245,

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another. 46 And for the last twelve years, the heart of Prabhu was in the *viraha-līlā* for Kṛṣṇa. 47 Always, both day and night, he was mad with *viraha*; he laughed, he wept, he danced, he sang in greatest grief. 48 At that time, when he went to see Jagannātha, he thought, "I have gained union [with him] at Kurukṣetra." 49 At the Car Festival, when he danced before [the Car], he sang only this single verse, 50 "I have gained that lord of my life, for whom I was burning in the fire of desire." 51 And to this verse he danced for two *praharas*, with this inner *bhāva*—"I go to Vraja with Kṛṣṇa." 52 As he danced in this *bhāva*, he recited a *śloka*, and no one could understand that meaning of it.

Śloka 6. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 382 [anonymous]:

He who stole my virginity on the banks of the Revanadi, is now my husband. The nights of [the month of] Caitra are fragrant with the scent of the blooming jasmine, and the wind like honey is blowing from the *kadamba* grove. And I, that same *nāyikā*, absorbed in that joy, am here. Even so, my heart is not at ease; it longs constantly for the foot of the Vetasī tree on the banks of the Reva.

53 Svarūpa alone knew the meaning of this *śloka*. By chance Rūpa had gone there that year. 54 Śrī Rūpa Gosvāmin, hearing this *śloka* from the mouth of Prabhu, then made an explanatory *śloka* of that *śloka*. 55 And having composed this *śloka*, he wrote it on a palm leaf, and folded it up and put it in the thatch of his own dwelling. 56 And having put the *śloka* there he went to bathe in the sea; and at that time Prabhu came to meet with him. 57 Haridāsa Ṭhākura, and Rūpa and Sanātana, these three did not go to the temple of Jagannātha. 58 Mahāprabhu, after seeing the *upala-bhoga* of Jagannātha, would go to his own house, having first met these three. 59 Of the three, whoever was there, Prabhu

on another occasion Caitanya told the *bhaktas* not to come. Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out that some MSS read "twenty-four" and others "twelve"; but it seems clear from the above that neither of these is correct, unless it is read "over the span of twenty-four years."

46. Viraha: the searing pain of separation.

Śloka 6. Also found in *Kāvyaprakāśa* 1.4 and Viśvanātha's *Sāhityadarpaṇa* 1.10. The author is anonymous. See 2.13.*śl.*6; 3.1.*śl.*7. *Kadamba*: *Nauclea Cadamba*, a medium height tree with orange flowers that are very fragrant.

57. As will be seen, these three considered themselves untouchable, or at least of a lower order, Haridāsa because he had been born a Muslim, and Rūpa and Sanātana because they had served the Muslim court.

58. Upala-bhoga: the early morning food-offering to Jagannātha.

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would meet with him—this was his habit. 60 And Prabhu, having come there, by chance looked upward, and he found the *śloka* on the palm leaf rolled up in the thatch. 61 Having read the *śloka*, Prabhu remained completely enraptured; then Rūpa Gosvāmin came and bowed down to him. 62 Getting up, Mahāprabhu gave him a slap; then he took him in his arms and began to say, 63 "No one knew the meaning of that *śloka* of mine; how do you know the secrets of my heart?" 64 So saying, he gave great grace to him; and he took and showed the *śloka* to Svarūpa Gosvāmin. 65 Prabhu, astonished, asked Svarūpa, "How does Rūpa know the secrets of my heart?" 66 Svarūpa said, "He knows your heart, and by that I know that he is the receptacle of your mercy." 67 Prabhu said, "I am very pleased with him; I embraced him, and communicated all my power. 68 He is a worthy recipient, in the discrimination of the secret *rasa*; you explain to him this secret *rasa*." 69 Later I shall detail all this; I [now] speak only briefly on the topic.

Śloka 7. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 383 [quoting Rūpa Gosvāmin]:

O friend, that Kṛṣṇa whom I met in Kurukṣetra is now my love, and I am his Rādhā. We both enjoy this love-making. Yet my heart longs for the grove on the banks of the Kālindī, which cherished the fifth note of his sweet flute throbbing inside it.

70 O *bhaktas*, hear briefly the meaning of this *śloka*; such was the emotion of Prabhu when he saw Jagannātha. 71 Śrī Rādhikā at the sight of Kṛṣṇa in Kurukṣetra, even though she gained him, still felt thus, 72 "He is in the dress of a king, with elephants, horses, in crowds of men; where is his cowherd dress, where is the lonely Vṛndāvana? 73 When I gain that *bhāva*, that Kṛṣṇa, that Vṛndāvana, only then will my wish be fulfilled.

62. The slap was presumably affectionate.

67. Power: *śakti*.

68. Gūḍha: secret, esoteric, or profound; Rādhāgovinda Nātha explains it in his *ṭīkā* as the inner or true meaning of the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* and of the Caitanya-*līlā*. However, this is a good example of those passages scattered throughout this text which allow the Sahajiyās or the Vaiṣṇava Tāntrics to claim that the secret meaning is the Sahajiyā meaning, which is really secret, and that by such instructions Kṛṣṇadāsa, Caitanya, Svarūpa, and even Rūpa Gosvāmin are shown all to be Sahajiyās. Indeed, Svarūpa may well have been a Tāntric (*PHM*, 48), and the teachings of the Gosvāmins are all influenced by Tantric thought and ritual (e.g., *VFM*, 239). Discrimination: *vivecana*.

Śloka 7. See 3.1.*śl.*8; 3.1.*śl.*13.

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Śloka 8. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.82.48:
O lotus-naveled one, your lotus feet are the sole support for people fallen into the pit of the world, and always the object of meditation in the hearts of deeply concentrating *yogeśvaras*; may you be always in the hearts of your serving-maids.

74 When your feet appear in my house at Vrajapura, then my desires are fulfilled." 75 Having made clear the secret meaning of the *śloka* of the *Bhāgavata*, Rūpa Gosvāmin composed a *śloka* and caused people to understand.

Śloka 9. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Lalitamādhava* 10.36:
O Kṛṣṇa, we *gopīs*, with hearts absorbed by passion and encompassed by the sweetness of the places around Mathurā, pervaded with forests charged with the scent of *līlā-rasa*, may [you] sport in the earth of Vṛndāvana, served by us; O Kṛṣṇa, with your flute to your mouth, meet with us and perform the *līlā-vihāra*.

76 In such a way was Mahāprabhu, on seeing Jagannātha; and he saw him with Subhadrā, with no flute in his hand. 77 "Where shall I gain that Vrajendranandana in Vraja, beautiful in the *tribhaṅga* pose? This desire grows incessantly." 78 And like Rādhikā's madness at the sight of Uddhava, so was Prabhu day and night, with whirling, raving speech. 79 The twelve years at the end passed like this; and thus the *śeṣa līlā* is divided into three parts.

80 Such were the things which he did for twenty-four years, after taking *saṃnyāsa*; they are infinite and boundless—who knows the inner meaning of them? 81 In making reference, I skirt around them, and give *sūtras* for the most prominent parts of the *līlā* [only]. 82 The first *sūtra* is Prabhu's taking of *saṃnyāsa*.

Śloka 8. See 2.13.*śl.*7. *Yogeśvara:* accomplished *yogin*, lit., "Lord among *Yogins*."

75. Guḍha: secret; see commentary to v. 68 above. Rūpa composed this *śloka* to explain the *śloka* from *BhP* 10.82.48.

76. Sometimes Caitanya saw Jagannātha as Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana, with his flute and all the other trappings of the Vraja-*līlā*; and sometimes he saw him as the powerful king of the Dvārakā-*līlā*. And when he saw Jagannātha as other than the Kṛṣṇa of Vraja, *viraha* rose up in his heart, for only the Kṛṣṇa of Vraja was fully satisfying to him. [The image of Jagannātha in Puri has no hands, perhaps prompting this response. TKS]

77. Tribhaṅga: the "triple bent" or "thrice broken" pose, i.e., the body bent at the neck, waist, and knee, typical of Kṛṣṇa when he plays his flute, enhanting the *gopīs*.

82. The couplets from here to the end of the chapter will be largely fragmented; an episode which will be expanded sometimes to a full chapter may here be given only half a couplet.

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Having taken *saṃnyāsa*, Prabhu went to Śrī Vṛndāvana. 83 Overcome with *prema*, he lost his consciousness, and wandered for three days in the Rāḍha country. 84 Nityānanda, deceiving Mahāprabhu, took him to the banks of the Gaṅgā, calling it the Yamunā. 85 They came to the house of Ācārya at Śāntipura; and there he first ate, and in the night had *saṃkīrtana*. 86 There he met his mother and the *bhaktas*, and having made all preparations he set out for Nīlādri. 87 On the way there was much *līlā-rasa*, and *darśanas* of the gods, and the story of Mādhava Purī and the establishment of Gopāla. 88 The story of the stealing of the *kṣīra*, and the description of Sākṣigopāla. And Nityānanda broke the staff of Prabhu. 89 Being angry, he went alone to see Jagannātha, and seeing him he fell senseless to the earth. 90 With Sārvabhauma he went to [the former's] house, and in the third watch Prabhu regained consciousness. 91 Nityānanda, Jagadānanda, Dāmodara, and Mukunda, having followed behind, met him and were very glad. 92 Then Prabhu gave his grace to Sārvabhauma, and showed him his own form as Īśvara.

93 Then Prabhu made a trip to the south, and at Kūrmakṣetra he released Vāsudeva. 94 He praised Nṛsiṃha at Jīyaḍanṛsiṃha, and on all the roads in all the villages he propagated the name. 95 The forests on the banks of Godāvarī, he mistook for Vṛndāvana; and there he met with Rāmānanda Rāya. 96 He saw the places Trimalla and Tripadī, and everywhere he spread the Kṛṣṇa-name. 97 Then he crushed the disbelievers, and had *darśana* of Ahovalanṛsiṃha and the rest. 98 He came to Śrīraṅgakṣetra on the banks of the Kāverī, and when he saw Śrīraṅga he was agitated with *prema*. 99 At Trimalla, Prabhu lived in the house of Bhaṭṭa, and there he remained for the four months of the rains. 100 Trimalla Bhaṭṭa was a Śrī Vaiṣṇava, and a *paṇḍita* of the highest attainment; he was astonished at the *prema* and the learning of Gosvāmī. 101 Four months there, with the Śrī Vaiśṇavas, Prabhu passed in dancing, singing, and Kṛṣṇa-*saṃkīrtana*. 102 At the end of four months, again he went south, and met there

83. Rāḍha-*deśa*: that area west of the Gaṅgā.

93. Kūrmakṣetra is in northern Madras, in Ganjama district, on the banks of the sea, eight miles east of Cikākoṇa; the tortoise *avatāra* of Viṣṇu is manifested here.

94. Rādhāgovinda Nātha says: From Kūrmakṣetra he passed through Vijayanagara, and came to Sīmācala. Sīmācala is mountainous country, and on top of one of the hills is a temple of Nṛsiṃha, of which the image is called Jīyaḍanṛsiṃha.

96. Rādhāgovinda Nātha says: Tripadī is a particular place within modern Arkat district, where there is an image of Rāmacandra. Trimalla is six miles east of it.

98. In Śrīraṅga there is an image of Viṣṇu called Śrīraṅganātha; it is a place famous among the Rāmānuja Vaiṣṇavas.

100. Śrī Vaiṣṇavas are members of the Śrī- or the Rāmānuja-*sampradāya*.

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with Paramānanda Purī. 103 There he saved Kṛṣṇadāsa from the Bhaṭṭamārīs, and put the name of Kṛṣṇa into the mouth of a *brāhmaṇa* who uttered the name of Rāma [habitually]. 104 He met there with Śrīraṅga Purī, and he freed the *brāhmaṇa* Rāmadāsa from sorrow. 105 With the followers of logic then he discussed logic and they all [saw themselves as] deficient in wisdom. 106 He saw Ananta, Puruṣottama, Śrī Janārdana, Padmanābha, and Vāsudeva. 107 Then Prabhu released the seven palm trees. He bathed at Setubandha, and had *darśana* of Rāmeśvara. 108 There he listened to the *Kūrma Purāṇa*, in which it is written that Rāvaṇa took a *māyā*-Sītā. 109 And when he heard this, Prabhu was overjoyed in his mind, and he remembered the story of the *brāhmaṇa* Rāmadāsa. 110 He gathered and took those old [palm] leaves, and showing them to Rāmadāsa he took away his sorrow. 111 He got the *Brahma Saṃhitā* and the *Karṇāmṛta*, these two manuscripts, and took them with him, knowing them as most excellent.

112 And again he came to Nīlācala, and joining with the *bhaktas* watched the Bathing Festival. 113 In the *anavasara* period he could not see Jagannātha; so in great *viraha* he went to Ālālanātha. 114 He passed several days there with his *bhaktas*; then he got the news that the *bhaktas* from Gauḍa were coming. 115 Nityānanda and Sārvabhauma with great eagerness took Mahāprabhu to Nīlācala. 116 Sunk in *viraha*, Prabhu knew neither night nor day, and then the *bhaktas* of Gauḍa came. 117 And all together they joined in *kīrtana*, and by the influence of the *kīrtana*, Prabhu's mind again became still. 118 Formerly, when Prabhu met Rāmānanda, he had instructed him to come to Nīlācala. 119 He got the permission of the king, and came there for some days; day and night

103. According to this text, Kṛṣṇadāsa was his companion on his southern trip; Rādhāgovinda Nātha says that Bhaṭṭamārī is a name given to a particular type of left-handed Tantric.

107. See 2.9 below.

110. These were leaves of a *Rāmāyaṇa* MS which showed to Rāmadāsa that Rāvaṇa had abducted not the real Sītā, but an illusory facsimile.

111. There are some interesting questions, raised by Amūlyacandra Sena and others, as to the truth and significance of Caitanya's having gotten these and other MSS in the south and bringing them again north. If they were acquired in the south, would they have been written in Devanāgarī? If they had been, would Caitanya have been able to read them, since he would have been trained in Sanskrit in the Bengali script? One old recension of the *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta*, at least, is Bengali; the older and fuller one is South Indian; see Frances Wilson, ed. and trans., *The Love of Kṛṣṇa*, introduction.

112. *Snāna-yātrā*: when Jagannātha is taken to bathe.

113. *Anavasara*: for fifteen days after the bath, *darśana* of Jagannātha is forbidden. Ālālanātha is a place about twelve miles from Puri.

119. Rāmānanda was a high minister in the court of Rājā Pratāparudra, and the *rājā*'s permission for him to be absent from his post was obviously necessary.

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were passed with Rāmāmanda in talk of Kṛṣṇa. 120 He gave his mercy to Kāśī Miśra, and met with Pradyumna Miśra and the others; and Paramānanda Purī, Govinda, and Kāśīśvara also went. 121 He was greatly joyed at meeting with Svarūpa Dāmodara, and Śikhi Māhitī, and Rāya Bhavānanda.

122 From Gauḍa all the Vaiṣṇavas came, and he met for the first time the people of Kulīnagrāma. 123 Narahari Dāsa and many other dwellers at Khaṇḍa, all came with Śivānanda Sena and met him. 124 The *bhaktas* watched the Bathing Festival with Prabhu, and with them all Prabhu cleansed the Guṇḍicā. 125 With them he watched the Car Festival, and danced before the chariot, and went to the garden. 126 In that place he gave his mercy to Pratāparudra; and on the day of their departure he gave instructions to the Gauḍiyā *bhaktas*, 127 that each year they should come to see the Car Festival; under this pretext he wanted to meet the *bhaktas*. 128 Prabhu regularly asked alms at the house of Sārvabhauma; and the mother of Ṣāṭhī said, 'By this, let Ṣāṭhī be a widow.' 129 At the end of the rains, Advaita and the other *bhaktas* came, and Śivānanda Sena provided for them all. 130 With Śivānanda came a fortunate dog; when it saw the feet of Prabhu it vanished. 131 They all met with Sārvabhauma on the way, and Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya went to Kāśī. 132 All the Vaiṣṇavas came and met with Prabhu, and with them all Prabhu made sport in the water. 133 With them all he cleaned the Guṇḍicā, and he danced at seeing the Car Festival. 134 In the garden, Prabhu made various *vilāsas*; the *brāhmaṇa* Kṛṣṇadāsa performed the *abhiṣeka* of Prabhu. 135 At the end of the dance in the Guṇḍicā, he played in the water; and on the Horā-pañcamī he saw the play of the goddess Lakṣmī. 136 On the Kṛṣṇa-janma Festival Prabhu took on the dress of a *gopa*; he carried a load of curds and twirled a staff. 137 Then he said farewell to the *bhaktas* of Gauḍa, and with the *bhaktas* he incessantly made *kīrtana*.

138 On his way to Vṛndāvana he went to Gauḍa; on the way Pratāparudra performed many services for him. 139 There was the incident of the giving of the cloth to Purī Gosvāmī; and Rāmānanda Rāya came as far as Bhadraka.

128. This curious story is told in 2.15.184-290, and is another of the passages open to Sahajiyā interpretation.

134. Abhiṣeka: sprinkling with water of an object to be worshiped.

135. The fifth day immediately following the Car Festival is the Horā-pañcamī. *Horā* means "going forth"; and on the *pañcamī* the servants of Lakṣmī come out and in demonstration of the power of their goddess, they beat the followers of Jagannātha; there is a description of this in 2.14.104-225.

136. Kṛṣṇa-janmāṣṭamī is the eighth day of the dark (waning) fortnight of the month of Bhadra (August-September); the birthday of Kṛṣṇa.

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140 Coming there, he stayed in the house of Vidyāvācaspati. The people came in crowds to see him. 141 For five days the people saw him, and there was no rest; so Prabhu came to Kuliyāgrāma at night, out of concern for the crowds. 142 Hearing that Prabhu had come to Kuliyāgrāma, lakhs and lakhs of people came to have *darśana* of him. 143 At Kuliyāgrāma he gave his grace to Devānanda, and he caused to be wiped away the offense of the *brāhmaṇa* Gopāla toward Śrīvāsa. 144 The disbelievers and calumners came and fell at his feet; he forgave their offenses and gave them Kṛṣṇa-*prema*. 145 Nṛsiṃhānanda, hearing that Prabhu would go to Vṛndāvana, had the road decorated, and got great joy in his heart. 146 The road from Kuliyānagara was studded with jewels, and over [the road] he laid down a carpet of flower-petals. 147 On both sides of the road were rows of *vakula* trees in flower, and from place to place on the two sides of the road were wonderful tanks. 148 Ghats were set with jewels; near them were lotuses in bloom, and the bustle of many birds of all kinds, on the water which was like nectar. 149 The cool breeze blew, bringing many fragrances; he had arranged it like this up to Kānāira Nāṭaśālā. 150 Ahead of that his mind did not go; he was unable to decorate it. The road was not decorated, and Nṛsiṃha was astonished. 151 And he decided and said, "Hear, O *bhaktas*; Prabhu will not go to Śrī Vṛndāvana now; 152 he will return from Kānāira Nāṭaśālā. You will know afterwards that I have spoken truly."

153 Gosvāmī started for Vṛndāvana from Kuliyā, and with him a thousand people, *bhaktas*. 154 Wherever Prabhu went, there also went a crore of people; they came to see him, and when they saw him their sorrow and grief were destroyed. 155 Wherever the feet of Prabhu fell as he was walking, the people took the earth, so that there were big holes in the road. 156 So he went, and Prabhu came to Rāmakeligrāma, a village near Gauḍa, of unsurpassed beauty. 157 There Prabhu danced, and became unconscious with *prema*; and crores and crores of people came to see his feet.

158 The king of Gauḍa, a Yavana ruler, hearing of this influence, was astonished, and began to say, 159 "He whom so many people follow without reward is a Gosvāmī, know that for certain. 160 Qazi, do not allow the Yavanas to do him harm; let him speak according to his own wishes, whatever is in his heart."

147. Vakula: *Mimusops Elengi* of the order *Sapotaceæ*, growing up to fifty feet in height.

150. He could not conceive of preparing the way beyond Kānāira Nāṭaśālā; it was not fated that Caitanya would go beyond that place on this journey.

158. The ruler of Bengal at the time was Husain Shāh (r. 1494-1518). *Yavana*: lit., "Ionian," i.e., Greek, extended to foreigner, most of whom in this period were Muslim. In this text, it is often used interchangeably with *mleccha*; see the commentary to v. 186 below.

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161 The *rājā* inquired of Keśava Chatrī; and Chatrī scoffed at the greatness of Prabhu, 162 "A beggar *saṃnyāsin*, who wanders about to places of pilgrimage; a couple of people have come to see him. 163 The Yavanas around you complain about him, but there is no point in injuring him; there might be more harm than good." 164 Having persuaded the king, Keśava sent a *brāhmaṇa* to say to Prabhu that he should move on. 165 The *rājā* asked his Dabīr Khās in secret to speak to him concerning the greatness of the Gosvāmī. 166 "It is he who has given you your kingdom; it is he who is your Gosvāmī. It is your good fortune that he has been born in your country. 167 He desires your welfare and does excellent works; by his blessings you will be everywhere victorious. 168 Why do you ask me? Ask your own heart. You are the lord of men, you are like a part of Viṣṇu. 169 How is this knowledge about Caitanya in your heart? That which is in your heart, that is the proof." 170 The *rājā* said, "Listen; it is in my mind that he is the visible Īśvara, there is no doubt of it." 171 So saying, the *rājā* went into the inner part of his house, and the Dābir Khās returned to his own place. 172 When he came home, the two brothers consulted [together], and disguising themselves they went to see Prabhu.

173 In the dead of night the two brothers came to the place of Prabhu, and first met Nityānanda and Haridāsa. 174 They brought the two to the attention of Prabhu, "Rūpa and the Sākar Mallik have come to see you." 175 The two held bunches of grass between their teeth, and tying their cloaks around their necks they prostrated themselves. 176 They wept in humility, absorbed in joy; and Prabhu said, "Rise up, rise up, you are blessed." 177 The two brothers then rose up, still holding the grass in their teeth, and humbly they praised him, hands pressed together, 178 "Glory, glory to Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, full of mercy, glory to the savior of the fallen, glory to the noble one. 179 We are of low *jāti*, we keep low companions, we do low work; we are ashamed, Prabhu, to speak before you.

165. "Dabīr Khās" was the title given Rūpa Gosvāmin by Husain Shāh, whom he served. The title means something like "personal secretary." Sanātana was Husain Shāh's "Sākar Mallik," a high ministerial post.

168. As Viṣṇu is the protector and preserver of the three worlds, so the king protects his kingdom; the word "part" is *aṃśa*, though it seems unlikely that there are the usual theological overtones.

170. Sākṣāt: visible, before one's eyes.

172. I.e., Rūpa and Sanātana.

174. See commentary on v. 165.

175. Holding grass in the teeth was a Vaiṣṇava gesture of humility.

179. To what extent this is true is a matter for conjecture; if *jāti* here implies birth, as it would etymologically, the statement is false, for there is every indication that the brothers were born

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Śloka 10. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.154:

There is no sinner, no offense-giver, like me. O Puruṣottama, I am ashamed even to shun [my mistakes]. What can I say?

180 Your *avatāra* is to save the fallen; there are none more lowly then we, in the world. 181 You rescued the two, Jagāi and Mādhāi; to save them was no labor for you. 182 They were of *brāhmaṇa jāti*, and lived in Navadvīpa; they did not serve low peple, they were not on their knees to low people. 183 Their singular fault was that they did wicked things, and a suggestion of your name burns the effects of evil deeds to ashes. 184 They took your name while vilifying you, and that name was the cause of their release. 185 We are crores of times worse than Jagāi and Mādhāi; we two are sinners fallen very low. 186 We are of *mleccha-jāti*, we serve the *mlecchas*, we do *mleccha* work; we associate with those who injure cows and *brāhmaṇas*. 187 Our works have bound our hands and throats, and we have been thrown into a pit of dung and rotting garbage. 188 There is none in the three worlds strong enough to pull us out; but you are savior of the fallen; there is none except for you. 189 If you show your own strength and pull us out, then your name 'savior of the fallen' will be fulfilled. 190 We speak the truth; hear, O full of mercy; there is none in the world more fit vessels for your mercy than we. 191 Grant us mercy; make fruitful your own mercifulness. Let the whole Brahmā-world see the power of your mercy.

Śloka 11. Yāmunācārya's *Stotraratna* 52:

Hear attentively my prayer to you. It is true, not false: if you will not grant your mercy to me, then, O Lord, a more worthy vessel for it will be hard for you to find.

192 Seeing ourselves unworthy, we grieve greatly in our minds; yet we desire to be victorious by your qualities. 193 As the dwarf seeks to grasp the moon, so this wish rises up in our hearts."

brāhmaṇas (*PHM*, 72-74); their low companions are of course the Muslims with whom they associated in their work at the court, which work, because the court was Muslim, was also low.

181-84. See the commentary to 1.8.17.

186. *Mleccha*: foreign, barbarian. The root "*mlech-*" means to babble or speak indistinctly, i.e., being ignorant of Sanskrit, and by extension traditional Hindu culture.

187. [Or, "Our *karma* grips us like a hand to the throat, which has hurled us into a pit of dung and rotting garbage." TKS]

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Śloka 12. Yāmunācārya's *Stotraratna* 48:

When will I, my other desires being stilled, be fulfilled in joy by eternal service to you, and become your constant servant?.

194 Hearing this, Mahāprabhu said, "Hear, Dābir Khās; you two brothers are my servants of old. 195 From today, your names will be Rūpa and Sanātana. But abandon your self-reproach; my heart hurts from it. 196 Again and again you wrote me letters full of humility; and from those letters I know your attitudes. 197 I know your hearts, from the letters, and to instruct you I sent you a *śloka*:

Śloka 13.

A woman who is in love with another man, even while she is busy with her household duties, keeps tasting the elixir of the new union within.

198 I had no need to come to Gauḍa; I have come to see you two. 199 No one knows this secret of my heart, and everyone says, 'Why do you come to Rāmakeligrāma?' 200 It is good that you two brothers have come to me; now return home, and have no fear in your minds. 201 From birth to birth, you two are my servants; in a very short time Kṛṣṇa will save you." 202 So saying he put his hands on the heads of the two, and the two brothers took the feet of Prabhu upon their heads.

203 Having embraced them both, Prabhu said to his *bhaktas*, "All of you be merciful to them; save these two." 204 The *bhaktas* saw the mercy of Prabhu toward the two, and they all cried, "Hari, Hari!" being joyful in their hearts. 205 Nityānanda, Haridāsa, Śrīvāsa, and Gadādhara, Mukunda, Jagadānanda, Murāri, Vakreśvara— 206 the two brothers held the feet of all, bowing down; and they all said, "You are fortunate, for you have gained Gosvāmī." 207 From all they asked permission, at the time of leaving, and at the feet of Prabhu, they said, in supplication, 208 "Leave this place, Prabhu, there is no use in staying here; even though the *rājā* of Gauḍa is devoted to you, 209 still he is a Yavana, and we do not have confidence in him. Nor is it good or proper for so great a crowd to go on pilgrimage. 210 He, with whom go these lakhs and crores of

Śloka 12. See 2.8.*śl.*13.

Śloka 13. The *śloka* seems to be from *Yogavasiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa* 9.48, though the Rādhāgovinda Nātha edition identifies it only as "*śikṣa* (instructional) *śloka*."

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people, is not a proper pilgrim to Vṛndāvana. 211 And truly, although Prabhu can have no fear, still this is a worldly-*līlā*, made up of human factors." 212 So saying, and bowing at his feet, the two brothers went away. And Prabhu decided to go from that village. 213 In the morning Prabhu left, and came to Kānāira Nāṭaśālā; and he saw there all the *līlā* of the acts of Kṛṣṇa. 214 And that night Prabhu thought in his heart of hearts, 'It is not good to have so many companions, as Sanātana said. 215 If I go to Mathurā with so many people, I shall get no happiness at all, and the *rasa* will be broken. 216 I shall go alone, or with one man, and then the trip to Vṛndāvana will be radiant.' 217 So he thought also when he was performing his morning ablutions in the Gaṅgā, 'I shall go to Nīlācala.' And so saying, he left.

218 Going in this way, he came to Śāntipura, and for a few days he remained at the house of Ācārya. 219 When Śacīdevī was brought, he made obeisance to her, and for seven days he took food from her. 220 Then taking her permission, he again set off, and in sorrow bade farewell to the *bhaktas*. 221 "I shall go to Nīlācala with two people; you [all] will come to meet me at the time of the Car Festival." 222 Balabhadra Bhaṭṭācārya and Paṇḍita Dāmodara: with these two people Prabhu went to Nīlācala. 223 Remaining there for some days, he went to Vṛndāvana; he left secretly, in the night, and no one knew of it. 224 Only Balabhadra Bhaṭṭācārya remained with him; by the Jhārikhaṇḍa road he came in great joy to Kāśī. 225 They remained in Kāśī for four days, and then left for Vṛndāvana. They saw Mathurā and the twelve forest-groves. 226 Seeing the place of *līlā*, he was agitated in *prema*; Balabhadra took him away from Mathurā. 227 They went along the banks of the Gaṅgā, and came to Prayāga; Śrī Rūpa came there and met Prabhu. 228 Rūpa fell to the earth, fully prostrate in obeisance and with extreme joy Prabhu embraced him. 229 Imparting teachings to Śrī Rūpa, he sent him to Vṛndāvana, while he returned to Vārāṇasī. 230 Sanātana journeyed to Kāśī and met with Prabhu; and for two months Prabhu instructed him. 231 He gave him the strength of *bhakti* and sent him to Mathurā. He showed mercy to the *saṃnyāsins* and returned to Nīlācala. 232 There for six years Prabhu carried on his activities; sometimes he went here and there, sometimes he lived at Kṣetra. 233 In joy with his *bhaktas* he always had *kīrtana-vilāsa*; and at the sight of Jagannātha, a *vilāsa* of *prema*.

211. Prabhu is Īśvara, self-dependent, and need have no fear of the attitudes of people, nor of the Muslims. But the Caitanya-*līlā* was a worldly (*laukika*) *līlā*, and thus the restrictions of the world must be observed, and the laws of society and common sense obeyed.

224. Kāśī: Vārāṇasī or Benares.

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234 I have made a description of the *sūtras* of the *madhya līlā*; now hear, O *bhaktas*, the *sūtras* of the *antya līlā*. 235 When he came to Nīlācala from Vṛndāvana, he lived there for eighteen years, and went nowhere else. 236 Each year the *bhaktas* of Gauḍa came there, and they remained for four months with Prabhu. 237 In the constant activities of singing and dancing and *kīrtana*, he manifested *prema-bhakti* to all untouchables down to *caṇḍālas*. 238 Paṇḍita Gosvāmī made his home at Nīlācala, [as did] Vakreśvara, Dāmodara, Śaṅkara, Haridāsa, 239 Jagadānanda, Bhagavān, Govinda, Kāśīśvara, Paramānanda Purī, and Svarūpa Dāmodara. 240 Also living in Kṣetra were Rāmānanda Rāya and others, and all of these were in constant touch with Prabhu. 241 Advaita, Nityānanda, Mukunda, and Śrīvāsa, Vidyānidhi, Vāsudeva, and Murāri—how many servants. 242 Each year they came together and stayed for four months, and with them all Prabhu had various interactions. 243 Haridāsa's gaining of perfection—that was most wonderful, and for him Mahāprabhu himself held a great festival. 244 Then Rūpa Gosvāmin returned, and Prabhu infused power into his heart. 245 Then Prabhu punished the younger Haridāsa; and Dāmodara Paṇḍita rebuked Prabhu. 246 Then Sanātana Gosvāmin returned, and in Jyaiṣṭha month Prabhu examined him. 247 Being satisfied, Prabhu sent him to Vṛndāvana. And by the hand of Advaita, Prabhu had a wonderful feast. 248 He secretly consulted with Nityānanda, and he sent him to Gauḍa to spread *prema*. 249 Then Vallabha Bhaṭṭa met with Prabhu, and Prabhu told him the meaning of the Kṛṣṇa-name. 250 Prabhu, at the place of Rāmānanda, caused Pradyumna Miśra to hear the stories of Kṛṣṇa, reciting his qualities. 251 The *rājā* was about to execute Gopīnātha Paṭṭanāyaka, the brother of Rāmānanda, and Prabhu saved him. 252 In response to Rāmacandra Purī he decreased his food; but seeing the sorrow of the Vaiṣṇavas, he retained half of it.

253 Within the Brahmā-world there are fourteen worlds, and there are many *jīvas* living within these fourteen worlds. 254 In the guise of men, under the pretext of pilgrimage, they came to Nīlācala to see Prabhu. 255 One day Śrīvāsa and many other *bhaktas* sang in *kīrtana* the qualities of Mahāprabhu. 256 Hear-

239. [It is not clear to which Bhagavān this refers, but it is probably Bhagavān Ācārya, who appears frequently in the *antya līlā*. TKS]

243. [I.e., Haridāsa's death and subsequent *kīrtana*, burial, and feast led by Caitanya. TKS]

244. *Śaktisañcāraṇa*: infusion of power.

245. *Choṭa*: younger.

246. Jyaiṣṭha: second month of the Bengali calender (May-June).

256. I.e., "you ought not to be singing of me, but of Kṛṣṇa"; it is true that many of the best of the Gaura-*candrikās*, hymns to Caitanya, to be sung before the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa songs in *kīrtana*, were

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ing this, he said to the *bhaktas* in angry words, "Without the qualities of the Kṛṣṇa-name, how can you do *kīrtana*? 257 In the minds of all of you is to make mischief; you act according to your own whim, and you will destroy the whole world." 258 At the same time, in all ten directions, crores and crores of people called, "Glory to Kṛṣṇa Caitanya!" making a great commotion. 259 "Glory, glory to Mahāprabhu, the Vrajendrakumāra; Prabhu, your *avatāra* is to save the world. 260 We are greatly grieved; we have come from great distances; give us a sight of you, Prabhu, that our wishes be fulfilled." 261 Hearing the supplication of the people, his heart was melted, and full of mercy, he came outside and gave them *darśana*. 262 Raising up his arms, Prabhu said, "Say Hari, Hari!" and the sound of "Śrī Hari" rose up and filled the four directions. 263 Seeing Prabhu, the hearts of the people were overjoyed; and they praised Prabhu, calling him Īśvara. 264 Hearing the praises, Śrīnivāsa said to Prabhu, "You hide in the house, why do you not come outside? 265 Who has taught these people to say such words; will you cover their mouths with your hands? 266 It is as if the sun, once risen, seeks to hide itself, we cannot understand these actions of yours." 267 Prabhu said, "Leave this mockery, Śrīnivāsa; you humiliate me." 268 So saying he gave to the people a most auspicious sight, and went within; and the desire of the people was fulfilled.

269 Raghunātha Dāsa went to be with Nityānanda, and he had there a great festival with parched rice and curd. 270 According to his instructions, he committed himself to the feet of Prabhu; and Prabhu entrusted him to Svarūpa. 271 He caused Brahmānanda Bhāratī to get rid of his animal skin clothes; and like this he made *līlā* for six years. 272 Thus have been stated the *sūtras* of the *madhya līlā*, and the *sūtras* of the *antya līlā* have been described.

273 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

composed by people who were contemporary with Caitanya. See E. C. Dimock, "The Place of Gauracandrikā in Bengali Vaiṣṇava Lyrics," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 78, no. 3 (1958): 153-69.

264. Vv. 264-68 repeat the incident related in vv. 258-63, with Śrīnivāsa's (i.e., Śrīvāsa's) intercession being the reason for Caitanya's agreement to appear before the people. V. 266 seems to mean: "Why do you come outside at all, if you do not want people to want the sight of you. For once you have been seen, people want to see you again."

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Madhya Līlā
Chapter 2

Śloka 1.

In this section I have described the laments, etc., of Prabhu in separation from Kṛṣṇa, as *sūtras* of the *antya līlā*.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra, glory to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 The last twelve years that Prabhu remained were constantly agitated by separation from Kṛṣṇa. 3 Like the condition of Rādhā at the sight of Uddhava, in just such condition was Prabhu, day and night. 4 Eternally Prabhu was mad with *viraha*; he wandered about constantly, and his speech was raving. 5 Blood oozed from the pores of his skin, and his teeth chattered. In a moment his body became thin, and the next moment it swelled. 6 In the *gambhīrā* he got no sleep at all; he scraped his face and head against the wall, and was all bruised and cut. 7 Three doors were shut, but Prabhu still got outside; once he fell in the lion-gate, and once in the water of the sea. 8 Seeing the Caṭaka hill, he mistook it for Govarddhana, and ran weeping, with groans and cries. 9 And seeing the groves and gardens, he thought it was Vṛndāvana; he went there and danced and sang, and in a moment fell unconscious. 10 The manifestations of this *bhāva* were like nothing anyone had ever heard of before; just such a *bhāva*

Śloka 1. In this chapter, Kṛṣṇadāsa outlines the matter of the *antya līlā*; as has been noted, the *śeṣa līlā* is divided into two parts, *madhya* and *antya*. The *sūtras* of the *madhya* part were given in the previous chapter, and those of *antya* here.

5. Romakūpe raktodgama danta sava hāle / kṣaṇe aṅga kṣīṇa haya kṣaṇe aṅga phule //

6. Gambhīrā is a private room in the inner part of the house; in Puri, Caitanya lived in a *gambhīrā* in the house of Kāśī Miśra. The references here and in vv. 7, 8, and 9 are to incidents in 3.19.

7. The "lion gate" is the main gate of the temple of Jagannātha.

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was manifested in the body of Prabhu. 11 The joints of his hands and feet, all separated a span in measurement, and skin that remained [was all that held them together]. 12 His hands, his feet, his head, all retracted into his body, and Prabhu seemed like a tortoise. 13 In such ways was this wonderful *bhāva* manifested in his body; there was emptiness in his heart, and in his speech he groaned aloud, 14 "Where is the lord of my heart, Muralīvadana? Where and how can I gain Vrajendranandana? 15 Whom shall I tell? Who knows my sorrow? Without Vrajendranandana my heart bursts." 16 In this way his heart was overwhelmed with grief; and he constantly recited a *śloka* of [Rāmānanda] Rāya's drama:

Śloka 2. Rāmānanda Rāya's *Jagannāthavallabha Nāṭaka* 3.9:
This Hari does not understand the pangs of a loss of love, nor love itself, nor does he know the right place or wrong place [in time], nor women that suffer love. No one knows another's full sorrow. This life is not to be trusted; two, three days lasts our youth. Woe, woe, the wrong course of fate!

17 "The sprout of *prema* has taken root;
it is broken, a stream of grief comes forth.
and Kṛṣṇa does not drink it.
Outwardly, he is lord of *nāgaras*,
within, he is a rogue
cautiously murdering the wives of others.

18 O *sakhi*, I do not know the laws of the creator.
I loved, for happiness,
and it has changed into sorrow.
Now he goes; my heart does not remain. [refrain]

19 *Prema* is rascally and stupid,
and does not know appropriate places,

11. This curious incident, and the one in v. 12, are detailed in 3.14.60-67. "Span" is *vitasti*, which is either the distance between the extended thumb and tip of the little finger, or between the wrist and the tip of the middle finger. Whether "his joints separated" simply means that he became totally limp, or whether some more startling physiological condition is implied is unknown. In any case, it is clear that the depth of his emotion had its physical effects.

14. Muralīvadana: he with the flute to his lips, Kṛṣṇa.

17. Sakhi: female companion, in the Vaiṣṇava context nearly always of Rādhā.

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and cannot judge good and evil.
By the thread of cruel and crafty qualities
he has tied my hands and feet,
and I remain; I cannot free myself.

20 That bodiless Madana,
so skilled in hurting others,
constantly aims his five arrows;
and the body of a woman
they penetrate and cause to crumble;
they give pain, but do not take her life.

21 That sorrow which is in the heart of others
is not known by anyone else;
this the *śāstras* truly say.
How can I speak of others?
My dearest friend does not understand,
and tells me to be patient and at ease.

22 'Kṛṣṇa is a sea of mercy;
someday he will show it'—
O friend, these are vain words of yours.
The life of a *jīva* is unsure,
like water on a lotus-leaf;
what man can live for long?

23 Up to a hundred years
is the limit of the life of man;
but you do not consider,
the wealth of a woman's youth—
which is [always] in Kṛṣṇa's mind—
lasts but a day or two;

24 as fire is its own light
and shows its beauty,
drawing the insect to its death,
so Kṛṣṇa, showing his own qualities,

20. Madana: Kāmadeva, the god of love; Kṛṣṇa is also sometimes called the new Kāmadeva or the new Madana. The god carries five flower-arrows, which are delight in love (*madana*), intoxication (*unmādana*), absorption (*śoṣana*), complete involvement (*stambhana*), and stupefaction or bliss (*mohana*). He is bodiless because he was burnt up by the fire from the third eye of Śiva when he was attempting to seduce that great god from meditation.

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steals away the heart,
and later drowns it in a sea of sorrow."

25 So lamenting,
Śrī Gaurahari in great pain
recited another *śloka*:

Śloka 3. [anonymous]:
So, *sakhi*, not having served the beauty etc., of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, my days and all my senses have become vain, enough! Now they all have become like a burden of so many dry sticks and rocks, and I, alas, shameless—how can I bear the burden?

26 "The place of the nectar of his flute-song,
the place where the nectar of beauty is born,
who does not see his moon-like face,
what is the use of his having eyes?
Let the thunderbolt fall upon his head!
Why should his eyes remain?

27 O friend, the power of the creator seems to me destroyed.
My body, mind, and heart,
and all my senses,
are fruitless, without Kṛṣṇa. [refrain]

28 The honeyed voice of Kṛṣṇa
is a wave of nectar;
into whose ears it does not enter
his ears are like broken cowrie-shells;
know this for certain:
his life is pointless.

29 Musk and the blue lotus—
the mingled scent of these
which surpasses all pride and arrogance [of other scents]
to the scent of the body of that same Kṛṣṇa
has no comparison.

28. Cowrie shells were used for currency; they were worthless when broken.

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The nose [which cannot smell it] is like a bellows.

30 The nectar of the lips of Kṛṣṇa,
the acts and qualities of Kṛṣṇa,
surpass the taste of the finest nectar;
he who does not know their taste
might as well have died at birth;
his tongue is like a frog's.

31 The lotus hands and feet of Kṛṣṇa,
cooler than a crore of moons,
are like a touchstone.
Who has not touched them
may as well be ashes;
his body is like iron."

32 And so thus grieving
Prabhu the son of Śacī
declared the misery of his heart.
In humility, remorse and grief,
in the weariness and depression of his heart,
he repeated another verse:

Śloka 4. Rāmānanda Rāya's *Jagannāthavallabha Nāṭaka* 3.11:
When the Enemy of Madhu happens to come within my sight, my mind is carried off by the blow of love; and he stole any meaning of the names Madana and Ānanda, they filled my heart so that I could not see his beauty. When I again can see that Kṛṣṇa, then I shall adorn that moment with jewels.

33 "At that time, or in that dream
I saw Vaṃśīvadana,

30. [The allusion seems to presume that a frog's tongue is unable to taste, probably based on the frog's penchant for flies and other insects that to the human palate taste extremely bitter; in fact, frog's tongues do have an extensive ability to taste. The allusion may also play on the mechanics of the frog's tongue, which is attached in the front of the mouth and rolled back, and which extends and contracts rapidly through the use of ring muscles not found in humans, in short, working in an apparently opposite way from that of the human tongue. TKS]

31. "Body is like iron": i.e., it has not been touched by the touchstone and transformed into gold.

33. Ānanda: bliss; Madana: Kāmadeva, the god of love, or sensual desire.

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and at that time two enemies came—
Ānanda and Madana—
and they stole away my heart
and I could not see him, and feast my eyes.

34 Again, if any moment
Kṛṣṇa appears to me,
then that instant, and second, and hour
with garlands and sandalwood,
and many jewels of many kinds,
I shall adorn."

35 In an instant he again was conscious
and saw two men before him,
and asked them—"Am I not Caitanya?
Perhaps it was a dream
or was I raving?
Did you hear my misery?"

36 "Hear me, friends of my heart:
there is no wealth of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*
my life is wretched;
the senses of my body are all false." [refrain]

37 And again he said, "Alas,
Hear me, Svarūpa and Rāma Rāya,
this is the firm condition of my heart.
Listen, and decide
whether it is, or is not—tell me truly."
And so saying, he recited another verse:

Śloka 5. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.31.1:
No love can exist in human kind, free from deceit; if it could, the pain of separation could not exist; and if there were [only] *viraha*, then life could not exist.

35. Caitanya, *caitanya*: the shortened name of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya and "consciousness," hence the pun.

Śloka 5. [The statement here and in the next couplet is theologically accurate in that pure *prema* is only possible in Kṛṣṇa himself, and if the *jīva* or living being is in a condition that is exclusively cut off from that source, then it no longer lives. TKS]

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38 "*Prema* for Kṛṣṇa free from impurity
is like the Jāmbu river gold;
it does not exist in the world of men.
If it did come to be,
there would be no pain of separation;
if there were [only] pain of separation, no one could live."

39 So saying, the son of Śacī
recited a wonderful *śloka*,
and the two listened attentively.
"The workings of my own heart
I feel ashamed to describe;
but let me eat the seed of shame and speak.

Śloka 6. [anonymous]:
O friends, I have not the slightest *prema* for Hari. And if I weep, it is only to express my great good fortune. So I support my moth-like spirit without the sight of Kṛṣṇa, flute in his mouth, in vain.

40 A suggestion of pure *prema* is distant
the ropes of *prema* are false
and do not tie me to the feet of Kṛṣṇa.
And that I weep
is to celebrate my great good fortune.
This I do, and know it well.

41 In his face is the happiness of the flute-sound;
not seeing that moon-like face,
there is no object of my love;
I love my own body—
That is only the way of *kāma*
and I cling to this worm-life.

38. BhP 5.16.19-20. There is a river in Jambudvīpa, in the land of Saptadvīpa, which runs with the nectar of the *jambu* flowers, and its banks produce the purest gold. *Jambu* is often identified as *Eugenia Jabolana*, a kind of rose-apple, but here the mythical tree is intended.

39. "Eating the seed of shame": becoming shameless.

Śloka 6. [Rādhāgovinda Nātha attributes this *śloka* to Caitanya, apparently based on context (v. 39); the MSS consulted gave no such attribution apart from context. TKS]

41. [*Kāma* can be either the god of love or simple pleasure or here erotic pleasure; there is no marker, such as a capital letter, to distinguish in the Bengali, but the ambiguity is effective. TKS]

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42 The *prema* of Kṛṣṇa is most pure,
as pure as Gaṅgā water;
that *prema* is an ocean of nectar.
That passion is stainless;
for a stain cannot be hidden—
it is a drop of ink upon clean cloth.

43 That pure *prema* is a sea of happiness,
and gaining a drop of it,
that one drop will flood the world.
It cannot be expressed,
and still the madman speaks;
when it is spoken, who will believe it?"

44 Like this, day after day,
to Svarūpa and Rāmānanda
he made known his own *bhāva*.
Outwardly, he burned as if poisoned,
inwardly he was filled with joy.
This is the wonderful way of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*.

45 The taste of this *prema*
is the taste of hot sugar-cane juice;
it burns the lips, but cannot be put aside.
In whose heart this *prema* is,
he knows its power;
it is like poison mixed with nectar.

Śloka 7. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 2.30:
O beautiful, in whose heart love for the son of Nanda awakes, there clearly arise for him crookedly sweet powers. This love has two kinds of effects: it drives away by pain of the same kind the fierce bitterness of serpent's poison; and again, it shrivels up the pride of nectar and honey by a rain of bliss.

43. *Bāule*: mad, madman.
Śloka 7. See 3.1.*śl*.26.

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46 When he saw Jagannātha
with Śrī Rāma and Subhadrā,
then he thought—"I have come to Kurukṣetra.
My life is fulfilled
I have seen the lotus-eyed one
and my body, mind, and eyes have been refreshed."

47 Near Garuḍa
he stayed and had *darśana*;
how can I describe his joy?
Beneath the pillar of Garuḍa
there is dug a trench;
that trench was filled with his tears.

48 He came home from there
and sat upon the ground
writing on the earth with his nails.
"Ah, Ah, where is Vṛndāvana,
where is Gopendranandana,
where is that Vaṃśīvadana?

49 Where is he in his *tribhaṅga* pose,
where is the song of his flute,
where is the bank of the Yamunā?
Where is that play of *rāsa*,
where is the song and dance and laughter?
Where is my lord Madanamohana?"

50 There rose up many intense emotions,
his heart was greatly excited,
and he could not compose it for an instant.
In the fire of fierce *viraha*
his composure was destroyed
and he began to recite various *ślokas*.

46. Śrī Rāma is Balarāma. During the last several years of his life, when Caitanya would go to the temple to have *darśana* of Jagannātha, in his *viraha*, in his Rādhā-*bhāva*, he would see Jagannātha not as his beloved Kṛṣṇa in Vraja, but as the mighty lord Kṛṣṇa as he appeared in the *Gītā*.

47. In the temple of Jagannātha, near the image of the deity, there is an image of Garuḍa, the bird-vehicle of Viṣṇu. It was near this image that Caitanya used to stand for *darśana* when he went to the temple, and the pillar against which he leaned is also called by that name.

49. *Tribhaṅga*: "triple bend"; see commentary to 2.1.77.

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Śloka 8. Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala's *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* 1.41:
O Hari, friend of the friendless, sole ocean of compassion, how shall I pass these miserable days and nights without a sight of you?

51 "Without sight of you
these days and nights are cursed;
this time does not pass away.
You are the friend of the helpless,
a shoreless sea of compassion;
be merciful and show yourself to me."

52 There rose up restless emotions
and his mind was unsteady;
the way of his passion could not be understood.
His heart burned, not seeing him;
"How shall I get a sight of him?"
He asked Kṛṣṇa the way:

Śloka 9. Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala's *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* 1.32:
If you knew that your childhood is most wonderful in all the three worlds, then you would know my weakness, as I know it, and would tell me how I can see with these two eyes your beautiful lotus-face graced with the playing of the flute.

53 "The strength of your sweetness
and my weak inconstancy—
these things you and I both know.
What shall I do, where shall I go
that I might find you?
Tell me that yourself."

54 The power of various emotions,
the *śāvalya* all together;
there was a wilderness of passion;
eagerness and fickleness and humbleness,

Śloka 9. See 2.23.*śl.*15.

54. When many *bhāvas* compete and conflict, that is called *śāvalya*; see Rūpa's *BhRS* [*dakṣiṇa-vibhāga, vyabhicāri-laharī*] 2.4.244.

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anger and impatience, like an army—
the madness of *prema* was the cause of all.

55 These emotions, like wild elephants:
the body of Prabhu a forest of sugar cane;
in struggle, the elephants trampled the forest under foot.
The divine madness of Prabhu
wearied body and mind
and controlled by emotion, he made this address:

Śloka 10. Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala's *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* 1.40:
O god, full of mercy, sole friend of the world, Kṛṣṇa, fickle one, sea of compassion, lord, lover, balm to my eyes, when will you show yourself to me?

56 The signs of madness
Kṛṣṇa caused to be manifest,
and in the *bhāva* there rose up love and *māna*;
with ironical words,
māna, pride, deceitful praise,
sometimes blaming, sometimes with respect.

57 "You are god, addicted to play,
with all the women of the earth
it is your desire to play.
You are my beloved,
your heart rests in me;
because of my good fortune you have come.

58 The women of the world
you attract all to you,
and you do everything for them.
You are Kṛṣṇa, the stealer of hearts;
what despicable one is there
who does not revere you?

56. Māna is a stage of love in which because of love irritation and annoyance with the loved one arise. It is not quite fair to call it duplicitous, since the emotion is very real; it does however have a quality of coerciveness about it.

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59 Your mind is fickle,
you settle nowhere,
but this is not your fault.
You are an ocean of compassion,
friend of my heart,
and I cannot be angry with you.

60 You are the lord, the life of Vraja,
you deliver Vraja,
there is no respite, in your many works.
You are my lover
come to give happiness,
this is your clever whim.

61 Thinking my words an insult,
I know that Kṛṣṇa has abandoned me;
hear then my words of praise.
Pleasing to my eyes
you are my heart and riches
ah, show yourself to me again."

62 Paralyzed, trembling, sweating,
pallid, tearful, voice cracking,
thrilled throughout his body,
laughing, weeping, dancing, singing,
suddenly running this way or that,
the next moment he fell unconscious on the earth.

63 In his coma he appeared
and suddenly he began to shout,
"My lord has come!"
By the qualities of Kṛṣṇa's sweetness
there were many illusions in his mind,
and he began to say this *śloka*:

62. For these and other manifestations of the presence of true *prema*, see text and commentary on 1.7.86-93; 1.17.5; 2.8.135; 2.18.151-74; and 2.23.31.

63. I.e., Kṛṣṇa appeared, and Caitanya began to shout.

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Śloka 11. Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala's *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* 1.68:
O *sakhi*, is he the manifest Kandarpa? Or a wheel of sweet radiance? Or sweetness itself? Or nectar to my eyes and heart? Has he given joy by untying the *gopīs*' hair? Is he the lord of my heart? That Kṛṣṇa does appear to my eyes.

64 "Has this apparent Kāma,
the incarnate radiance of the moon,
himself the incarnation of sweetness,
a feast for my eyes and heart,
beloved to my heart,
Kṛṣṇa, bringing joy to my eyes, truly come?"

65 The many passions were the *guru*,
the heart and body of Prabhu the pupil,
always caused to dance in various ways.
Remorse, dejection, humbleness
impatience, delight, patience, anger,
in this dance Prabhu passed his time.

66 Caṇḍīdāsa, Vidyāpati,
the *nāṭaka-gīti* of Rāya,
Karṇāmṛta, and *Śrī Gītagovinda*,
with Svarūpa and Rāmānanda,
day and night Mahāprabhu
sang and danced in highest joy.

67 The strong *vātsalya* of Purī,
the pure *sakhya* of Rāmānanda,
the pure *dāsya-rasa* of Govinda and the rest,
of Gadādhara and Jagadānanda
and of Svarūpa the strong joy of *rasa*,
these four *bhāvas* captured Prabhu.

66. Caṇḍīdasa and Vidyāpati were two Vaiṣṇava poets whom Caitanya read with pleasure; there is considerable question about the actual identity of these poets (*PHM*, 55-67). *Nāṭaka-gīti* may also be a *dvandva* compound: the *Jagannāthavallabha Nāṭaka* and songs (*gīti*), for we are told in v. 3 that Rāmānanda would sing to Caitanya in the last phases of his life, to restore calm to him.

67. This is Paramananda Purī, a student of Mādhavendra Purī and a fellow student of Īśvara Purī, who was Caitanya's *dīkṣā-guru*; his primary *bhāva* was that of parental affection toward Caitanya (*vātsalya*). Rāmānanda loved as friend and companion (*sakhya*). Govinda was Caitanya's servant in the last few years, hence his *bhāva* of service (*dāsya*). "Strong joy of *rasa*" is the *madhura* or *śṛṅgāra-bhāva*, enjoyed by Gadādhara, Jagadānanda, and Svarūpa.

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68 And Līlāśuka, mortal man,
in him such *bhāvas* rose;
that they were [also] in Īśvara—what is the wonder here?
He is the foremost container of *rasa*,
he is our master,
and in him is the rising of all *bhāvas*.

69 Formerly, in the Vraja-*vilāsa*,
the three desires which he had
he was unable to taste, although he tried.
The essence of the *bhāva* of Rādhā
he embodied in himself
and tasted those three things.

70 Having tasted it himself,
he taught his *bhaktas*,
Prabhu, rich with jewels of *prema*.
He did not care for proper place,
but gave to everyone,
Mahāprabhu, crest-jewel of givers.

71 Of this hidden sea of *bhāva*
Brahmā cannot get a drop;
that wealth he distributed in the world.
Such is the incarnation of mercy:
none other is as generous.
Who can describe his goodness?

72 There is no way to say it,
and if there were, none would understand;
such were the various passions of Caitanya.
He who can understand all this
has [received] the mercy of Caitanya
and the companionship of him and his followers.

73 This is the essence of the jewel of the Caitanya-*līlā*;
the store [of it] is Svarūpa,
and he put it in the mouth of Raghunātha.

68. Bilvamaṅgala Ṭhākura, author of the *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta*, is called Līlāśuka; Īśvara: lord, Caitanya as *svayaṃ bhagavān*.

69. "Three desires": for the greatness of the *prema* of Rādhā (1.4.105-18), his own sweetness (1.4.119-35), and Rādhā's joy in tasting his sweetness (1.4.136-78).

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From him I have heard a little,
and this I have described,
and make of it a gift to *bhaktas*.

74 If anyone should say
that the book is full of *ślokas*
and that uneducated people will not understand, [I say,]
such were the actions of Prabhu
and I have described them.
I cannot serve all minds.

75 I have no quarrel with anyone,
nor anyone to please.
I describe the matters simply as they arose.
Were there either passion or malice,
I would be absorbed in it,
and could not write so easily of these things.

76 So he who does not understand
should listen over and over;
such is the wonder of the actions of Caitanya.
Love for Kṛṣṇa will conquer him
and he will know the ways of *rasa*;
if he listens his welfare will be great.

77 The *Bhāgavata* consists of *ślokas*,
its commentary is in Sanskrit;
and still the three worlds understand.
Here there are but a few *ślokas*
and I have explained them;
why should not all people understand?

78 The *sūtras* of the *śeṣa līlā*
I have stated briefly;
it is in my mind to expand them.
I am at the end of my life; but if I live
I shall describe the final *līlā*,
if Mahāprabhu is merciful.

79 I am old and tired and sick,
my hand trembles while I write,
and there are some things I cannot remember.

75. "Passion or malice": *rāgadveṣa*, i.e., "If I were biased either direction."

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My eyes no longer see
nor my ears hear
and still I write; this is truly wonderful.

80 The essence of this *antya līlā*
I have described in *sūtra*s,
and have spoken of them a little bit.
If I die, meanwhile,
then I shall not be able to describe
this *līlā*, wealth of the *bhakta*s.

81 The *sūtra* has been stated briefly,
and that which I have not written
I shall describe later on.
If I live long enough
and Mahāprabhu has mercy
I shall fulfill my desire to write all this.

82 [To] *bhakta*s great and small,
I bow to the holy feet of all;
may they all be satisfied with me.
According to Svarūpa Gosvāmī
as much as Rūpa and Raghunātha know,
that I write is no fault of mine.

83 Of Śrī Caitanya, Nityānanda,
of Advaita and the hosts of *bhakta*s,
I take the feet of all upon my head.
From Svarūpa, Rūpa, Sanātana,
from the holy feet of Raghunātha [also]
I take the dust to adorn my head.

84 To those who gave me instruction [to write]
the Vaiṣṇavas of Vraja,
I bow; and to the chief among them, Haridāsa.
One drop of the billows
of the sea of the activities of Caitanya,
a tiny part of that, tells Kṛṣṇadāsa.

84. Haridāsa Ācārya or Dvija Haridāsa Ācārya.

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Madhya Līlā
Chapter 3

Śloka 1.

I bow to that Gaura who, after taking *saṃnyāsa*, in *prema* for Kṛṣṇa wanted to go to Vṛndāvana, but who, while wandering in the Rāḍha country, reached Śāntipura, where he gained joy among his *bhaktas*.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra, glory to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 At the end of his twenty-fourth year, in the bright fortnight of the month of Māgha, Prabhu took *saṃnyāsa*. 3 Being a *saṃnyāsin* and sunk in *prema*, he headed for Vṛndāvana. He wandered in the Rāḍha country for three days. 4 Prabhu, under the control of *bhāva*, recited this *śloka*, and while wandering he cleansed the whole of the Rāḍha country.

Śloka 2. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.23.57:

I shall cross over this darkness, so hard to cross, by the service of the lotus-feet of Kṛṣṇa, by means of taking firm refuge in the *parātmā*, cherished by the ancient great ones.

5 Prabhu said, "The words of this mendicant are pure, specifying the *vrata* of the service of Mukunda. 6 The only way is the firm fixedness on the *parātmā*.

Śloka 1. [This chapter corresponds closely to the activities described in Kavikarṇapūra's *CCN* 5 through 6.14. TKS]

2. Caitanya took *saṃnyāsa* on the *saṅkrānti* day (i.e., the last day of the lunar month) of Māgha (January-February), in the year 1431 BS (1510-1511 AD). The *śukla-pakṣa* is the bright fortnight of the month, when the moon is waxing.

5. In order to understand the speech of Caitanya, something of the context of the *śloka* he has just recited should be known. There was a *brāhmaṇa* who lived in Avantīnagara. This *brāhmaṇa*

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And by the service of Mukunda one crosses over of the world. 7 Now, going to Vṛndāvana, I enter that condition, and sitting in silence I perform the service of Kṛṣṇa." 8 So saying, Prabhu went on, with the signs of the madness of *prema*; he did not know which direction he was going in; he did not know whether it was day or night. 9 Nityānanda, Ācāryaratna, and Mukunda, these three went close behind Prabhu. 10 And all the people who saw Prabhu shouted "Hari!" absorbed in *prema*, and their sadness and grief were broken.

11 All the cowherd boys, when they saw Prabhu, shouted "Hari, Hari!" in a loud voice. 12 And when he heard, Gaurahari went near them and said "Speak, speak [the name of Hari]," and put his hand on the heads of all. 13 And he praised them all, "You are most blessed; you have given me fulfillment, for you have caused me to hear the name of Hari." 14 Ṭhākura Nityānanda summoned them all secretly and coached them carefully, 15 "Prabhu will ask you the way to Vṛndāvana; then show to him the way to the Gaṅgā's bank." 16 Then Prabhu asked, "Hear, boys, tell me by which road I can go to Vṛndāvana." 17 And all the boys pointed out to him the way to the Gaṅgā's bank, and Prabhu started out on that road, absorbed.

18 Nityānanda Gosvāmī said to Ācāryaratna, "Quickly, go to Advaita Ācārya. 19 I shall bring Prabhu to his house; have him take care to moor a boat by the bank. 20 Then go to Navadvīpa; bring Śacī and all the *bhaktas*, and come." 21 Having sent [Ācāryaratna] ahead, the noble Nityānanda came before Mahāprabhu and made himself known. 22 Prabhu said, "Śrīpāda, where are you going?" And Śrīpāda replied, "I am going to Vṛndāvana with you." 23 Prabhu

was very wealthy, and was very compassionate, and spent his wealth for the good of relatives, and guests, and the deities; and this made his wife and sons very angry. They railed against him, but he did not mind. However, it happened that through a series of misfortunes he lost his wealth, and thoughts of the ascetic life began to rise in his mind. He took refuge among mendicants (*bhikṣu*), and began to wander alone from village to village. As he wandered, he reflected more and more on the meaning of pleasure and pain, misery and happiness, and he came to the conclusion that the qualities which define material nature were the cause of pleasure and pain, and that because these are categories of mind, the essential soul is untouched by any such. The *jīvātmā* is pure, and remains so, and the realization of truth is only a matter of realizing this. *Parātmā*: *para* (beyond, or other than), *ātmā*, the essential self or soul: that which is other than the material side of nature. Śrīdhara Svāmin interprets the verse: "Like the great men of old, I too shall cross over the world by fixing on the *parātmā*; but how is such fixedness born? By the service of the feet of Mukunda (Kṛṣṇa)." *Vrata* might be translated "vow" or "dedication."

22. [In *CCN* 5.21, Kavikarṇapūra defines Śrīpāda as a term of great respect, and derives it this way: Śrī is Lakṣmī, and the husband (*pati*) of Śrī is Śrīpati or Śrīpā, i.e., Kṛṣṇa; he who gives or delivers (*ādā*) Kṛṣṇa (*śrīpā*) is Śrīpāda or Nityānanda, who in this episode ensures Caitanya's safe delivery to the house of Advaita. TKS]

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asked, "How far is it to Vṛndāvana?" And he answered, "Here is the Yamunā." 24 So saying, he brought him close to the Gaṅgā; and in his absorption, Prabhu thought the Gaṅgā was the Yamunā. 25 "How fortunate I am, that I have seen the Yamunā"; and so saying, he began to praise the Yamunā:

Śloka 3. Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka* 5.13 [*śl.*10]:
O Yamunā, daughter of the sun, doer of all beneficent things in the world, destroyer of sins, whose limbs are the liquid *brahma*, eternal vessel of the *prema* of Nanda's son, himself the sun of *cit* and *ānanda*, purify our bodies.

26 So saying, and having made obeisance, he took a bath in the Gaṅgā; he had one loincloth, and no other to wear.

27 At the same time Ācārya Gosvāmī came in a boat, bringing a new loincloth and outer cloth. 28 And when the Ācārya arrived, he bowed before him; and seeing the Ācārya, Prabhu said, a doubt rising in his mind, 29 "Are you then Advaita Gosvāmī; why have you come here? I am in Vṛndāvana—how did you know that?" 30 The Ācārya said, "Where you are, there is Vṛndāvana; by my great good fortune, you have come to the Gaṅgā's banks." 31 Prabhu said, "Nityānanda has deceived me; he brought me to the Gaṅgā, calling it the Yamunā." 32 The Ācārya said, "There was no falsity in the words of Śrīpāda; just now you have bathed in the Yamunā. 33 The Gaṅgā and the Yamunā flow together in a single stream; on the west the Yamunā flows, and on the east the Gaṅgā. 34 The Yamunā flows in the western stream, and there you have bathed. Take off that wet loincloth, and put this dry one on. 35 Absorbed in *prema*, for three days you have fasted; today there is food at my house. Let us go there. 36 I have a handful of rice there, which I have cooked, and I have prepared some *śukārukhā* curry and lentils, and some vegetables." 37 So saying, he had him board the boat, and took him home. With joyful heart he washed his feet.

38 The Ācārya's wife had cooked previously; the Ācārya himself made the offering to Viṣṇu. 39 He put the food, divided equally, in three places; he put

33. The two rivers meet at Prayāga (Allahabad); true to their doctrine, the Vaiṣṇavas say that the two rivers are both two and one.

36. *Śukā*: dry; *rukṣā* >*rukhā* (*rulehā*): free of oil and *ghi*; *sūpa*: an unspecified *dāl*, a kind of pulse or lentil preparation, a sauce for the rice; *śāka*: a leafy green vegetable, favorite of Caitanya. All of this food is modest. For other lists of foods see 2.14.21-32; 2.15.205-19; 3.6.50-99; 3.10.14-38; 3.18.100-103.

38. Ācārya's wife: Sītā Ṭhākurāṇī.

39. The three places were for Kṛṣṇa, Caitanya, and Nityānanda.

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the food for Kṛṣṇa on a metal vessel. 40 On unbroken leaves of the thirty-two-cluster banana trees he spread the other two servings of food, with great respect. 41 In the center was a pile of *śāla* rice, moistened with yellow *ghi*; and around it were bowls of curry and a sauce of *mudga*; 42 and cooked *bāsttuka* vegetables of various kinds, and *paṭola*, and *kuśmāṇḍa-baḍī*, and *mānakacū*, 43 and all roots and fruits, prepared with *cai-marīca-suktā*, and five kinds of bitter and hot foods, better than nectar, 44 and fried eggplant, with tender *nimba* leaves, and fried *paṭola* and *phulabaḍī*, and pumpkin and *mānacākī*, 45 and coconuts, and curds, and sweets of sugar, and a *ghaṇṭa* of the flowers of plantain trees, and pumpkin prepared with milk, and everything was plentiful. 46 There were sweet and sour curries, and five or six kinds of sour ones, as many kinds of curries as there are on earth, 47 and fried cakes of *mudga*, and cakes of banana, and cakes of *māṣa*, and sweets, and *kṣīrapulī* and coconuts, as many as anyone wanted. 48 There were huge containers full of thirty-two-cluster bananas; the pots could not be upset, they were so large. 49 There were fifty times fifty containers, filled with curries, and they were placed all around the three plates of food. 50 On the two sides all the earthen pots were placed, filled with *cāpākalā* and curd and *sandeśa* sweets—I cannot describe it all. 51 There were nine earthen pots filled with *pāyasa* made with *ghi*, and on the three leaves thick milk was placed. 52 And there were various kinds of *ciḍā* with milk, and *lakalaki* made with milk; more kinds [of food] than I have the power to de-

40. The leaves were from a particular kind of plantain tree, called *āṭhīyā*, on which the fruit grows in bunches of thirty-two. Kṛṣṇa was to be served on a metal vessel, Caitanya and Nityānanda on banana leaves.

41. *Śāla* or *śāli* is winter rice; *mudga* is *mudadāl*, a particular kind of pulse made into a sauce.

42. *Bāsttuka* can be either a particular kind of vegetable, or, according to Rādhāgovinda Nātha, vegetables grown in the home garden (*vasatavāṭī*). *Paṭola* is a green vegetable with a texture similar to, but a stronger flavor than okra. *Kuśmāṇḍa* is *kumḍā*, a kind of pumpkin-gourd; *mānakacū* is arum. Many of the rest of these vegetables and fruits have no lexical equivalents in English.

43. *Cai* is the name of a particular kind of creeper, which bears a berry which is good to eat; *marīca* is black pepper; *suktā* is a bitter curry made with the leaves of the *nālitā* bush.

44. *Nimba*: the *nima* leaf which is medicinal and bitter, and from which Caitanya received his pet name as a child, Nimāi; see commentary to 1.13.116.

45. *Ghaṇṭa*: a method of preparation, where the ingredients are ground and then mixed into a pulp bound by their own liquid.

47. *Māṣa* is a particular kind of plantain; *kṣīrapulī* is a kind of sweet made from thickened milk.

50. *Cāpākalā*: an especially sweet kind of banana; *sandeśa*: a milk-based sweet.

51. *Pāyasa*: rice mixture boiled with milk and sugar.

52. *Ciḍā*: flattened and fried rice; *lakalaki* refers to a preparation, a kind of ball, made of long slender leaves rolled into a coil, but the substance is not clear.

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scribe. 53 On the rice and curries were put sprouts of *tulasī*, and there were three water-vessels, filled with sweet-scented water. 54 And there were three glistening seats, on which were cloths; and in this way he feasted the manifest Kṛṣṇa.

55 At the time of *ārati*, he had the two Prabhus called, and all came with the Prabhus to witness the *ārati*. 56 Having made the *ārati* they lay Kṛṣṇa down; and then the Ācārya came and requested Prabhu, 57 "Prabhu, go inside the house." The two brothers went then to eat their meal. 58 Prabhu had both Mukunda and Haridāsa called; and they began to speak, with palms pressed together. 59 Mukunda said, "I have some duties still to do. I shall take *prasāda* afterwards; you go into the house." 60 Haridāsa said, "I am a lowly sinner; afterwards I shall take a handful of food outside." 61 So with the two Prabhus the Ācārya went within the house; seeing the *prasāda* the heart of Prabhu was delighted. 62 "He who feasts Kṛṣṇa with such food, in every birth I hold his feet upon my head." 63 Prabhu thought that the three meals were offerings to Kṛṣṇa; he did not suspect what was in the mind of the Ācārya. 64 Prabhu said, "Let the three of us sit here and eat." The Ācārya said, "I shall serve you." 65 "Where shall we sit? Bring two more leaves, and on them put a tiny bit of food." 66 The Ācārya said, "Sit on the *pīḍis*, both of you." And so saying he took them both by the hands and sat them down. 67 Prabhu said, "A *saṃnyāsin* should not eat food like this; if I eat this, how can I restrain my senses?" 68 The Ācārya said, "O, leave this pretence; I know all about the artifice of your *saṃnyāsa*. 69 Eat, and stop dissembling." And Prabhu said, "I cannot eat so much food." 70 The Ācārya said, "Eat, without pretence; if you cannot eat it, leave the rest on the leaf." 71 Prabhu said, "I cannot eat so much food, and it is not the *dharma* of a *saṃnyāsin* to leave anything." 72 The Ācārya said, "At Nīlācala you eat four times a day, and at each meal you eat hundreds of times this much. 73 A pile of food for three people is for you a mouthful; in relation to that, this food is

54. Sākṣāt: manifest, i.e., appearing in the flesh or lit., "before one's eyes."

55. Ārati is the waving of lights before the image; it comes after the offering of food is made.

66. Pīḍi can be various kinds of seats, the pedestal for an image, or, probably as here, low platform-like seats that place the individual in a position of honor.

68. The "subtle" or orthodox interpretation here is that in terms of *svarūpa*, the *saṃnyāsa* of Caitanya is a mere outward show, carried on for the sake of the people of the world. Caitanya is Kṛṣṇa, *svayaṃ bhagavān*, and has no need of *saṃnyāsa*. Advaita is saying that he knows this, and that Caitanya can act according to his true nature.

72. Caitanya and Jagannātha are the same. There are four food-offerings a day to Jagannātha in Puri.

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not five mouthfuls. 74 It is my good fortune that you have come to my house; leave aside your pretence, Prabhu, and eat." 75 So saying, he poured water on the hands of the two Gosvāmīs, and smiling the two began to eat.

76 Nityānanda said, "We have been fasting for three days; today we hoped to break the fast. 77 But today too we fast, at the invitation of the Ācārya; we will not half fill ourselves, with this mouthful of food." 78 The Ācārya said, "You are a mendicant *saṃnyāsin*, sometimes eating roots and fruits, sometimes fasting. 79 That handful of food which you get at the house of a poor *brāhmaṇa*, be satisfied with that; forget your greed." 80 Nityānanda replied, "When you invite us, you should give us as much as we want." 81 Hearing the words of Nityānanda, Advaita Ṭhākura said to him fondly, 82 "You are a fallen *avadhūta*, filling your belly; you have taken *saṃnyāsa* to punish *brāhmaṇa*s. 83 You can eat a *daśabiśa* of rice; where can I, a poor *brāhmaṇa*, get so much. 84 So start eating that handful of food which you have gotten; don't act like a madman, and don't leave anything half-eaten."

85 Like this, laughing and having fun, they ate. Prabhu ate only half of each thing, and left the rest. 86 The Ācārya then filled up the container with that same curry again, and in this way again and again he distributed food. 87 And as he filled the curry-dishes he asked [that Prabhu eat more]. And Prabhu said, "How much more shall I eat?" 88 The Ācārya said, "What I have given you, leave nothing of it. Of what I am giving you now, eat half of it." 89 And with great care and humility he fed Prabhu, and Prabhu fulfilled the desire of the Ācārya. 90 Nityānanda said, "My belly is not full; take it away—I have eaten nothing of your food." 91 So saying, he took a mouthful of rice in his hand and threw it down in front of him, as if angry. 92 Two or three pieces of rice struck the body of the Ācārya; and with rice-spattered body the Ācārya danced in great pleasure. 93 "The partly eaten food of an *avadhūta* has struck my body;

82. There is some discussion of Nityānanda's *avadhūta* status in *PHM*, 47-48. Rādhāgovinda Nātha says that there are four classes of *avadhūta*s: *brahmāvadhūta*, *śaivāvadhūta*, *bhaktāvadhūta*, and *haṃśāvadhūta*. Nityānanda was a member of the fourth and highest group, the highest because they do not perform *sādhana* with women, hold no prohibitive rules in regard to caste, nor symbols of their own original castes, are at peace with the world, indifferent to sorrow and pain, etc. They also, unlike some of the others, are not wanton, but spend their time studying philosophy. Nityānanda, according to Advaita's "joking" remarks, has fallen from these high ideals and by his concern with food is showing himself far from indifferent to pleasure and pain.

83. Daśabiśa: twenty seers (a seer is about two pounds troy weight) make a *śalī*, and ten *śalī*s make a *biśa*. Therefore two hundred seers times ten is the amount of rice that Nityānanda can eat.

84. Pāgalāi: madman.

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and this trick has made me most purified. 94 I gave an invitation to you, and I have reaped the fruits of it; you have neither caste nor family, you are naturally mad. 95 To make me your equal you have thrown your left-over food on me, not caring that I am a *brāhmaṇa*." 96 Nityānanda said, "This is the *prasāda* of Kṛṣṇa; by calling it 'left-over food,' you commit a great offence. 97 If you were to feed a hundred *saṃnyāsin*s, you could not atone for this." 98 The Ācārya said, "I shall never again invite *saṃnyāsin*s; a *saṃnyāsin* has destroyed all my *dharma* based on *smṛti*." 99 So saying, he gave the two [water to] rinse their mouths, and he had them lie down on the finest beds. 100 And he gave them cloves and cardamom seeds of greatest sweetness of smell and taste, and they sweetened their mouths with *tulasī*-sprouts. 101 He anointed their bodies with sweet-smelling sandal, and he brought and put over their hearts garlands of scented flowers. 102 The Ācārya wanted to massage their feet; but, hesitant, Prabhu said— 103 "You have made me dance a great deal; now no more. Now eat with Mukunda and Haridāsa." 104 Then the Ācārya took these two with him, and they ate as much as they wanted to.

105 Hearing of the coming of Prabhu, the people of Śāntipura came to see his feet. 106 Saying "Hari, Hari!" the people rejoiced greatly, and were struck with astonishment when they saw the beauty of Prabhu. 107 The brilliance of his golden body outshone that of the sun, and on it his dawn-colored clothing glistened. 108 The people came and went in happiness, and there was no end to them; in the crowd of people the day came to its close.

109 In the evening the Ācārya began the *saṃkīrtana*. The Ācārya danced, and Prabhu watched. 110 Nityānanda Gosvāmī wandered dancing, holding the Ācārya, and behind them Haridāsa danced, in great joy.

94. It is quite possible that these words are not joking, as Rādhāgovinda Nātha's commentary would have us believe. They are certainly strong. Nityānanda of course gave up his caste and family when he became an *avadhūta*, and Advaita is seemingly scornfully saying that he has deliberately attempted to bring him, a *brāhmaṇa*, to the same degraded status. Advaita's pride in his brahmanhood seems clear in this and other passages. Nityānanda's response is equally strong. *Sahaje pāgala:* naturally mad. Another interpretation might be "mad in the *sahaja*," the *sahaja* being the state of equilibrium and indifference to the world that is the goal of the Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyās.

95. Jhuṭā: left-over food.

98. I.e., the books of *dharma* prohibit a *brāhmaṇa* from touching left-over food, which is defiling.

110. Rādhāgovinda Nātha, basing himself on a later passage, says that Advaita had been overcome with *prema* and had fallen to the ground; Nityānanda, concerned, lifted him up.

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111 What shall I say, O *sakhi*, there is no end to my joy today;
after a long time, Mādhava is in my house.

112 Singing this verse, they danced in joy; they roared and shouted, and wept, and florets of gooseflesh appeared, and they trembled and sweated. 113 Whirling around, sometimes he held the feet of Prabhu; and holding his feet, he spoke to him, 114 "For many days you have evaded me, wandering around; I have found you in my house, and now I shall imprison you here." 115 So saying the Ācārya danced in joy, and for a *prahara* of the night the Ācārya made *saṃkīrtana*. 116 Restless with *prema*, Prabhu did not have the companionship of Kṛṣṇa; his *viraha* grew in a wave of the flames of *prema*. 117 In anguish, Prabhu fell to the ground; seeing the Gosvāmī, the Ācārya held up the dance. 118 Mukunda knew well the heart of Prabhu, and he began to sing a verse of appropriate *bhāva*. 119 The Ācārya raised up Prabhu, to make him dance; and hearing the verse, Prabhu could not control his limbs. 120 Tears, trembling, thrill of gooseflesh, sweat, a choking voice, one moment rising up, the next falling, now wailing aloud.

121 Alas, O *sakhi* most beloved of my heart,
what has happened to me?
In the poison of the *prema* of Kānu
my heart and body burn.

122 Day and night my heart is burning,
and I find no rest;
when I go to find Kānu,
he rises up and flies away.

123 Mukunda sang this lyric in a sweet voice, and when he heard it the heart of Prabhu was torn within. 124 Remorse, dejection and joy, restlessness and pride, humility—this army of *bhāvas* warred within Prabhu. 125 Prabhu was staggering under the blows of these *bhāvas*, and he fell to the earth, no breath in his body. 126 All the *bhaktas* saw this and were dumbfounded, and suddenly Prabhu

112. [I.e., the appearance of the *sāttvika bhāvas* latent in the *anubhāvas*. See text and commentary to 1.7.86-93; 1.17.5; 2.8.135; 2.18.151-74; and 2.23.31. TKS]

115. Prahara: three hours.

120. See v. 112 and commentary above.

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rose up roaring. 127 Crying "*Bol, bol*!" he danced, absorbed in joy; and the power of that wave of *bhāva* could not be understood. 128 Nityānanda held Prabhu and danced with him, and the Ācārya and Haridāsa came dancing after. 129 In this way Prabhu, in great passion, danced for a full watch, sometimes in joy, sometimes in dejection, in the wave of *bhāva*. 130 Having just eaten after three days' fast, Prabhu became weak from his wild dancing. 131 But being absorbed in *prema*, he knew no fatigue; Nityānanda continued to hold Mahāprabhu. 132 Then Ācārya Gosvāmī stopped the *kīrtana*, and with great care and anxiety made Prabhu lie down. 133 In this way for ten days they enjoyed *kīrtana*, and in like manner served Prabhu.

134 In the morning Ācāryaratna put Śacīmātā in a litter and brought her with the *bhaktas*. 135 The people of Nadīyā city—women and boys and old men—all the people came, and the crowd increased. 136 Having finished their morning ablutions, they made *nāma-saṃkīrtana*, and came to the house of Advaita, bringing Śacīmātā. 137 Prabhu fell before Śacī, bowing low to the earth, and Śacī raised him up and took him in her arms, and began to weep. 138 The two were overwhelmed at the sight of one another; Śacī became unnerved when she saw no hair upon his head. 139 Caressing his body, kissing his face, she gazed at him; she could not see—tears filled her eyes. 140 Weeping Śacī said, "O my son, Nimāi, do not do this heartless thing, like Viśvarūpa. 141 He became a *saṃnyāsin* and never showed himself again; if you do such a thing I shall die." 142 The weeping Prabhu said, "Hear, my mother; this body is yours, nothing of it is mine. 143 It was born from you, and you reared it; I could not repay this debt in a crore of births. 144 I have taken *saṃnyāsa*, wisely or not, but I shall never become indifferent toward you. 145 I shall stay where you tell me to; give me your command, and I shall follow it." 146 So saying, he made obeisance again and again. 147 Then the Ācārya took his mother into the inner chambers, and Prabhu quickly went to meet the *bhaktas*.

127. [*Bol*: imv. to speak; it has been transliterated here as "*bol*," rather than the orthographically correct "*bola*," because it has become such a set phrase signifying the command to chant the name of Kṛṣṇa, Hari *bol*! TKS]

128-33. [Nityānanda's function here of holding up or supporting Mahāprabhu subtly suggests his cosmological role as Ananta Śeṣa who provides Kṛṣṇa with the support and *dhāma* necessary to function in the cosmos. As a single isolated incident, this would undoubtedly be overinterpreting, but the text cites numerous such incidents—as does Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *CBh*—which one suspects are not accidental. TKS]

134. Śacīmātā: Śacī-mother, mother of Caitanya.

138. A shaven head is one of the signs of the *saṃnyāsin*.

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148 Prabhu met all the *bhaktas*, one by one; he saw the faces of all of them, and embraced each deeply. 149 The *bhaktas* were dismayed, seeing no hair upon his head, but still their hearts were gladdened at his beauty. 150 Śrīvāsa, Rāmāi, Vidyānidhi, Gadādhara, Gaṅgādāsa, Vakreśvara, Murāri, Śuklāmbara, 151 Buddhimanta Khān, Nandana, Śrīdhara, Vijaya, Vāsudeva, Dāmodara, Mukunda, and Sañjaya— 152 I should have to take the names of all the dwellers at Navadvīpa; smiling and with a gracious look, Prabhu met them all. 153 And they all danced in joy, saying "Hari, Hari!" and the house of Advaita became Śrī Vaikuṇṭhapurī. 154 So many people came to see Prabhu, from many villages, and from Navadvīpa. 155 Places to stay were given to all, and food to eat and water—for many days Ācārya Gosvāmī provided all this without ceasing. 156 The stores of Ācārya Gosvāmī were undiminished and unchanged, for as many goods as he expended, so many he gained. 157 From that day Śacī cooked, and Prabhu ate with his *bhaktas*.

158 During the day the Ācārya was overcome with love for Prabhu, and during the night the people watched the dancing and the *kīrtana*. 159 While at *kīrtana*, all the *bhāvas* rose up in Prabhu; stupified, trembling, with gooseflesh and tears, with choking voice, or raving, 160 from time to time he stumbled and fell to the ground; and when she saw this, Śacīmātā wailed and spoke. 161 "The body of Nimāi has become dust, so I think," so she cried, and went to Viṣṇu to ask a boon, 162 "From childhood I have served you, now give me this reward, O Nārāyaṇa; 163 When Nimāi falls upon the ground, may his body feel no pain." 164 Thus was Śacīdevī sunk in *vātsalya*, and confused with *bhāvas* of joy and fear and humility. 165 Śrīvāsa and the rest of the *brāhmaṇa bhaktas* of Prabhu all thought to feed him. 166 Hearing of it, Śacī entreated them all, "How much longer shall I see Nimāi? 167 He will meet with all of you again, from time to time; I, unfortunate woman, have only this one sight of him. 168 As long as Nimāi stays in the house of the Ācārya, let me feed him. I beg you all this favor." 169 Hearing this, the *bhaktas* made obeisance to her and said, "That which is the wish of the mother is agreed to by all." 170 Seeing the anxiety of his mother, Prabhu's heart also was anxious. Having gathered all the *bhaktas* together, he spoke these words to them, 171 "Without taking your leave, I was going to Vṛndāvana; I could not go, for impediments presented themselves. 172 Even though I took *saṃnyāsa* suddenly, I cannot be indifferent to all of you.

153. I.e., heaven.

159-60. See commentary on v. 112 above.

164. Vātsalya: the *bhāva* or emotional condition of parental love.

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173 I shall not abandon all of you, as long as I live, nor can I abandon my mother. 174 Yet it is not the *dharma* of a *saṃnyāsin*, after taking *saṃnyāsa*, to remain with his relatives in the place of his birth. 175 That no one reproach or blame me, tell me the means by which I can follow both *dharmas*."

176 Hearing these gentle words of Prabhu, the Ācārya and the rest went to the side of Śacī. 177 They told her of the Prabhu's request, and hearing it Śacī, the mother of the world, began to speak, 178 "If he stays here, then I will be happy; but if the people reproach him, then I shall be sad. 179 It seems to me that a good way would be for him to live at Nīlācala, thus both duties will be fulfilled. 180 There will be two residences, at Nīlācala and at Navadvīpa, and from the people coming and going I shall get news constantly. 181 You all can come and go, and sometimes he will come to bathe in the Gaṅgā. 182 I do not count my own pleasure or pain; what is happiness to him I consider my own happiness." 183 Hearing this, the *bhaktas* praised her, "Your words, O mother, are like the injunctions of the Vedas." 184 The *bhaktas* came before Prabhu and told him, and hearing it, the heart of Prabhu was overjoyed.

185 He summoned all the *bhaktas*, as many as lived in Navadvīpa, and said, 186 "All of you are my dearest friends; I beg this of you, grant it to me. 187 Go to your homes, and always make *saṃkīrtana*; do the worship of Kṛṣṇa, tell the stories of Kṛṣṇa, take the name of Kṛṣṇa. 188 Let me take leave to go to Nīlācala; sometimes I shall come and see you." 189 So he said to them all, and smiled a little, and bade them all farewell. 190 Having bidden them all farewell, Prabhu thought to go; but Haridāsa came and said these pitiful words, 191 "You will go to Nīlācala. What am I to do? I cannot go to Nīlācala. 192 I am wretched, and I shall never gain the sight of you; how shall I hold on to this miserable life?" 193 Prabhu said, "Control your humility; my heart is distressed by your misery. 194 I shall pray for you to Jagannātha, and I shall take you to Śrī Puruṣottama."

195 Then the Ācārya said to him, pleading, "Be kind to us, and stay two or three more days." 196 Prabhu did not scorn the speech of the Ācārya, and he stayed at the house of Advaita, and did not go. 197 The Ācārya, Śacī, the *bhaktas*, and all were overjoyed, and every day the Ācārya had a great festival. 198 In the day there was the *rasa* of the story of Kṛṣṇa, with the *bhaktas*; and in the night great festivals, with delight in *saṃkīrtana*. 199 And Śacī cooked for him in delight, and Prabhu ate happily with the *bhaktas*. 200 The faith, the *bhakti*,

191. This is apparently because of Haridāsa's status as a former Muslim.
194. Śrī Puruṣottama: another name for Jagannātha Puri.

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the house, the wealth and fortune of the Ācārya—all were fulfilled by the worship of Prabhu. 201 Seeing the face of her son, the joy of Śacī grew; she fed him, and her own happiness was full. 202 In the day the *bhaktas* met in the house of Advaita, and in delight they spent many days.

203 On another day Prabhu said to the *bhaktas*, "All go to your own homes. 204 And going there you all make Kṛṣṇa-*saṃkīrtana*; you will meet me again. 205 Sometimes you will come to Nīlādri, and sometimes I shall come to bathe in the Gaṅgā." 206 Nityānanda Gosvāmī and Paṇḍita Jagadānanda, and Dāmodara Paṇḍita, and Mukunda Datta— 207 these four the Ācārya sent with Prabhu; and consoling his mother he bowed to her feet. 208 Then having circumambulated her, he left, and in the house of the Ācārya a wailing arose. 209 Prabhu did not regard it, and went quickly, and weeping the Ācārya followed behind him. 210 Having gone for some distance, Prabhu pressed his palms together, and consoling the Ācārya he spoke a few sweet words, 211 "Solace and console my mother and the devotees; do not be overcome; if you are, how can they bear to live?" 212 So saying, Prabhu embraced him; then, breaking away, he continued his journey, according to his desire. 213 Along the bank of the Gaṅgā, Prabhu with his four companions went to Nīlādri by way of Chatrabhoga. 214 In the *Caitanya Maṅgala* is the journey to

205. Nīlādri: Nīlācala.

213. Chatrabhoga is a place near the mouth of the river; the confluence of waters is always a holy place. It is about five miles south of Jayanagara-Majilpura, in modern Twenty-four Parganas district.

214. *CBh* 3.1-3.2.33 tells the story of what happened between the time of Caitanya's initiation in Kaṭoyā and his journey to the south, and that part of Vṛndāvana Dāsa's story which deals with the material covered in this chapter has some interesting differences. For example, Vṛndāvana Dāsa says that Caitanya went away from his companions for four days, and at the end of that time, when he met them, he declared his intention of going to Puri; this was before the time when Kṛṣṇadāsa tells us he returned to Śāntipura and was there persuaded by his mother to go to that place. Vṛndāvana Dāsa also makes Caitanya out to be quite aware of time and place: he asks the way to the Gaṅgā and goes to that river; there is no mention of his mistaking it for the Yamunā, which Kṛṣṇadāsa (following, by the way, both Kavikarṇapūra and Murāri Gupta) has him do. Vṛndāvana Dāsa has Caitanya spending time at places like Phuliyā during his wanderings through the western part of Bengal, of which Kṛṣṇadāsa makes no mention; Vṛndāvana Dāsa also lists his companions differently, including Keśava Bhāratī among them. Vṛndāvana Dāsa also has Caitanya sending Candraśekhara back first to inform the Navadvīpa devotees that he has taken *saṃnyāsa* (3.1.30) and later after additional wanderings through the Rāḍha country he sends Nityānanda to Navadvīpa to console the devotees (3.1.124), which differs from Kṛṣṇadāsa's account.

[Kavikarṇapūra's *KCCM* 11 condenses into a single chapter Caitanya's decision, renunciation, wandering, sojourn at Advaita's house, decision to reside in and subsequent trip to Puri. Murāri Gupta, in his *KCC*, devotes eight chapters to these episodes: Caitanya's *saṃnyāsa* (3.2), wanderings

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Nīlādri, and Vṛndāvana Dāsa has described and detailed it there. 215 Those who hear the activities of Prabhu in the house of Advaita quickly gain the wealth of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*.

216 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

around Rāḍha (3.3); arrival at Advaita's house (3.4); and his trip to Puri (3.5-10). There are no significant variations in any of these texts, although some do contain stories not found elsewhere. TKS]

But whichever of these texts is to be believed as to details of these incidents, Kṛṣṇadāsa here himself acknowledges Vṛndāvana Dāsa's description of the trip to Puri; *CBh* 3.2. It was briefly as follows: from Śāntipura, Caitanya went to the village of Āṭīsārā, from there along the banks of the Gaṅgā to Chatrabhoga, and from there, by virtue of the help of the powerful lord of the area, Rāmacandra Khān, by boat to Orissa. Landing, the small party progressed along the bank of the Suvarṇarekhā river, and it was at that place that Nityānanda broke the staff, the symbol of asceticism, of Caitanya (below, 2.5.141 ff.). In anger, Caitanya proceeded alone from there, his companions Nityānanda, Gadādhara, Mukunda, Govinda, Jagadānanda, and Brahmānanda, following to the west. Caitanya reached the village of Jaleśvara, and was carrying on *kīrtana* in the courtyard of the Śiva-temple of that place when Nityānanda appeared. Caitanya's anger had cooled, and again they travelled together, through the villages of Bāṃśadā, Remuṇā, Yājapura, Kaṭaka, Bhubaneśvara, Kamalapura, finally to Āṭhāranālā, near Puri. At that place, his companions acceded to Caitanya's wish to see Jagannātha alone, and they sent him on ahead. When he saw the image, he lost consciousness. The guardians of the temple began to beat him, but were stopped from doing so by Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma. Vāsudeva had the temple guards lift the unconscious Caitanya and told them to carry him to his own house; as they were doing so, Nityānanda and the other devotees appeared. They followed to the house of Sārvabhauma.

Kṛṣṇadāsa, from place to place in the *madhya līlā*, treats some of these same incidents, though not necessarily in this sequence, and his account agrees, by and large, with that of Vṛndāvana Dāsa. Some of the slight differences are: Caitanya's companions are Nityānanda, Jagadānanda, Dāmodara Paṇḍita, and Mukunda Datta; Nityānanda breaks Caitanya's staff on the bank of the Bhargi, and Caitanya loses consciousness there; and Nityānanda does not appear while the temple guards are carrying the unconscious Caitanya, but later.

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Madhya Līlā
Chapter 4

Śloka 1.

I bow to that Mādhavendra, for whom Gopīnātha stole the *kṣīra*, being called *kṣīra*-stealer, and through whose devotion Śrī Gopāla became manifest, being submissive.

1 Glory, glory to Gauracandra, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 The trip to Nīlādri and the sight of Jagannātha, and the meeting of Prabhu with Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya— 3 all these *līlās* of Prabhu Vṛndāvana Dāsa has described in the best possible way in detail. 4 By their nature the various *vihāras* of Caitanya are sweet, but in the mouth of Vṛndāvana Dāsa they are a stream of nectar. 5 Thus if I described these, it would be repetition; even if I were arrogant enough to describe them, I have not the power. 6 That *līlā* which he has described in the *Caitanya Maṇgala*, he has outlined in the form of *sūtras*. 7 Let me speak of this *līlā*, however inadequately, which he had not described in full in those *sūtras* of his. 8 Thus, at his feet I make obeisance; let there be no offence of mine at his feet.

9 In this way Mahāprabhu proceeded to Nīlācala, eager, with his four *bhaktas* in Kṛṣṇa-*kīrtana*. 10 One day he went to a village to seek alms, and by himself

Śloka 1. Kṣīra: see commentary on v. 17 below.

2. I.e., Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma. See the commentary on 2.3.214.

7. [Vṛndāvana Dāsa devotes only three couplets to this episode, *CBh* 3.2.273-75; Murāri Gupta records the visit in *KCC* 3.6.3-11; Kavikarṇapūra notes in a single stanza that Caitanya visited Remuṇa, *KCCM* 11.78, while in his drama he devotes only four short sections to it, *CCN* 6.19-21. None of these accounts describes Mādhavendra Purī's story. *TKS*]

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he begged and brought a great deal of rice. 11 On the way were many toll-collectors, who hindered him not at all; giving mercy to them all, he came to Remuṇā. 12 In Remuṇā is Gopīnātha of greatest charm, and Prabhu went there in devotion to have *darśana*. 13 While [Caitanya was] bowing to his lotus-feet, the flowers from his head fell onto the head of Prabhu. 14 Receiving the flowers, the heart of Mahāprabhu was overjoyed, and with the *bhaktas* he sang and danced a great deal. 15 Seeing the power of Prabhu, and his qualities of beauty and *prema*, then servants of Gopīnātha were all struck with astonishment. 16 In various ways in love they served Prabhu, and Prabhu spent the night there. 17 Prabhu remained there, desirous of the *kṣīra* of the *mahāprasāda*; formerly, Īśvara Purī had spoken to him of this. 18 His name was famous as the "Kṣīra-corā Gopīnātha"; Prabhu explained this to the *bhaktas*. 19 Formerly, for Mādhavendra Purī, he had stolen some *kṣīra*, and thus his name was "Kṣīra-corā Hari."

20 Once Mādhava Purī had come to Vṛndāvana, and while wandering he went to the Govarddhana mountain. 21 Absorbed in *prema*, he knew neither night nor day; now he fell, now he rose up, and knew not where he was. 22 Circumambulating the hill, he came to the Govindakuṇḍa; he bathed, and was sitting under a tree. It was evening. 23 A cowherd boy with a pot of milk came and placed it before him, and said, smiling, 24 "Purī, drink this milk. Why do you not beg and eat? Upon what do you meditate?" 25 Purī was delighted with the beauty of the boy, and at the sweetness of his words, his hunger and thirst disappeared. 26 Purī said, "Who are you? Where do you live? How did you know that I am fasting?" 27 The boy said, "I am a cowherd, and I live in the

11. The term is *dānī*; they were literally toll-collectors, and if they were not paid their toll, they would not allow the traveller to pass. Whether these were functionaries of the king or of local landlords is not clear. One such story is told in Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *CBh* 3.2.162-87. Caitanya and his companions were stopped by a *dānī*, who demanded payment. Seeing the magnificence of Caitanya, he allowed him to pass, but retained his companions until their toll could be paid. Passing on a little way, Caitanya fell to the earth weeping. The toll collector was surprised, and asked Caitanya's companions who they all were, and who Caitanya was. They replied that he was the lord of all, Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, and that they were his servants. Impressed by the *prema* of them all, the collector bowed to Caitanya and begged his forgiveness. [Murāri Gupta tells his version in *KCC* 3.7. TKS]

17. Kṣīra is a kind of inspissated or cream slowly thickened with low heat; it was famous as the *prasāda* of this particular deity Gopīnātha, for reasons Caitanya is about to explain.

18. Corā: thief.

22. Govindakuṇḍa: the name of a small body of water on Mount Govarddhana.

24. Mādhavendra Purī was the kind of ascetic known as *ayācaka*; he would not beg for his food. If anyone gave him anything voluntarily, he would accept it, but he would not ask.

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village; and in my village, no one remains hungry. 28 Some by begging have rice to eat, some drink milk; and to those who do not ask, I give food. 29 The women saw you when they came to draw water, and all the women gave me milk and sent me to you. 30 I want to milk the cows, so I will go quickly; I shall come again and take the pot." 31 So saying, the boy went away, and was not seen again. And Mādhava Purī was astonished in his mind. 32 He drank the milk, and washed the pot and put it aside; he watched the path, but the boy did not come again. 33 Purī, sat, taking the name, and did not sleep. At the end of the night he felt sleepy, and the outside world was far away. 34 He saw in a dream that the boy had come before him, and holding him by the hand had taken him into a grove. 35 Showing him the grove, he said, "I stay in this grove, and I suffer much from cold and rain and wind and fire. 36 Call the people of the village, and take me from this grove, and put me, well-placed, upon the hill. 37 Build a temple there and put me in it, wash my body with much cool water. 38 I have been watching the path for you for many days, [thinking] 'When will Mādhava come and serve me?' 39 You have served me, and I am conquered by your *prema*; I shall show myself and pervade the whole world. 40 My name is Gopāla, the upholder of Govarddhana; I have been established by Vajra, and am the lord of this place. 41 Taking me from the top of the hill, my servant hid me in the grove, and fled in fear of the *mlecchas*. 42 From that time I have remained in this forest-place; it is good that you have come to take me out so carefully." 43 So saying, the boy disappeared. And awakening, Mādhava Purī reflected on it, 44 "I have seen Kṛṣṇa, but did not recognize him." And so saying, he fell to the earth, overcome with *prema*. 45 Having wept for a time, he calmed himself again, and decided to honor his instruction.

46 Having performed his morning ablutions, Purī came to the center of the town, and having gathered all the people together, he began to say to them, 47 "The Īśvara of your village is Govardhanadhārī; he is within the grove. Come, let us bring him out. 48 The grove is very dense and thick; we cannot penetrate it. Bring axes and spades and make an opening." 49 Hearing this, the people went with him happily; cutting into the grove, they made a path and entered.

39. Vaśa: conquered, controlled; see also 1.4.216; 1.7.138; 1.17.71, *śl.*5; 2.23.26.

40. BhP 10.90.37 and 11.31.25. Pradyumna was the son of Kṛṣṇa, Aniruddha was the son of Pradyumna, and Vajra was the son of Aniruddha. When the Yadu lineage was destroyed, Vajra, with a few women, children, and old men survived; Arjuna consecrated Vajra as king.

47. I.e., the holder of Govarddhana; the reference is to Kṛṣṇa's holding the mountain on his finger over the village, to protect it and its people from the angry Indra's storm.

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50 They saw the *ṭhākura* covered with grass and earth, and seeing it all the people were struck with astonishment. 51 Having uncovered him, they informed [Purī] of it. But the image was very heavy, and no one could move it. 52 The most powerful men gathered there, and with Purī they took the image up upon the hill. 53 They placed the image on a throne of stone, and they put a big stone behind the image to support it. 54 The *brāhmaṇa*s of the village all brought new water-pots; having strained it, they brought water from the Govindakuṇḍa. 55 They presented a hundred new pots of water, and many instruments and drums sounded, and the women sang. 56 Some sang, some danced, and there was a great festival; much milk and curd and *ghi* was brought from the village. 57 And articles for the food-offerings came, much *sandeśa* and the rest, and many presents, so many that I cannot describe them all. 58 *Tulasī*, flowers, and cloth, many such things came; and Mādhavendra Purī himself performed the ceremony of the installation of the image. 59 Bathing [the image], all impurities were washed away; and he put much oil on the sacred body, until it glistened. 60 And he bathed him with the five articles from the cow, and the five sweets; and then he gave him a great bath with the hundred pots of water. 61 And again he put on oil, and the body glistened; and he finished the bathing with scented water from a conch-shell.

62 Having washed the holy body he dressed it with clothing; sandal, *tulasī*, and a garland of flowers he put upon the body. 63 Then he began the offerings of food, with incense and lamp, and he brought milk and curd and *sandeśa* sweets of various kinds. 64 He presented sweet-scented water in new jars, and rinsing his mouth, again he presented *tāmbūla*. 65 Having offered *ārati*, he said prayers and praises, and bowing before it, he made the dedication of himself. 66 As much husked rice, lentil, and wheat flour as there was in the village the people brought, and the hill was covered. 67 The earthen pots which were in the house of the potter, all were brought in the morning, and the cooking started. 68 Ten *brāhmaṇa*s cooked the food, and they made a big mound of it;

50. Ṭhākura: lord, here the image of Govarddhanadhārī.

57. Śandeśa: a sweet made from milk, especially popular in Bengal.

59. The image itself is not impure, nor could it be; but it was stained and soiled from having lain so long in the forest.

60. Cowdung, cow urine, milk, curd, and *ghi*. The five sweet things are milk, curd, *ghi*, honey, and sugar.

64. Tāmbūla: a betelnut preparation, "pan" (*pāna*).

65. Ātmasarpaṇa kailā: "made the dedication of the self."

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and there were five who cooked various curries, and various sauces. 69 *Śāka* and fruits and roots from the forest made many kinds of curries; and some *brāhmaṇas* prepared *baḍās* and *baḍīs* and *kaḍis*. 70 Five or seven prepared rows and rows of *ruṭī*; and there were all kinds of other curries, drenched with *ghi*. 71 They put new cloth on the ground and on it *palāśa* leaves, and on these cooked rice was placed. 72 And beside it a mountainous row of *ruṭī*; containers of sauces and curries filled the four directions. 73 Beside these were curd and milk, buttermilk, and other kinds of milk preparations, and beside these were *pāyasa*, butter, and cream. 74 In this way mountains of food were prepared, and Purī Gosvāmī presented them to Gopāla. 75 Having filled many pots they offered sweet-smelling water, and with a hunger of many days, Gopāla ate it all. 76 Even though Gopāla ate all the rice and curry, at the touch of his hand it was at once restored. 77 Mādhava Gosvāmī perceived this; from him Gopāla hid nothing.

78 Thus in their great zeal a great feast was prepared in a single day; it was through the power of Gopāla, though others did not know. 79 They gave him water to rinse his mouth, and betel-rolls, and the people made *ārati*, shouting "*Jaya jaya*!" 80 Then they laid him down, having brought a new bed, and on top of it they brought and spread a new cloth. 81 They screened it off in four directions with a hedge of grass, and covered it on top with a screen. 82 Purī Gosvāmī gave an instruction to all the *brāhmaṇas*, "Feed the women and children and old people of the village." 83 They all sat down and ate in order, feeding the *brāhmaṇas* and their wives first. 84 Many people came from other villages, to see; and seeing Gopāla they all [also] partook of the *prasāda*. 85 Seeing

69. Śāka: a leafy green vegetable, similar to spinach; *baḍā*: a cake fried in oil; *baḍī*: a preparation of split peas; *kaḍi*: a milk preparation peculiar to the people who live in Vraja.

70. Ruṭī is a kind of bread.

71. Palāśa: *Butea Frondosa*, a tree with stiff spikey leaves and brilliant red odorless flowers.

73. Pāyasa: sweet rice porridge boiled in milk with sugar, spices, and occasionally nuts and raisins, similar to British frumenty, also *pāyasānna*.

79. [*Jaya jaya*: lit., "victory, victory." The exclamation carries a strong sense of praise and celebration, often used in public gatherings to express auspiciousness, approval, jubilation, and communal solidarity. TKS]

85. Annakūṭa is literally "mountain of rice," and there is a double meaning here. There was a mountain of rice; and at the time of the previous manifestation of Kṛṣṇa, there was a mountain of rice on the occasion of the Govarddhana-*pūjā*. The *annakūṭa* festival comes on the first day of the waxing of the moon after the new moon day following the autumn *pūjās*; on that day, in former times, says Rādhāgovinda Nātha, those who lived in Vraja had Indra-*pūjā*; but when Kṛṣṇa came, he put a stop to that, and from that time Govarddhana-*pūjā* became current. One of the characteristics of the *pūjā* is the offering of a mountain of rice (*annakūṭa*).

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the power of Purī the people were astonished, for it was like a manifest mountain of rice of former days. 86 Purī made all the *brāhmaṇas* Vaiṣṇavas, and appointed them all for the service [of Gopāla]. 87 At the end of the day, he raised up the lord again, and fed him food and water.

88 'Gopāla has appeared'—the word was in the country, and people from the villages around came to see. 89 Each day in each village they begged and took mountains of food, and were delighted. 90 In the night, after putting the deity to rest, Purī Gosvāmī took some of the food-offering. 91 In the morning-time again he began the service, and people came bringing food from the village. 92 Rice, *ghi*, milk, curd—as much as there was in the village the people brought and placed before Gopāla. 93 The *brāhmaṇas* cooked as on the previous day, and so Gopāla ate mountains of food. 94 The people living in Vraja love Kṛṣṇa naturally, so it was natural for Gopāla to have love for them. 95 All the people came and ate *mahāprasāda*, and seeing Gopāla the grief and sorrow of all were dispelled. 96 All the villages that were around the land of Vraja, each on a single day came for a great festival. 97 Hearing of the appearance of Gopāla, people began to come from other regions, bringing various things. 98 The people of Mathurā who were very very wealthy, in great *bhakti* brought many things as presents. 99 Presents of gold and silver and cloth and scent were uncountable, and the store grew constantly. 100 A very wealthy *kṣatriya* had a temple built; and one man had a kitchen and storehouse [built], and another an enclosure. 101 Everyone living in Vraja gave a cow, so Gopāla received thousands and thousands of cows. 102 From Gauḍa came two ascetic *brāhmaṇas*; Purī Gosvāmī kept them with great care. 103 He made these two his pupils and dedicated them to the service; it was a service as of a king, and the joy of Purī grew.

97. The term *deśa* is difficult to translate, for it has relative value: a Bengali living outside Bengal might call Bengal his *deśa*; a man from an outlying district living in Calcutta might call the district, or even his village, as *deśa*. Here it probably means other regions or sections of the district.

100. A kitchen was and is standard at temples, for the feeding of mendicants and others. The enclosure was probably a wall surrounding the various buildings, forming a courtyard.

103. "He made these two his pupils": he gave them the *dīkṣā-mantra* of Kṛṣṇa. A little more is known from Narahari Cakravartī's *BhR* 5.804-834: "After the death of those two *brāhmaṇas*, for some time certain fortunate people served; then, on the advice of Śrīdāsa Gosvāmī and others, Śrī Viṭṭhaleśvara was made the chief attendant. His father was Śrī Vallabha Bhaṭṭa, and after his death [Viṭṭhaleśvara] remained for some time by himself in Mathurā; he was deeply affected by the *līlā* of Caitanya, and now was dedicated to the service of Gopāla." We shall see that Vallabha Bhaṭṭa was much loved by Caitanya, who stayed at his house in Prayāga. And we shall see that Vallabha travelled to Puri to show to Caitanya a commentary which he had written on the *BhP*. There he was initiated with the *mantra* of Kiśoragopāla; he had been a devotee of Bālagopāla. He went from there

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104 Like this he served for two years, and then one day Purī Gosvāmī saw a dream. 105 Gopāla said, "Purī, my fever does not leave me; anoint me with the sandal that grows in the Malaya mountains, then I shall be soothed. 106 Bring me the Malaya-grown [sandal] from Nīlācala and from nowhere else; go quickly." 107 Seeing this dream, Purī Gosvāmī was overcome with *prema*; at the order of Prabhu, he went at once to the east. 108 He established people with strong attachment to service, and having taken leave, he went to the Gauḍa country. 109 He came to Śāntipura, to the house of Advaitācārya; seeing the *prema* of Purī, the Ācārya's heart was glad. 110 From him he carefully took a *mantra*. Having given *dīkṣā* to him, Purī went to the south.

111 At Remuṇā he had *darśana* of Gopīnātha; seeing his beauty, his heart was overcome. 112 Having sung and danced, he sat on the *jagamohana*, and asked the *brāhmaṇas*, "What kind of food offerings are made?" 113 Seeing the beauty of the service his heart was very glad; the food-offering was of the best kind—this he deduced and understood. 114 "I shall ask everyone how this food-offering is made, and I shall have such prepared for Gopāla." 115 He asked the *brāhmaṇas* about the matter, and the *brāhmaṇas* described to him how to prepare the food. 116 "For the food-offering in the evening there is *kṣīra*, and it is called *amṛtakeli*, for it is like nectar; we fill twelve earthen vessels with it. 117 Its name is famous as the *kṣīra* of Gopīnātha, and there is no other offering like it in all the earth." 118 At that time the food-offering was prepared for the *ṭhākura*, and hearing this Purī Gosvāmī considered it in his mind, 119 "If I can manage to get a little of this *kṣīra-prasāda* without begging, I can know its taste;

to live in Mathurā. It would seem in any case from the *BhR*'s vagueness and uncertainty on the matter, that after the death of the two Bengali *brāhmaṇas*, there was some confusion as to the appointment of successors: "for some time certain fortunate people served . . ." When he was appointed, it is known from Raghunātha Dāsa's *Gopālarāja-stotra*, that Viṭṭhaleśvara served Gopāladeva well and with deep faith and love. But it was with the appointment of Viṭṭhaleśvara that the connection of the Gauḍīya *sampradāya* with the service of Gopāla became tenuous, for Viṭṭhaleśvara was not a Bengali, as is obvious from his name, even though he was deeply influenced by Caitanya. His father's other name was in fact Vallabha Ācārya, and a separate *sampradāya* was formed by his pupils and their pupils, which found itself in time in opposition to the Gauḍīya *sampradāya*; see Introduction, Sect. II, esp. fn. 44.

110. Because he was very impressed with Mādhavendra, it was proper for Advaita to take a *mantra* from him.

112. The *jagamohana* is a place in front of the temple. "Food-offering" here and throughout is *bhoga*.

118. *Ṭhākura*: lord, a common epithet for the image.

119. See ante, note on v. 24.

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then I shall offer the *kṣīra* to Gopāla." 120 At this thought he was ashamed, and he meditated on Viṣṇu; just then the food-offering was removed and the *ārati* was sounded. 121 Seeing the *ārati*, Purī made obeisance, and he came outside, saying nothing more to anyone. 122 It was not Purī's inclination to ask things of people; he was indifferent and detached. When he got food without asking, he ate. When he did not, he went hungry. 123 He was satisfied with the nectar of *prema*, and he had neither hunger nor thirst. But he had a craving for the *kṣīra*, and he considered that an offence. 124 Sitting in the empty market of the village, he made *kīrtana*. The *pūjārī* put the *ṭhākura* to rest.

125 Having performed his duties, the *pūjārī* himself went to rest; and in his sleep the *ṭhākura* came and said some words to him, 126 "Rise up, *pūjārī*, and open the door; I have left a piece of *kṣīra* there for a *saṃnyāsin*. 127 Under a corner of my loincloth the piece of *kṣīra* is hidden; you all did not know it because of my *māyā*. 128 Mādhava Purī is the *saṃnyāsin*, sitting in the market place; quickly take this piece of *kṣīra* and give it to him." 129 Seeing this dream, the *pūjārī* awoke and reflected on it. Having bathed, he opened the door, and the gate. 130 Under the corner of the loincloth he found the *kṣīra*; and he cleansed the place and took the *kṣīra* and went outside. 131 Closing the door, he went into the village, taking the *kṣīra*; he went from marketplace to marketplace, looking for Mādhava Purī. 132 "Whoever is named Mādhava Purī, take this *kṣīra*; for you Gopīnātha has stolen the *kṣīra*. 133 Take this *kṣīra* and eat it in happiness, for there is none in the three worlds as blessed as are you." 134 When he heard this, Purī Gosvāmī made himself known; giving him the *kṣīra* the *pūjārī* bowed to him. 135 The *pūjārī* then told him the story of the *kṣīra*, and when he heard it Śrī Mādhava Purī was overcome with *prema*. 136 Seeing his *prema* the *sevaka* said, astonished, "Kṛṣṇa is under the control of this man—and that is as it should be." 137 So saying, he made obeisance and left; and with great joy Purī ate the *kṣīra*. 138 He washed the vessel, then broke it into pieces, and he tied and kept the pieces in his outer cloth. 139 Each day he ate a piece of it; and when he ate it he was overcome with *prema*—a strange and wonder-

120. The *ārati*, the offering of lights, is accompanied by the sound of gongs, conch-shells, and so on.

124. The *pūjārī* is the priest of the temple who conducts the *pūjā*-service.

135. *Āviṣṭa*: overcome, possessed, under the influence; also *āveśa* in following passages.

136. *Vaśa*: see commentary to v. 39 above.

139. This may seem a trifle strange, but the Bengali is clear: *pratidina ekkhāni karen bhakṣaṇa / khāile premāveśe haya adbhuta kathana //*. It might be possible to interpret *khāile* as "sucking" or something of the sort, but *bhakṣaṇa* is clearly "eating."

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ful thing. 140 "The *ṭhākura* gave *kṣīra* to me—the moment they hear of it, people from all over will come in great throngs when they have learned where I am." 141 Fearing this, as soon as the night was ended, Śrī Purī bowed to Gopīnātha in his abode, then slipped away.

142 Travelling and travelling, Purī came to Śrī Nīlācala, and when he saw Jagannātha he was overcome with *prema*. 143 Under the influence of *prema* he fell and got up, he laughed and danced and sang, and at the sight of Jagannātha gained great joy. 144 "Śrīpāda Mādhava Purī has come," the people spread the word abroad, and all the people came in great devotion to him. 145 It is well known in the world that the nature of fame is that it comes to him who does not desire it; this is the ordination of God. 146 So in fear of fame, Purī fled; but fame goes with the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa. 147 Even though he was anxious to flee, he was bound by the getting of the sandalwood for the *ṭhākura*. 148 To all the servants of Jagannātha and to all the *mahāntas*, Purī told the story of Gopāla. 149 "Gopāla asks for sandalwood"—hearing this the *bhaktas* in delight began to search for it. 150 Whoever was acquainted with a minister of the court collected sandalwood and camphor, begging it from him. 151 To carry the sandalwood, they gave to Purī Gosvāmī one *brāhmaṇa* and one *sevaka*, together with travelling expenses. 152 To avoid the payment of tolls to the king's officers at the ghats, they gave Purī Gosvāmī a royal letter, written by the king.

153 So Mādhava Purī went, taking the sandalwood, and after some days he reached Remuṇā. 154 He made repeated obeisances to the feet of Gopīnātha, and under the control of *prema*, he made *kīrtana* incessantly. 155 When he saw Purī, the *sevakas* paid him all respects, and they fed him with *prasāda* of *kṣīra*. 156 That night he slept in the place of the god, and at the end of the night Purī saw a dream. 157 Gopāla came and said to him, "Hear, O Mādhava, I have received all the camphor and sandalwood. 158 Rub all this sandalwood with the camphor every day on the body of Gopīnātha. 159 Gopīnātha has the same body as I, and if you anoint his body with sandal, mine will be soothed. 160 Have no doubt or hesitation, nor think on it; believe, and give the sandal according to my words." 161 So saying,

148. Mahānta: the term is often used to refer to *saṃnyāsins*, but perhaps here means, more generally, *bhaktas* or honorable men.

150. Evidently at the time, either sandalwood was the property of the king, and except for servants of the court or people with their permission, no one could gather it, or it was so expensive that no one else could afford it.

151. Rādhāgovinda Nātha interprets *sevaka* here not as a functionary of a temple, but as a servant to carry the sandalwood; the term in vv. 155 and 161-66 clearly means those who served the image of Gopīnātha.

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Gopāla left, and the Gosvāmī awoke; he summoned the *sevakas* of Gopīnātha. 162 "The instruction of Prabhu was—'With this camphor and sandalwood every day anoint the body of Gopīnātha.' 163 When you give sandal to him, Gopāla will be cooled. Īśvara is self-dependent, and his command is powerful. 164 In the hot season Gopīnātha will wear sandalwood." Hearing this, the hearts of the *sevakas* were joyful. 165 Purī said, "These two will prepare the sandal, and two others will have the reward of putting it on his body." 166 In this way every day they prepared the sandal, and the *sevakas* applied it in great joy. 167 Each day they put on the sandal, until there was an end of it; and Purī remained there until that time. 168 At the end of the hot season, again he went to Nīlācala, and he stayed at Nīlācala for four months, in great joy.

169 Thus [Caitanya's] holy mouth told the nectar of the actions of Mādhava Purī to the *bhaktas*, and having told them, Prabhu was overjoyed. 170 Prabhu said, "Nityānanda, reflect on this; there is none as blessed in the world as Purī. 171 Under the pretext of giving him milk, Kṛṣṇa appeared to him, and he came three times in a dream and gave him instructions. 172 It was because of the power of his *prema* that he appeared, and accepting service he saved the world. 173 It was for him that Gopīnātha stole the *kṣīra*, and caused the sandal and camphor to be put on the body. 174 It was difficult to bring camphor and sandal through the country of the *mlecchas*. 'Purī will have trouble'—Gopāla knew this. 175 But Prabhu is full of mercy and loving consideration toward his *bhaktas*; so he put on the sandal, and fulfilled the labor of his *bhakta*. 176 Consider the glory of the *prema* of Purī; this unworldly *prema* strikes the mind with wonder. 177 He was of the utmost indifference to the world, silent, and everywhere free from self-interest; in fear of vulgar talk, he was without any companion. 178 This man received the nectar of the order of Gopāla, and walked a

163. Svatantra: self-dependent.

165. Rādhāgovinda Nātha says "the *brāhmaṇa* and the *sevaka* who had come with him from Puri."

173-174. The GM edition expands 173 into two couplets: "It was for him that Gopīnātha stole the *kṣīra*, thus getting the name Kṣīracorā. And he caused the sandal and camphor to be put on the body. And in joy the *prema* of Purī Gosvāmī swelled."

174. This is the reason that Gopāla did not instruct Purī to bring the sandalwood back to Vṛndāvana: the Muslims controlled all that country, and Purī, carrying a valuable load, would have been robbed and perhaps otherwise molested.

177. Grāmyavārttā: vulgar talk, perhaps "gossip," or, as Rādhāgovinda Nātha puts it, "chatter about worldly matters"; in other words, he was not afraid so much of what the society might say about it as he was of having to listen to idle talk from any companion he might choose.

178. Krośa: about two miles.

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thousand *krośas*, for begging the sandal. 179 He remained hungry, rather than beg food to eat; that same man went bearing the load of sandal. 180 A maund of sandal, and twenty *tolās* of camphor—'I will put this on Gopāla'—this was his very great joy. 181 And when the collector of Utkala stopped him, seeing the sandal, he showed the king's pass and escaped him. 182 The road through the *mleccha*-country is long and the taxes high. [But] he did not consider—'How shall I take the sandal?' 183 And with him he had not a thing to give to the toll-collectors at the ghats; still he had great determination to take the sandal. 184 And this is the form and nature of such deep *prema*, that he did not consider his own difficulties or sorrows. 185 To show to the people this profound *prema* of his, Gopāla gave him the instruction to bring the sandalwood. 186 With much difficulty he brought the sandal to Remuṇā, and joy grew in his heart, and he did not count his sorrow. 187 It was to examine him that Gopāla gave him the order, and having examined him, at the end he was merciful. 188 This *bhakti*, and the behavior of Kṛṣṇa, and the beloved of the *bhaktas*, none of us have the power to understand."

189 Having said this, Caitanya recited a *śloka* composed by him; by the moon of the *śloka* he illumined the world. 190 As the scent of the best of Malaya-grown sandal increases as the wood is rubbed, so it is with the exposition of this *śloka*. 191 As the *kaustubha*-gem among jewels, so is this *śloka* among the poetry of *rasa*. 192 This was a *śloka* spoken by Rādhā Ṭhākurāṇī; by her grace it was expressed in the voice of Mādhavendra. 193 Gauracandra tasted it, and there was no fourth person [able] to taste it. 194 At the end of his life, he recited this *śloka* again and again, and with the *śloka* Purī attained release.

Śloka 2. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 330 [quoting Mādhavendra Purī]:

O lord, moist with pity for the wretched, lord of Mathurā, when will I see you? For want of the sight of you, my heart is restless and anxious. O merciful one, what shall I do?

180. A maund is 100 pounds Troy weight (82 pounds avoir); a *tolā* is 180 grains Troy.

182. Jagāti apāra: the taxes high. *Jagāti* is a Hindi word, meaning a duty levied on goods before those goods can be brought into a town or through a check point.

190. To make the sweet-smelling and soothing sandalwood paste, the wood is rubbed on a rough stone.

191. Kaustubha-maṇi is the name of the jewel which is suspended around the neck of Viṣṇu.

194. I.e., he died with this *śloka* on his lips. *Siddhi-prāpti*: he became "one who had gained perfection or the ultimate."

Śloka 2. See 3.8.*śl.*2.

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195 While reciting this *śloka* Prabhu became unconscious; overcome with *prema*, he fell to the earth. 196 Slowly and gently, Nityānanda took him into his arms, and then Gauracandra rose, weeping. 197 Mad with *prema*, he got up and ran this way and that, shouting, laughing, weeping, dancing, and singing. 198 "*Ayi dīna ayi dīna*" he said again and again; his voice caught in his throat, and streams of tears flowed from his eyes. 199 Trembling, sweat, tears and gooseflesh, paralysis, pallor, remorse, dejections, apathy, arrogance, happiness, humility— 200 [all] the doors of *prema* were opened by this *śloka*. And the *sevakas* of Gopīnātha watched this *prema*-dance of Prabhu. 201 Seeing the crowd of people, Prabhu became aware again. The offering to the *ṭhākura* was removed, and the *ārati* was sounded. 202 Having put the *ṭhākura* to rest, the *pūjārī* came outside, and brought and placed before Prabhu the *prasāda*, a heap of *kṣīra*. 203 Seeing the *kṣīra*, the joy of Mahāprabhu increased; he took five [pots of] *kṣīra* to feed the *bhaktas*. 204 Seven [pots of] *kṣīra* he took and returned to the priest, and the five people divided and ate the five *kṣīras*. 205 Even though he had already eaten in the form of Gopīnātha, he ate the *prasāda* to teach his *bhaktas*. 206 They passed that night in *nāma-saṃkīrtana*, and in the morning they left, having seen the auspicious *ārati*.

207 So the qualities of Gopāla and Gopīnātha and Purī Gosvāmī Prabhu tasted in his holy mouth, as did the *bhaktas*. 208 So I have ennumerated the glories of both, Prabhu's love and affection toward his *bhaktas*, and the limits of the *prema* of the *bhaktas*. 209 He who hears with faith gains the wealth of *prema* at the feet of Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

210 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

195-96. See commentary to 2.3.128-33.

198. "*Ayi dīna*" are the first two words of the *śloka*: *ayi dīnadayārdra*, "O you who are merciful toward wretched creatures."

198-99. See ante, 1.7.86-93, 1.17.5 and 2.18.151-74 and commentaries.

200. I.e., all these emotions conflicting within him.

201. *Bāhya haila*: became aware, i.e., regained normal consciousness.

204. Presumably Nityānanda, Jagadānanda, Dāmodara, Mukunda Datta, and Caitanya himself.

205. I.e., Caitanya was Gopīnātha, and in that form he had already accepted the food-offering.

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Madhya Līlā
Chapter 5

Śloka 1.

I bow to Sākṣīgopāla, he, that lord of *brāhmaṇa*s who is characterized by wonderful *līlā*, who because of the miracles wrought by the *brāhmaṇa* has come on foot to a place that takes a journey of a hundred days, being the true form of the image.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra, glory to the hosts of Gaura-*bhakta*s.

2 While on the way, they came to Yājapuragrāma, and seeing Varāha Ṭhākura they bowed in respect. 3 Dancing and singing, they offered many praises in *prema*; they remained at Yājapura that night, and went on their way. 4 Coming to Kaṭaka, they saw Sākṣīgopāla, and when they saw the beauty of Gopāla, they were overjoyed. 5 Being possessed by *prema*, they danced and sang there for awhile, and overcome they praised Gopāla. 6 They remained there that night with the *bhakta*s, and with great joy, they listened to the former stories of Gopāla. 7 When Nityānanda Gosvāmī was wandering on pilgrimage, he

Śloka 1. Pratimā: the image of the deity, the physical representation.

2. At Yājapura there is an image of Varāha, the boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu. [Murāri in *KCC* 3.6.14-16 separates these two places, i.e., the Varāha image, which was tended by the same family of *brāhmaṇa*s for seventy-seven generations! and Yājapura, which is a great Śaiva center with many *liṅga*s installed. TKS]

4. [The story of Caitanya's visit to Sākṣīgopāla is mentioned only in passing by the other biographers. Vṛndāvana Dāsa devotes only three couplets to it, *CBh* 3.2.299-301; Murāri Gupta does not mention it in *KCC*; and Kavikarṇapūra fails to mention it in his *kāvya*, *KCCM*, but does so in his drama *CCN* 5.22-24. Kṛṣṇadāsa appears to be following the sequence of the *CCN* in this section of his text. TKS]

7. Nityānanda had left his home in his boyhood, and first with a *saṃnyāsin* and then by himself had for many years wandered about India, visiting places of pilgrimage. Sākṣīgopāla, "Gopāla the Witness," was the name of the image at Kaṭaka (Cuttack).

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had come to Kaṭaka, to see Sākṣīgopāla. 8 He heard from the mouths of the people the story of Sākṣīgopāla, and he told that story before Prabhu with great delight.

9 Once there were two *brāhmaṇas* of Vidyānagara, and both of them had started on a pilgrimage. 10 They had gone to Gayā, Vārāṇasī, Prayāga, and so on, and both, in great joy, had come to Mathurā. 11 On the *Vana-yātrā* they saw the forests, and then they saw Govarddhana, and when they had seen the twelve forests they finally came to Vṛndāvana. 12 And in Vṛndāvana, at the Govinda-sthāna, there was a great temple; and at that temple great service of Gopāla took place. 13 At the Keśitīrtha and at Kāliyahradā they bathed, and after seeing Śrī Gopāla they rested there awhile. 14 The beauty of Gopāla stole both their minds, and gaining great happiness they remained there for several days. 15 Of the two *brāhmaṇas* one was rather old, and the other *brāhmaṇa* was young—he served the former. 16 The younger *brāhmaṇa* always served him, and by his service the *brāhmaṇa* was well pleased in his heart. 17 The *brāhmaṇa* said, "You have served me well; you have helped me, and helped me to visit many pilgrimage places. 18 Some do not do such service for their fathers. By your favor, I have had no difficulty. 19 It would be ingratitude if I did not do you honor, and thus I shall give you the gift of my daughter." 20 The younger *brāhmaṇa* said, "Hear me, O honored *brāhmaṇa*, why do you speak of the impossible, of that which can never be? 21 You are high in rank, learned, wealthy,

11. Vana-yātrā: "the forest pilgrimage," visiting the twelve separate forests of Vṛndāvana.

12. Mahādevālaya might also be "a temple of Śiva (Mahādeva)"; but since Kṛṣṇadāsa specifies that the worship of Gopāla took place at the temple, "a great temple of the deity" is correct. Govinda-sthāna is a place in Vṛndāvana.

13. Keśitīrtha: the Keśi-ghat on the Yamunā river. Kāliyahradā is another ghat or bathing place.

21. Mahākulīna is what is here translated "high in rank." The term of course implies a good deal more than mere social position. *Kulīn* ("possessed of family honor") *brāhmaṇas* are of five families, said to be descendants of the five *brāhmaṇas* brought by king Ādisura to Bengal from upper India, when no *brāhmaṇas* in Bengal could be found to perform Vedic sacrifice. Although there has been some mobility in the caste ranking over the centuries, in most parts of Bengal the five *kulīn* families seem to be Caṭṭopādhyāya (Chatterji), Bandyopādhyāya (Bannerji), Bhaṭṭācārya (Bhattacharji), Mukhyopādhyāya (Mukherji), and Cakravartī. In the peculiar social structure of Bengal, these five and the corresponding five in the *kāyastha* group not only by their nature are possessed of honor (*kula*), but, since the males do marry down, are much sought after by upwardly mobile families below them (see Inden, *MRBC*, 53-60). The younger *brāhmaṇa* describes himself as *akulīna*, a *brāhmaṇa* from a caste not of the ranking five. Inden feels that these were perhaps *brāhmaṇas* indigenous to Bengal, who over the centuries were forced into a position secondary to those lineages established by the *brāhmaṇas* brought in from north India.

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and eminent, while I am from a lower family, and devoid of wealth and learning. 22 I cannot be the vessel for the receipt of the gift of your daughter; I serve you from love of Kṛṣṇa. 23 Because of the service of *brāhmaṇa*s the love of Kṛṣṇa grows, and with his pleasure, devotion and prosperity increase." 24 The elder *brāhmaṇa* said, "Do not be hesitant; I shall give my daughter to you. I have decided upon it." 25 The younger *brāhmaṇa* said, "You have a wife and sons—all these; and you have many kinsmen and many friends. 26 Without the consent of all of these you cannot give your daughter. 27 Bhīṣmaka the father of Rukmiṇī is the proof of this. It was the wish of Bhīṣmaka to present his daughter to Kṛṣṇa; because of the opposition of his son, he was unable to do so." 28 The elder *brāhmaṇa* replied, "My daughter is my own wealth. Who can forbid me to give my own wealth? 29 I shall give my daughter to you, rebuking all of them. Do not doubt; give me your agreement." 30 The younger *brāhmaṇa* said, "If you have decided to give your daughter, speak that as an oath before Gopāla." 31 So the *brāhmaṇa* began to speak before Gopāla, "You know that I have given my daughter to this man." 32 The younger *brāhmaṇa* said, "Lord, you are my witness; I shall cause you to speak as witness, if I see that he does otherwise." 33 So saying, the two went to their country. And the younger *brāhmaṇa* served him, in recognition of him as *guru*.

34 When they got to their country, they each went to their own homes. And after a few days the elder *brāhmaṇa* thought in his heart, 35 "In the place of pilgrimage I gave my word to the *brāhmaṇa*; how can it be brought to pass? I shall know certainly from my friends and kinsmen and sons and wife." 36 So one day all his own people were together in one place, and before the assembly he told the whole tale. 37 And when they heard it his kinsmen all cried out in distress, "Never again bring such words to your mouth. 38 If you give your daughter to someone lower, the family honor will be destroyed. When they hear of it everyone will laugh at us." 39 The *brāhmaṇa* said, "I gave my word at a holy place. How can I go against it? What will be will be. I shall give my daughter to him." 40 The relatives all said, "We shall abandon you." And his wife and sons said, "We shall take poison and die." 41 The *brāhmaṇa* said, "He will summon a witness and cause justice to be done; he will win and take my daugh-

29. Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out that in some MSS the first part of the couplet reads: "I shall give my daughter to you, and shall preserve the caste (*jātirakṣā*) of all." The point is that *kulīn brāhmaṇa*s do not give their daughters downward; sons can marry girls of a lower stratum, but not daughters. The result is that many of the girls of *kulīn* families have a great many co-wives.

40. Morā tomāre chāḍiba: we shall excommunicate you.

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ter, and my *dharma* will become vain." 42 His son said, "The witness is an image, and that in a far country. Who will be your witness? Why do you worry? 43 You will not deny it, and thereby say a false word. You will say to everyone, 'I don't remember it at all.' 44 If you say, 'I know nothing of it,' then by argument I shall defeat the *brāhmaṇa*." 45 Hearing these things, the *brāhmaṇa* reflected on them in his mind, and began to meditate single-mindly upon the feet of Gopāla: 46 "Protect my *dharma*, and do not allow my people to die. Protect me in both these ways, O Gopāla"—thus he sought shelter.

47 The *brāhmaṇa* began to ponder the matter, turning it over in his mind; and on another day the younger *brāhmaṇa* came to his house. 48 When he came, he made obeisance in highest devotion, and he humbly said, with his palms pressed together, 49 "You have promised to give your daughter to me; now you say nothing. What is your decision?" 50 Hearing this, the *brāhmaṇa* remained silent, and his son came out with a club in his hand, to strike him. 51 "You wretch! You want to marry my sister? You are like the dwarf who wanted to catch the moon!" 52 Seeing the club, the *brāhmaṇa* fled, and on a later day he called the people of the village together. 53 The people summoned the elder *brāhmaṇa*, and then the younger *brāhmaṇa* began to speak, 54 "He made a promise to give his daughter to me, and now he does not give her. What is your advice?" 55 Then they all began to query the *brāhmaṇa*, "Why do you not give your daughter, if you have given your word?" 56 The *brāhmaṇa* said, "Listen, people, to my submission. I have no memory at all of when I said that." 57 Hearing this, his son, knowing the stratagem of the words, arrogantly stood in front of the assembly and said, 58 "My father had much wealth with him on the pilgrimage; and when he saw the wealth this villain had a mind to take it. 59 There were no other companions, just this one alone; feeding my father *dhuturā*, he made him insane. 60 He took all the wealth and said that thieves had taken it; and now he raises the story that he wanted to give his daughter to him. 61 All you people! Make your decision. Is it proper to give my father's daughter to this man?" 62 When they heard this, the people were doubtful in their minds; for it is possible that people, in lust for wealth, abandon their fear of *dharma*.

63 Then the younger *brāhmaṇa* said, "Hear, noble people. To win the argument, he speaks untrue words. 64 This *brāhmaṇa*, when he was pleased by my service to him, himself said, 'I shall give my daughter to you.' 65 Then I pro-

59. *Dhuturā* is the thorn-apple plant and its fruit, a poison or intoxicant; cf. its same use in 2.18.155.

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tested, 'Listen, best of *brāhmaṇas*, I am not a proper bridegroom for your daughter. 66 You are a *paṇḍita* and a wealthy man, and come from a family of high station, while I am poor and ignorant and humble, and without high family.' 67 But this *brāhmaṇa* said to me over and over again, 'I have given my daughter to you; accept her.' 68 Then I said, 'Hear me, O high-minded *brāhmaṇa*. Your wife and sons and kinsmen will not agree. 69 You will not be able to give your daughter, and your word will become untrue.' But again the *brāhmaṇa* said deliberately, 70 'I have given my daughter to you. Do not be of two minds about it. I shall give you my own daughter; who can forbid it?' 71 Then I said, 'If you are firm in your mind about it, then take an oath before Gopāla.' 72 Then he said this before Gopāla: 'You know that I have given my daughter to this *brāhmaṇa*.' 73 Then I made Gopāla a witness, and I said humbly at his feet, 74 'If this *brāhmaṇa* does not give me his daughter, I shall call on you as witness; be prepared.' 75 So to these words [of his] I have a witness, noble people, whose words are true and honored in the three worlds." 76 Then the elder *brāhmaṇa* said, "These are true words. If Gopāla shows himself as witness, and himself comes to this place, 77 then I shall give him my daugher; know this for certain." Then his son said, "This is a good solution." 78 The elder *brāhmaṇa* thought, "Kṛṣṇa is full of great mercy. Certainly he will bear out my contention." 79 His son thought, "An image will not come to bear witness." In such knowledge the two consented. 80 The young *brāhmaṇa* said, "Draw up an agreement, that all these words might not again go [for naught]." 81 Then all the people drew up an agreement, and with the consent of both [parties], a mediator kept it. 82 Then the younger *brāhmaṇa* said, "Listen, all of you; this *brāhmaṇa* is truthful and devoted to *dharma*. 83 It is never in his mind to abandon his own word. For fear of the demise of his own people, he speaks ambiguously. 84 For the sake of his merit, I shall summon Kṛṣṇa as a witness; in this way I shall protect the promise of this *brāhmaṇa*." 85 Having heard this, all the people smiled. Some said, "Īśvara is full of mercy. He might come."

86 Then the younger *brāhmaṇa* went to Vṛndāvana, and bowing to the ground he related the whole tale. 87 "Brahmaṇyadeva! You are most full of mercy. Being kind, preserve the *dharma* of two *brāhmaṇas*. 88 [That] I gain [the *brāhmaṇa*'s] daughter—this joy was not in my mind. But [that] the promise of a *brāhmaṇa* be broken—this is very bad. 89 Knowing these things, bear witness, O full of mercy; he who knows and does not bear witness commits a sin."

87. I.e., the *dharma* of the older *brāhmaṇa* in honoring his word already given, and the *dharma* of the younger *brāhmaṇa* in claiming Gopāla as witness; Brahmaṇyadeva: Kṛṣṇa.

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90 Kṛṣṇa said, "*Brāhmaṇa*, go to your own house. Bring everyone together and meditate on me. 91 I shall appear then and bear witness. In the form of an image I shall not be able to go there." 92 The *brāhmaṇa* said, "If you appear as a four-armed *mūrti*, then no one will have confidence in your words. 93 If you go in this form, with beautiful countenance, and if you give witness, then all the people will honor [it]." 94 Kṛṣṇa said, "No one has ever heard of an image moving." The *brāhmaṇa* said, "As an image, how do you speak words? 95 You are not an image; you are the manifest Vrajendranandana. Will you do this thing, which is not done, for the *brāhmaṇa*?" 96 Laughing, Gopāla said, "Listen, O *brāhmaṇa*. I shall follow after you. 97 Do not turn around to look at me; if you look at me I shall remain in that place [where you looked]. 98 You will only hear the sound of my ankle bells, and from that sound you will know that I am moving. 99 You will cook one seer of rice and offer it, and when I have eaten that I shall go with you."

100 The next day, having begged leave, the *brāhmaṇa* departed, and Gopāla followed after him. 101 Hearing the sound of the ankle bells his heart was overjoyed; having cooked the best rice, he prepared him a feast. 102 Moving in this way the *brāhmaṇa* came to his own country, and nearing his village, he reflected in his mind, 103 "Now I have come to my village, and shall go to my house; I shall go and say to the people that the witness has come. 104 If they do not see the witness, there will be no belief in their hearts. If he remains here, then there will be no fear." 105 Reflecting thus, the *brāhmaṇa* turned around and looked; and smiling Gopāladeva was there. 106 He said to the *brāhmaṇa*, "Go to your own house. I shall remain here. I shall go no further." 107 Then the *brāhmaṇa* went and spoke in the town; and when they heard it all the people were astonished. 108 They all came to see the witness, and when they saw Gopāla they bowed to the ground. 109 Seeing the beauty of Gopāla the people were overjoyed, and hearing that the image had walked all the way, they were astonished. 110 Then the elder *brāhmaṇa* was delighted, and falling before Gopāla he prostrated himself. 111 Gopāla gave his witness before all the people, and the elder *brāhmaṇa* gave his daughter to the younger. 112 Then Īśvara said to those two *brāhmaṇas*, "Both of you, from birth to birth, have been my followers. 113 I have been pleased by the constancy of both; both may ask a boon." And the two *brāhmaṇas* asked a boon, with joy in their hearts, 114 "If you would grant

91. I.e., the image is immovable, though the deity may be present in it. "I shall come in non-physical form and appear through your meditation and remembrance."

94-95. Image: *pratimā*.

98. *Nūpura:* ankle bells, used by dancers and often adorning Kṛṣṇa.

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us a boon, then stay in this place. Then all the people will know of your mercy to your servants." 115 So Gopāla remained, and both served him; and all the people of the country came to see.

116 And the king of that country came, hearing of the wonderful thing, and he gained the highest pleasure when he saw Gopāla. 117 The king built a temple there, and caused the service to be instituted. It was called Sākṣīgopāla, and it became famous. 118 In this way Sākṣīgopāla of Vidyānagara, accepting service, remained there a long time. 119 The *rājā* of Utkala, Puruṣottamadeva by name, made war on that country and conquered it. 120 And having conquered that *rājā*, he took his throne. It was called "*māṇikya-siṃhāsana*," because of its many gems. 121 That Puruṣottamadeva was a devotee and an excellent man; he begged at the feet of Gopāla, "Come to my kingdom." 122 Controlled by his devotion, Gopāla gave permission to him; so taking Gopāla he went to Kaṭaka. 123 He brought and gave the jeweled lion-throne to Jagannātha, and he established the service of Gopāla at Kaṭaka. 124 His queen came for *darśana* of Gopāla, and in devotion presented many ornaments to him. 125 In her nose was a pearl of very great price; she wanted to give that to him. She reflected in her mind, 126 "If there were an opening in the nose of Ṭhākura, then I his servant would give him the pearl to wear in his nose." 127 Thus reflecting, and having made obeisance, she went to her own house. And toward the end of the night, Gopāla said to her in a dream, 128 "When I was a boy my mother pierced my nose, and carefully she put a pearl into it. 129 That hole is even now in my nose; put that pearl in it, which you wanted to give me." 130 The queen told the *rājā* of her dream, and with the *rājā*, taking the pearl, she went to the temple. 131 She ornamented him with the pearl, seeing the perforation in his nose, and in great joy they had a great festival. 132 And from that time Gopāla has been established at Kaṭaka. And for these reasons the name Sākṣīgopāla has become famous.

133 Hearing this story of Sākṣīgopāla from the mouth of Nityānanda Gosvāmī, Prabhu with his *bhaktas* was most pleased. 134 When Prabhu was standing before Gopāla, the *bhaktas* saw that it was as if the two were one *mūrti*. 135 They were both of one color, and both large in body. Both were dressed in red, and both were grave in nature. 136 Both were full of great radiance, with

120. Puruṣottama quite literally took the throne, "the jeweled lion-throne," away from Vidyānagara, and gave it to the temple of Jagannātha.

122. Bhaktivaśa: controlled by devotion; see ante 1.4.216; 1.17.71, *śl.*5; 2.23.26 and commentary.

134-36. [In the biographies, Caitanya frequently is seen to have the identical form of a particular image he is viewing, especially noticeable in Puri near Jagannātha. The theological statement is transparent. TKS]

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lotus eyes; the hearts of both were absorbed in passion; and both had faces like the moon. 137 Seeing the two, Nityānanda Prabhu was overjoyed, and summoning the *bhaktas* he laughed with them; 138 and in this way they passed that night in great glee. In the morning, having seen the auspicious *ārati*, they left. 139 How they went along the way to Bhuvaneśvara, Vṛndāvana Dāsa has described completely.

140 When they came to Kamalapura, they bathed in the Bhārgīnadī, and Prabhu placed his staff into the hand of Nityānanda. 141 He went with his *bhaktas* to see Kapoteśvara, and here Nityānanda Prabhu broke the staff. 142 After he broke it into three pieces, he threw them into the water. Prabhu came with his *bhaktas*, having seen Maheśa. 143 Seeing the temple of Jagannātha, he was overcome, and bowing down to the ground, he began to dance in *prema*. 144 And the *bhaktas*, also overcome, also danced and sang, and they went along the highway with

140. Kamalapura is a place quite near to Puri; so near in fact that the flags on the temple can be seen.

141-142. Kapoteśvara is the name of a Śiva-*liṅgam* at the place. Maheśa is Śiva. The breaking of the staff, the symbol of Caitanya's asceticism and mendicancy, is one of the most curious incidents in the whole book. A non-orthodox interpretation, which can be found elsewhere (*PHM*, 48), is that Nityānanda himself was either on the verge of abandoning his own asceticism or had already done so, and was here expressing his feeling that Caitanya should do the same, that *saṃnyāsa* was valueless. Vṛndāvana Dāsa, who might be expected to give a reason, does not do so, saying merely that Nityānanda addressed the staff, and said that it was not appropriate that Caitanya carry it (*CBh* 3.2.204-206). Rādhāgovinda Nātha, speculating on all this, suggests the following explanations: The three functions of man which must be controlled are speech, body, and mind, and *BhP* 11.18.17 says that there are three staffs of asceticism: the staff of silence, the staff of abandonment of deeds done out of desire, and the staff of control of breath in meditation. He who has these three staffs is known as *tridaṇḍī*. In former times, three staffs of bamboo, representing these three, were actually carried (the origins of Śiva's trident?), but from the time of Śaṅkara it became customary to carry only one. Rādhāgovinda Nātha's intrepretation of the incident, then, is that staff, representing three staffs, was appropriate only for those who were subject to *māyā*, under the control of the three *guṇas* of material nature; Caitanya himself, *svayaṃ bhagavān*, had nothing to do with the three *guṇas*, but was *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*; therefore what did the staff in his hands mean? Nityānanda, in recognition of this, broke the staff into three pieces (the ancient three staffs), and floated them away in the stream of *māyā*, where they belonged. Or, says Rādhāgovinda Nātha, the staff was a weapon, a symbol of worldly power, and this was a symbol inappropriate for one who came to disseminate love. Or, as Vṛndāvana Dāsa suggests, perhaps Nityānanda was jealous because Caitanya always carried the staff, making it closer to his person than Nityānanda himself. [Vṛndāvana Dāsa's detailed story can be found in *CBh* 3.2.199-259; Murāri Gupta's version is somewhat different, but equally enigmatic, in *KCC* 3.5.10-21; Kavikarṇapūra mentions the incident only in passing in *KCCM* 11.80-81 and *CCN* 6.25. TKS]

144. Rājamārga: highway, a broad road.

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Prabhu, in an ecstasy of *prema*. 145 Laughing and weeping and dancing, Prabhu shouted and roared, and the three-*krośa* road became a thousand *yojanas* long. 146 Along the way, Prabhu came to Āṭhāranālā, and when he reached there he came to his senses a little. 147 And he said to Nityānanda Prabhu, "Give me my staff." Nityānanda said, "The staff was broken into three pieces. 148 In an ecstasy of *prema* you fell, and I caught you; I fell with you on top of the staff. 149 The staff splintered under the weight of two people. Where the pieces fell, I have no idea. 150 It is my fault that your staff has been broken, and it is proper that you punish me for it." 151 Hearing this, Prabhu showed a little sadness in his heart; and somewhat angry, he said to the company, 152 "Bringing me to Nīlācala, you have all done me a great service; the staff was all the wealth I had, and even that is gone. 153 You all go first to see the Lord. Or let me go first. I will not go with you." 154 Mukunda Datta said, "Prabhu, you go first. We all will follow after; we will not go together." 155 Hearing this Prabhu went quickly ahead. No one can understand the minds of the two Prabhus. 156 Why this one broke the staff, why that one caused [him] to break [it], and once he had caused him to break it, why he became angry at the fault? 157 This *līlā* of the breaking of the staff is very profound; only he, whose devotion is firm at the feet of both, understands. 158 Blessed is the greatness of Brahmaṇyadeva Gopāla, which was told by Nityānanda, and heard by Śrī Caitanya. 159 Hear it, O *bhaktas*, full of reverence; and swiftly you will gain the feet of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya.

160 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

145. Krośa is a distance of about two miles; *yojana* is a distance of about eight miles.
146. Bāhya prakāśila: came to his senses, became outwardly conscious.

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Madhya Līlā
Chapter 6

Śloka 1.
I praise that white moon, that one full of all greatness, who made Sārvabhauma, hardened by wrong arguments, full of *bhakti*.

1 Glory, glory to Gauracandra, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 In ecstasy Prabhu went to the temple of Jagannātha; and seeing Jagannātha, he became restless with *prema*. 3 He went running to embrace Jagannātha, and he fell, in the temple, overcome with *prema*. 4 By chance Sārvabhauma saw it all, and prevented a temple servant from beating him. 5 Seeing the beauty of Prabhu and his delirium of *prema*, Sārvabhauma was greatly astonished. 6 After much time [Caitanya] was still unconscious; and it was time for the food-offering. Sārvabhauma then thought of a way. 7 With the help of students and temple servants he carried Prabhu, and brought him to his house and placed him lying in a clean place. 8 There was no breathing at all, and his stomach was palpitating, and seeing this the mind of the Bhaṭṭācārya became worried. 9 He brought some cotton and held it before the nose [of Prabhu]. It fluttered gently, and seeing this he became calmer. 10 Sitting down, Bhaṭṭācārya decided that this was a true delirium of the *mahāprema* of Kṛṣṇa. 11 "This is a truly

4. Paḍichā: a functionary of the temple of Jagannātha, a temple servant.

7. Śiṣya-paḍichā: the compound can be interpreted in two ways: either people who were apprentice or student (*śiṣya*) *paḍichās*, or the students of Sārvabhauma and the *paḍichās* of the temple.

8. Śvāsa praśvāsa nāhi udara spandana /. Sometimes the negative applies to both halves of the line, so the reading might be: There was no breathing at all, nor was his stomach moving, which might be preferable given the action of v. 9.

11. Rūpa's *BhRS* [*dakṣiṇa-vibhāga, sāttvikabhāva-laharī*] 2.3.79: when five or six *sāttvika-bhāvas* arise at the same time and attain superiority, that is called *uddīpta* (*sāttvika*), "burning purity"; ibid., 2.3.81: *suddīpta*: when the highest excellence in *mahābhāva* is gained, that is called *suddīpta* ("truly

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burning purity, which is called '*pralaya*'; it is that burning *bhāva* in a *bhakta* who is eternally perfected. 12 He who has the *adhirūḍha-bhāva* has such delirium; seeing it in the body of a man is truly wonderful." 13 So Bhaṭṭācārya was thinking as he sat there, when Nityānanda and the rest came together to the main gate.

14 Hearing of this the people said to one another, "A *saṃnyāsin* has come, and when he saw Jagannātha he fainted; 15 there was no consciousness in his body at all. Then Sārvabhauma took him to his house." 16 When they heard this they all knew that this was the doing of Mahāprabhu. And at the same time Gopīnāthācārya came there. 17 He was a dweller in Nadīyā, a son-in-law of Viśārada; he was a *bhakta* of Mahāprabhu, and one who knew the true meaning of him. 18 He had previously met Mukunda, and seeing him he was surprised. 19 When Mukunda saw him he made obeisance. He embraced and asked news of Prabhu. 20 Mukunda said, "Prabhu has come here, and we all have come with him." 21 The Ācārya then made obeisance to Nityānanda Gosvāmī; and again he asked them all together for word of Prabhu. 22 Mukunda said, "Mahāprabhu has taken *saṃnyāsa*, and he has come to Nīlācala, bringing us all with him. 23 He left us all, and went ahead for *darśana*; we all have come after in search of him. 24 We heard from the mouths of others that Prabhu is in the house of Sārvabhauma; 25 Prabhu was unconscious in *prema*, because of the sight of Īśvara, and Sārvabhauma has taken him and gone to his own house. 26 Then we thought to meet you, and by chance we caught sight of you. 27 So

burning"). *Pralaya* is that condition in which all external consciousness is lost, and fainting and other such symptoms are manifested. See *CC* 2.8.135 commentary. *Nityāsiddha*: "eternally perfected," a *bhakta* who is already in direct relationship to Kṛṣṇa.

12. Adhirūḍha-bhāva: one of the strata of *mahābhāva*, the ultimate condition. Rūpa's *UNM* [*sthāyibhāva-prakaraṇa*] 14.159, 170: *Bhāva* is of two kinds, *rūḍha* and *adhirūḍha*; that condition of *mahābhāva* in which all the *sāttvika-bhāvas* are "burning" (*uddīpta*) is called *rūḍha* (either "particular" or "severe"); that condition in which one or another of the *sāttvika-bhāvas* gains dominance is called *adhirūḍha* (*adhi-* being a prefix denoting superiority). *Adhirūḍha-mahābhāva* is also of two kinds, *modana* and *madana*. In *modana* ("delighting"), both Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa assume a particular beauty (ibid., 14.173); in *madana* ("intoxicating"), which appears only in Rādhā, there is a progression from sexual attraction (*rati*) up to *mahābhāva*, and all the *bhāvas* in between are possessed of a particular delight and absorbing quality. One of the characteristics of this *adhirūḍha-bhāva* is unconsciousness and delirium. Cf. 2.23.37 and commentary; see also text and commentary to 1.7.86-93; 1.17.5; 2.18.151-74; and 2.23.31.

17. Viśārada, "the learned one" was the title of Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya's father; Sārvabhauma was therefore his brother-in-law.

26. Mukunda is saying that they had heard that Caitanya had been taken to Sārvabhauma's house, but they did not know where the house was; they hoped to meet Gopīnātha, so that he could tell them, and by chance this occurred.

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let us go, everyone, to the house of Sārvabhauma; after we see Prabhu, we shall have *darśana* of Īśvara." 28 Hearing this, Gopīnātha took everyone, and went joyfully to the house of Sārvabhauma.

29 Going to Sārvabhauma's place, they saw Prabhu; and seeing him, the Ācārya was both happy and sad. 30 Having introduced everyone to Sārvabhauma, he took everyone inside; and [Sārvabhauma] made obeisance to Nityānanda Gosvāmī. 31 And he greeted them all in proper fashion, and when they saw Prabhu the hearts of all were both sad and happy. 32 Sārvabhauma sent them all to have *darśana*, and sent his own son Candreśvara with them. 33 When they saw Jagannātha, all were overjoyed; Prabhu Nityānanda was overcome with emotion. 34 All together they steadied him. A servant of Īśvara brought and gave a garland and some *prasāda*. 35 Getting the *prasāda*, all were overjoyed, and again all came to the place of Mahāprabhu. 36 In loud voice all made *nāma-saṃkīrtana*; in the third watch Prabhu gained consciousness. 37 Rising up, he shouted "Hari, Hari!" and in joy Sārvabhauma took the dust of his feet. 38 Sārvabhauma said, "Quickly perform the midday ablutions; I shall feed you today from the food of *mahāprasāda*." 39 Having taken a bath in the sea, Mahāprabhu came quickly; having washed his feet, he sat on a seat. 40 Sārvabhauma brought much *prasāda*, and Mahāprabhu ate with pleasure. 41 The best curries and rice on a golden plate, Prabhu ate with his *bhakta*s. 42 Sārvabhauma himself served [the food]. Prabhu said, "Give me *lāpharā* curry, and 43 give *piṭhā*-cakes and *pānā* to all these." Then Bhaṭṭācārya said, with palms pressed together, 44 "Jagannātha himself has eaten [this]; now you taste all the *mahāprasāda*." 45 So saying, he fed everyone the *piṭhā* and *pānā*; having fed them, he had them rinse their mouths.

46 Asking leave, he went, with Gopīnāthācārya; after he ate, he came to Prabhu. 47 Saying "*Namo nārāyaṇa*," he made *namaskāra*; and Gosvāmī said, "*Kṛṣṇe matirastu*." 48 When he heard this, Sārvabhauma decided that he knew these words to be those of a Vaiṣṇava *saṃnyāsin*. 49 Sārvabhauma said to Gopīnātha Ācārya, "Tell me, where was the former *āśrama* of the Gosvāmī?" 50 Gopīnātha Ācārya said,

30. Presumably he recognized Nityānanda as a Gosvāmī or *avadhūta*, and because of that singled him out for special honor.

39. Being given a seat to sit upon was a mark of special esteem; ordinary guests would sit on the ground.

42. Several vegetables mixed together make a *lāpharā* curry.

43. *Pānā*: a kind of sweet drink.

46. The host will eat after all his guests have been fed.

47. "Homage to Nārāyaṇa": a greeting to a *saṃnyāsin*. The Gosvāmī (i.e., Caitanya) replies, "May there be inclination toward Kṛṣṇa, may there be devotion to Kṛṣṇa."

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"His home was in Navadvīpa; his father's name Jagannātha, called Purandara Miśra. 51 His name was Viśvambhara, and he was his son. Nīlāmbara Cakravartī was his maternal grandfather." 52 Sārvabhauma said, "Nīlāmbara Cakravartī was a fellow-student of Viśārada; this is his fame. 53 I know too that Purandara Miśra is honored by him, and because of their relation to my father both are honored by me." 54 Because of his relation to Nadīyā, Sārvabhauma was pleased; and with affection he began to say to the Gosvāmī, 55 "By your very nature you are to be revered, and too by being a *saṃnyāsin*. Therefore know that I am your servant." 56 When he heard this, Mahāprabhu recalled Śrī Viṣṇu, and said to Bhaṭṭācārya with humble words, 57 "You are *guru* of the world, and one who does good to all in all the world; you teach the Vedānta, and are benefactor to *saṃnyāsins*. 58 I am a young *saṃnyāsin*, and know not good or evil; I take refuge with you, and honor you as *guru*. 59 I have come here to be with you; protect me in every way. 60 Today I was in great danger, and you delivered me from that." 61 Bhaṭṭācārya said, "Do not go alone to *darśana*; go with me or with my people." 62 Prabhu said, "I shall not go within the temple. I shall remain behind Garuḍa and have *darśana*." 63 Sārvabhauma said to Gopīnātha Ācārya, "You go see that the Gosvāmī has *darśana*. 64 My aunt's house is empty of people. Put him up there, and do everything for him." 65 So Gopīnātha took Prabhu to that house and lodged him, and gave him water, and containers for water, and other things.

66 The next day Gopīnātha went to Prabhu's place, and took him to see the *śayyotthāna*. 67 With Mukunda Datta he came to the place of Sārvabhauma, and Sārvabhauma said these words to him, 68 "Seeing a *saṃnyāsin*, beautiful and disciplined in nature, my affection for him grows greatly. 69 In which *sampradāya* has he taken his *saṃnyāsa*? What is his name? I want to hear this." 70 Gopīnātha answered, "His name is Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya; his *guru* is the most revered Keśava Bhāratī." 71 Sārvabhauma said, "This name is best of all; but

56. [Śrī Viṣṇu-*smaraṇa*: recalling or remembering Lord Viṣṇu. Rādhāgovinda Nātha does not comment on this; contextually it appears that Caitanya mutters a simple statement which recalls Viṣṇu—probably "*namo nārāyaṇa*" as in v. 47—in much the manner of a mild oath of assent. Cf. 2.11.5 where Caitanya quickly utters the name of Nārāyaṇa as an oath to counter a negative comment. TKS]

62. Garuḍa here refers to the Garuḍa pillar in front and off to one side of Jagannātha.

66. *Śayyotthāna*: the rising of Jagannātha from his night's rest.

71. There are ten *sampradāyas* of *saṃnyāsins*: Tīrtha, Āśrama, Vana, Araṇya, Giri, Parvata, Sāgara, Purī, Bhāratī, and Sarasvatī. The story is that among some of Śaṅkara's pupils there was contention and heresy; some fell from honor altogether, some, whose guilt was less, were partially punished, and others not at all. The Bhāratī-*sampradāya* was *madhyama*, in the middle, the second of the three classes. Sārvabhauma knew his *sampradāya* because of the name of his *guru*.

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the Bhāratī-*sampradāya* is [only] middling." 72 Gopīnātha said, "He has no concern for externals; thus he is greatly indifferent as to whether or not his *sampradāya* is great." 73 Bhaṭṭācārya said, "He is very young; how will he preserve the *saṃnyāsa-dharma*? 74 I shall teach him Vedānta daily, and shall cause him to enter the ascetic way of *advaita*; 75 if he agrees, I shall bring him again to the highest *sampradāya*, marked by the *yogapaṭṭa* and by the *saṃskāras*."

76 Hearing this, both Gopīnātha and Mukunda were saddened, and Gopīnātha Ācārya began to say, 77 "Bhaṭṭācārya, you do not know the greatness of this one; in him are the uttermost signs of godhead. 78 Because of these he is known as Parama-Īśvara. To the ignorant it means nothing; but the wise perceive." 79 The students said, "By what proof do you call him Īśvara?" And the Ācārya replied, "According to the wise, he has the signs of Īśvara." 80 The students said, "By inference we discern the truth about Īśvara." And the Ācārya replied, "Knowledge of Īśvara is not by inference. 81 The knowledge of the existence of Īśvara is not in the proof of inference; no one knows the truth of Īśvara except by his mercy. 82 He who has a jot of the mercy of Īśvara, he is able to know the truth of Īśvara.

Śloka 2. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.14.29:

O god, O Bhagavān! The man who is favored by the least favor of your lotus feet can know the truth of your greatness; others, even though searching single-mindedly for a long time, cannot.

83 Even though you are *guru* of the world, and greatly learned in the *śāstras*, and there is no *paṇḍita* on earth who is your equal, 84 not a jot of the mercy

75. Yogapaṭṭa: a kind of outer garment, differing from one to another *sampradāya*; *saṃskāra*: the purificatory rites.

77. The signs of godhead (*bhagavattā*) are three: the residence of all the attributes of the *svarūpa* of the *bhagavat* in him, the giving of *prema*, and fullness of sweetness and grace.

79. The conversation was evidently going on in front of the students of Sārvabhauma.

80. Or perhaps "the existence or nature (*tattva*) of Īśvara." Rādhāgovinda Nātha: as when we see a pot we infer (*anumāna*) a potter, so when we observe the world we infer a creator. Gopīnātha replies that this type of inference is not valid for this reason: when we see smoke, we infer that fire exists; because smoke is perceived by the senses, fire is perceived by the senses, as is the relationship between the two. If we had not perceived the relationship between the two, the inference of the existence of the fire, at the sight of smoke, would not be drawn. Similarly, the world is perceived by the senses; but Īśvara is not perceived by the senses, nor can one deduce a relationship; that one can deduce the existence of a creator from the fact of creation is one thing, but to say that that creator is Īśvara is not logical.

81-82. These two couplets do not appear in some MSS.

Śloka 2. See 2.11.*śl.*11.

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of Īśvara is in you; thus you are not able to know the truth of Īśvara. 85 It is not your fault—it is said in the *śāstras* that the truth of Īśvara can never be known by learning and the rest."

86 Sārvabhauma responded, "Ācārya! Speak cautiously. That his mercy is in you—what is the proof of this?" 87 The Ācārya said, "In regard to material elements, there exists a knowledge of them as matter; [but] knowledge of the metaphysical truth about matter is proven by his mercy. 88 On the body of this one are all the signs of Īśvara; you have seen his absorption in *mahāprema*. 89 But you do not possess the knowledge of Īśvara, and this has come about by the *māyā* of Īśvara. 90 [For] those who have their faces turned away, even when they look they do not see him." When he heard this Sārvabhauma laughing said, 91 "Do not be angry; let us carry on a friendly conversation. Let me speak a little about what is to be witnessed in the *śāstras*; do not take offence. 92 Caitanya Gosvāmī is a *mahābhāgavata*; he is not an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu in this Kali age. 93 Thus, we speak of Viṣṇu [as] *triyuga*; the *śāstras* have no knowledge of an *avatāra* in the Kali age."

94 When he heard this, the Ācārya spoke with sorrow in his heart: "You pride yourself on knowledge of the *śāstras*. 95 The *Bhāgavata* and the *Bhārata*—these two are the chief *śāstras*; have you paid no attention to what these two books say? 96 These two say that in the Kali age an *avatāra* will appear; but you say, 'There will be no manifestation of Viṣṇu in the Kali age.' 97 In the Kali age, Bhagavān does not undertake a *līlā-avatāra*; thus we call him '*triyuga*.'

87. Vastu: matter; *tattva*: metaphysical truth. Most knowledge is dependent: we know that A is not the same as B, but this knowledge depends on recognition of characteristics which ennables us to differentiate between the two. "A stick is not a man" is a statement which depends upon knowledge of what a man is, and if this knowledge is shared by the speaker and the listener, communication takes place. The statement however tells nothing about what the true nature of the object (*vastu-tattva*) is; knowledge of the true nature of the object is in the object itself, apart from external reference. It is its own proof. Gopīnātha is saying that if one is not conscious of who or what Īśvara is, he will not be able to recognize Īśvara when he appears. It is by the grace of Īśvara that such consciousness arises; if you do not have this grace, you do not know.

88. See 1:3.33-35 and commentary.

92. Caitanya is a great devotee, but Viṣṇu has no *avatāras* in the Kali age. He has *avatāras* in only three of the four ages, and therefore is called *triyuga*. See *BhP* 7.9.38.

95. Bhārata: the great epic *Mahābhārata*.

97. It is only the *līlā-avatāra* which is in question; he makes *līlā-avatāra* only in the three ages, not in Kali. The twenty-five *līlā-avatāras* accepted by the Vaiṣṇavas are: (1) Catuḥsana, (2) Nārada, (3) Varāha, (4) Matsya, (5) Yajña, (6) Naranārāyaṇa, (7) Kapila, (8) Dattātreya, (9) Hayaśīrṣā, (10) Haṃsa, (11) Pṛśnigarbha, (12) Ṛṣabha, (13) Pṛthu, (14) Nṛsiṃha, (15) Kūrma, (16) Dhanvantari, (17) Mohinī, (18) Vāmana, (19) Paraśurāma, (20) Rāghavendra, (21) Vyāsa, (22) Balarāma, (23) Kṛṣṇa, (24) Buddha, and (25) Kalkī. Kalkī will come at the end of the Kali age.

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98 In every age, Kṛṣṇa makes a *yuga-avatāra*. Your heart is devoted to philosophical controversy, but this cannot be debated.

Śloka 3. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.8.13:
From age to age, there are three colors of him who embodies himself: white, red, and yellow. Now he has become black.

Śloka 4. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.5.32:
Good and wise people indeed worship [him] by sacrifice, [namely] chiefly *saṃkīrtana*, together with his followers and weapons of *aṅga* and *upāṅga*, black-colored yet light-colored in his glory.

Śloka 5. *Mahābhārata, anuśāsana-parvan* [*dānadharma*] 127.75 [*viṣṇu-sahasra-nāma-stotra*]:
Of a golden body and golden color, of the best of bodies, wearing an armlet of sandalwood, he who will take *saṃnyāsa* is tranquil, equal-minded, devoted to peace, and firmly fixed on God.

99 There is no use in all such words before you; it is like planting seed in barren soil. 100 When his mercy will be upon you, then you will speak all these truths. 101 That your pupils speak these various kinds of false arguments, whose is the fault in this? For this is caused by *māyā*."

Śloka 6. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 6.4.31:
Homage to that Supreme One of infinite properties, whose powers are grounds for dispute for the quarrelsome, and for argument for the philosophers, and made momentous by their confusion concerning the self.

Śloka 7. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.22.4:
Just as *brāhmaṇa*s everywhere say the things that are right—what is hard to do for disputers who have taken up my *māyā*?

102 Then Bhaṭṭācārya said, "Go to the place of the Gosvāmī, and invite him, with his people, in my name. 103 Bring *prasāda* and first meet him; then come back to me and have him teach me."

Śloka 3. See 1.3.*śl.*6; 2.20.*śl.*48.
Śloka 4. See 1.3.*śl.*10; 2.11.*śl.*10; 2.20.*śl.*53; 3.20.*śl.*2.
Śloka 5. See 1.3.*śl.*8; 2.10.*śl.*5.

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104 The Ācārya was the husband of Bhaṭṭācārya's sister, making him his brother-in-law; the Ācārya instructed him with smiles of praise and criticism. 105 And at the discourse of the Ācārya, Mukunda was very happy; at the words of Bhaṭṭācārya, he was unhappy and angry in his heart. 106 So the Ācārya came to the place of Gosvāmī, and gave him the invitation in the name of Bhaṭṭācārya. 107 With Mukunda, he repeated the words of the Bhaṭṭācārya; they reviled the Bhaṭṭācārya, with pain in their hearts. 108 When he heard, Mahāprabhu said, "Do no speak like this. The Bhaṭṭācārya is sympathetic towards me. 109 He wants to preserve my *saṃnyāsa-dharma*; in his affection he is showing mercy; what is the fault in that?"

110 Another day Mahāprabhu was with the Bhaṭṭācārya, with great joy taking *darśana* of Jagannātha. 111 He had come to the temple with Bhaṭṭācārya, and giving Prabhu a seat, he himself sat down. 112 Then he began to teach the Vedānta; in affection and devotion he began to speak to Prabhu, 113 "Listening to the Vedānta is the *dharma* of a *saṃnyāsin*; you should listen to the Vedānta incessantly." 114 Prabhu said, "You are favorable towards me: my duty is to do what you say." 115 For seven days thus he listened; he made neither positive nor negative comments, but only sat and listened. 116 On the eighth day Sārvabhauma said to him, "You have listened to the Vedānta for seven days. 117 You have said nothing either for or against, but have remained silent; I do not understand whether you understand or not." 118 Prabhu said, "I am unlearned. I have not studied much. Only because of your command have I listened. 119 I have only listened because it is the *dharma* of a *saṃnyāsin*. The meaning which you have expounded I do not understand." 120 The Bhaṭṭācārya said, "Who knows that he does not understand, should ask again, that he might understand. 121 You have remained fixed, listening in complete silence; I cannot tell what is in your heart." 122 Prabhu said, "I understand the meaning of the *sūtra*s clearly; but when I hear your explanation of them my mind is confused. 123 A *bhāṣya* clarifies the meaning of the *sūtra*s; you declaim a *bhāṣya*, but it obscures the meaning of the *sūtra*s. 124 You do not expound the primary meaning of the *sūtra*s; you hide it behind some imagined meaning. 125 That which is the primary meaning of the words of the Upaniṣads is all ex-

123. Sārvabhauma is expounding the commentary (*bhāṣya*) of Śaṅkara on the *Vedānta Sūtra*.

124. *Kalpanā*: imagined, invented, assuming something to be real that is not, fictional.

125. See ante, commentary on 1.7.104. By "Upaniṣads" is meant here any *śruti* which deals with the philosophical questions of the Veda. Vyāsa is the legendary author of the *Brahma Sūtras*. Caitanya says that the true meaning is the first level meaning, and that is obvious.

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plained in the *Vyāsa Sūtras*. 126 But abandoning that primary meaning, you propound an imagined secondary meaning. Leaving the primary meaning, you focus on the metaphorical meaning of the words. 127 Among [all types of] proof, the proof of *śruti* is primary. That which is the primary meaning of the *śruti*, that is proof. 128 Conch-shell and cow-dung are the bones and excrement of living creatures, yet according to the *śruti*, these two are most pure. 129 The Vedas are their own proof, and that which they say is true. If one expounds the secondary meaning, their intrinsic provenness is destroyed. 130 The meaning of the *sūtras* of Vyāsa is like the beams of the sun: a self-imagined cloud of *bhāṣya* obscures them. 131 The Vedas and Purāṇas speak of the characteristics of *brahma*: that *brahma* is vastly differentiated and has the signs of Īśvara. 132 He is himself Bhagavān, full of all divine qualities; [yet] you call him 'formless.' 133 Those *śrutis* which speak of him as 'unqualified' deny his material nature, [but] establish his immaterial one.

Śloka 8. Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka* 6.67 [*śloka* 37]:
Whatever *śruti* denotes the "unqualified" in fact denotes the qualified [*brahman*]. As soon as an earnest inquiry is made, behold, the "qualified" intrepretation is the more cogent.

134 The universe is born from *brahma*, and living things are in *brahma*; and in that *brahma* again these are absorbed. 135 The three cases: ablative, instru-

126. Lakṣaṇā: oblique, metaphorical, indirect or figurative sense of a word, especially substituting one word with another with cognate but only proximate meaning. See 1.7.104.

127. Proof is of three kinds: evident (*pratyakṣa*), inferred (*anumāna*), and revealed (*śrutivākya*). But the eye can be deceived, as by a magician, thus the evidence of the senses is not always valid; where there is smoke there is not always fire, so inference is not always valid. But revelation is eternal and divine.

128. Bone and excrement are impure things, but conch-shell and cow-dung are bone and excrement and are holy; what makes them so is the word of the *śruti*.

131. See ante, 1.7.106. *Bṛhadvastu*: "vastly differentiated"; Rādhāgovinda Nātha says: he is vast like the sky, but unlike the sky is conscious. Signs of Īśvara are the *sad-guṇas*, as well as form and other types of differentiation.

133. I.e., those *śrutis* which speak of *brahman* as without form, without qualities, without differentiation, are speaking only of a material body, etc., and in this they are right: his form is immaterial, his qualities are not the qualities of *māyā*. See *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* 2.22, *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* 3.19, etc.

Śloka 8. [This quotation is from *Hayaśīrṣa-pañcarātra* according to several editions of the *CCN*. TKS]

135. Ablative: that matter from which another matter comes; the universe comes from *brahman*. Instrumental: that by which an action is accomplished; *brahman* is the means by which creatures

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mental, and locative, are three signs of the qualifications of Bhagavān. 136 When Bhagavān had a mind to become many, he looked toward the *śakti* of material nature. 137 At that time there was no material eye or mind; thus the eyes and mind of *brahma* are non-material. 138 By the word '*brahma*' is meant 'full *svayaṃ bhagavān*'; and *svayaṃ bhagavān* is Kṛṣṇa; this is proven by the *śāstras*. 139 This profound meaning of the Vedas is not [easily] understood; but that meaning is established by the words of the *purāṇa*.

Śloka 9. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.14.32:
O wonder, O wonder, the fortune of the inhabitants of the pastures of Nanda the cow-herd, whose friend was the full eternal *brahma*, the highest bliss.

140 The *śrutis* [which say] 'without hands or feet' mean 'material hands and feet'; for again they say: 'he goes quickly, and takes everything.' 141 Thus the *śrutis* say that *brahma* is qualified. Abandoning the primary meaning, he is considered quality-less according to the secondary one; 142 whose form is full *ānanda* and possessing the six divine qualities, do you call that same Bhagavān 'form-less'? 143 Three *śaktis* are natural to that *brahma*; do you then decide that he is '*śakti*-less'?

Śloka 10. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 6.7.61:
The *śakti* of Viṣṇu is of three kinds: *parā*, *kṣetrajñā*, and the third is called *avidyā-karman*.

Śloka 11. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 1.12.69:
Hlādinī, *sandhinī*, and *saṃvit* all exist as one in you, who are the

live and act. Locative: that place in which an object is; the universe is born from *brahman*, and absorbed in *brahman* again.

140. [The reference is to *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* 3.19 which begins "*apāṇipādo*" (without hands and feet). The verse reads: "Without hands or feet he grasps and is quick; without eyes he sees, without ears he hears; he knows all. No one can know of him. [People] call him the best of ancient *puruṣas*." Murāri Gupta also records the use of this verse in the context of Caitanya's revelation of the boar form (Varāha) to Murāri, *KCC* 2.2.11-6. Caitanya uses the *śloka* (*KCC* 2.2.23) in a similar way, i.e., to show that the Vedas do not fully fathom the nature of Īśvara. TKS]

142. The qualities are: (1) omnipotence; (2) power and majesty; (3) purity of speech, mind, and body; (4) infinite beauty; (5) omniscience; and (6) unattachment to objects.

Śloka 10. See 1.7.*śl.*7; 2.8.*śl.*36; 2.20.*śl.*9; 2.24.*śl.*88.

Śloka 11. See 1.4.*śl.*9; 2.8.*śl.*37.

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foundation of all; but gladness or pain do not exist mixed in you, for you are devoid of all material qualities.

144 The true form of Īśvara is full of *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*. In three parts, *cit-śakti* has three forms. 145 In the *ānanda*-part is *hlādinī*; in the *sat*-part is *sandhinī*; and in the *cit*-part is *saṃvit*, which we consider to be knowledge. 146 *Cit-śakti* is intrinsic; *jīva-śakti* is intermediary; and *māyā-śakti* is extrinsic. The three make up *prema-bhakti*. 147 The six-fold divinity is the *cit-śakti vilāsa* of Prabhu; that you do not recognize this *śakti* is the highest arrogance. 148 Lord of *māyā* and controlled by *māyā*—this is the difference between Īśvara and *jīva*; do you consider that *jīva* to be the same as Īśvara? 149 In the *Gītā śāstra* the *jīva* is considered as a *śakti*; but you consider that *jīva* is the same as Īśvara.

Śloka 12. *Bhagavad Gītā* 7.5:

The elemental world is my lower nature; know that I have a higher nature in which *jīva*-[*śakti*] participates, by which the world is upheld, strong-armed prince.

150 The *śrī-vigraha* of Īśvara has the form of *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*; you say of the

144. See 1.4.54 ff.

146. By each of these three *śaktis* one can show *prema* for Kṛṣṇa, and serve Kṛṣṇa in *prema*; in reverse progression, the *sādhaka* begins in a condition in which he is under the control of *māyā*, and by developing *prema* he moves to the ultimate state in which only *cit-śakti* has control over him. In that ultimate state he is *nitya-siddha*.

147. Six-fold divinity: see ante, note on v. 142. The "six-fold divinity" is beyond *māyā*, it is entirely in the realm of the eternal, *svarūpa*, or *cit* aspect of the deity.

149. The proposition is that because the *jīva* is subject to *māyā*, there must be difference between it and Īśvara, who controls *māyā*. But the question arises as to what happens when the *jīva*, by the grace of Īśvara, is released from the control of *māyā*; is his subjection to *māyā* still in effect? And if it is not, is there still a difference between *jīva* and Īśvara? The answer given here is that even then a difference will remain; when a *jīva* is released from *māyā*, then his subservience to *māyā* is indeed wiped away, but that does not imply that he gains control of *māyā*, which is a characteristics of Īśvara alone. Thus there is still a difference between *jīva* and Īśvara. Further, in *svarūpa*, the *jīva* is a *śakti* of Īśvara, namely the *jīva-śakti*; Īśvara is the container of that *śakti*, and *śakti* and the container of *śakti* are different from one another.

Śloka 12. See 1.7.*śl.*6; 2.20.*śl.*10.

150. Rādhāgovinda Nātha: Śaṅkara calls all those *vigrahas* of *brahman* with form "transformations (*vikāra*) of the material *sattva-guṇas*." Śaṅkara accepts two kinds of *brahman*, that with qualities (*saguṇa*) and that which is unqualified (*nirguṇa*). The *brahman* with qualities is only a pastime or play of *māyā*, a fancy of the imagination. *Śrī-vigraha* here is the form, which by definition has qualities, of *brahman*—Īśvara. Caitanya is arguing that the form is real, but is not made

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śrī-vigraha that it is a transformation of the *sattva-guṇa*? 151 He who does not honor the *śrī-vigraha* is deeply wrong; he is not to be seen and not to be touched, he is punished by Yama. 152 Not honoring the Veda, the Buddhists are atheists; and lower than Buddhists are those who follow atheism, while taking refuge in the Veda. 153 For the salvation of *jīvas*, Vyāsa composed the *sūtras*; if one listens to the commentaries of the followers of *māyā*, he is completely destroyed. 154 The opinion of the *Vyāsa Sūtras* follows the theory of evolution; by *acintya-śakti* Īśvara is transformed into the form of the world. 155 As the jewel is unchanged in the production of a weight of gold, so Īśvara is as to the form of the world—still unchanged. 156 There are those who condemn these *sūtras*, saying, 'Vyāsa is mistaken'; they have established a theory of transformation from their imaginations. 157 That knowledge of self is in the body of the *jīva*—that is falsity; the world is not false—it is only transitory. 158 The sacred syllable, the *mahāvākya*, which is the *mūrti* of Īśvara—from this *praṇava* arise all the Vedas and the world. 159 '*Tattvamasi*' is peripheral speech regarding the *jīva*; not considering the *praṇava* [some] call this the *mahāvākya*."

160 In this way he attributed a hundred faults to the fictional *bhāṣya*, [while] Bhaṭṭācārya asked many questions. 161 He raised many arguments, tried deceptions, offered reproaches, and so on—but Prabhu refuted them all and established his own position, 162 "Bhagavān is that which is to be realized,

up of the *māyā*-qualities, but of *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*. It should be noted that "*śrī-vigraha*" is simply "*vigraha*" with the honorific, perhaps translatable here as "exalted," but not denoting any connection with the goddess.

151. Pāṣaṇḍī: deeply wrong. The translation is weak, for as is seen from the second part of the line, he is also impure. The term carries the implication of heresy.

154. It is because of his incomprehensible power that he can take on the form of the world and at the same time remain unchanged. *Pariṇāmavāda*: theory of evolution.

155. The jewel: the touchstone.

156. Vivartavāda: theory of transformation.

157. See 1.7.116 and commentary.

158. Praṇava: sacred syllable, the syllable *oṃ* or *auṃ* [ॐ]; *makāvākya*, "the great sound, great word." For this and v. 159, see 1.7.121-123.

159. Tattvamasi: "thou art that," the famous formula of the *upaniṣads* and the Vedānta, summarizing the theory of identity between *brahman* and *ātman*. [There are twelve stock phrases from the *upaniṣads* designated as *mahāvākya*, of which *tattvamasi* is considered perhaps the most incisive; the key word *tattvam* can also be so designated. The argument here is that the *praṇava* alone is *mahāvākya*. TKS] *Pradeśika vākya*: peripheral speech, lit., "provincial."

160. See commentary to v. 124, above.

162. Sambandha, *abhidheya*, and *prayojana*: see 1.7.132-136. [*Sambandha* is the topic of 2.20-21; *abhidheya* 2.22; and *prayojana* 2.23. TKS]

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bhakti is the means of realization; and *prema* is the end of realization: the Vedas state these three elements. 163 And whatever else people say is all imagination; they propose proximate meaning in the self-proven words of the Vedas. 164 It is no fault of the Ācārya, for it is the command of Īśvara; thus after fictionally establishing them, he has promulgated the *śāstras* of the atheists."

Śloka 13. *Padma Purāṇa, uttara-khaṇḍa* 62.31:
O Śiva! By your own continued *āgama śāstras*, cause all people to avert their faces from me. Preserve me, that this creation might flourish.

Śloka 14. *Padma Purāṇa, uttara-khaṇḍa* 25.7:
In the Kali age, O goddess, I myself, in a *brāhmaṇa*'s guise, declare the untrue *śāstras*, the *māyāvāda*, which is crypto-Buddhist.

165 When he heard this, Bhaṭṭācārya was greatly astonished; from his mouth no word escaped—he was struck dumb. 166 Prabhu said, "Bhaṭṭācārya, do not be dismayed: *bhakti* toward Bhagavān is the *parama-puruṣārtha*. 167 Even those who are *ātmārāmas* worship Īśvara, for such are the qualities of the unknowable Bhagavān."

Śloka 15. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.7.10:
Even though they are not possessed of books, those sages who delight in the self offer selfless *bhakti* to the great-striding [Viṣṇu]: of such qualities is Hari.

168 When he heard this, Bhaṭṭācārya said, "Hear me, sir, I wish to hear the meaning of this *śloka*." 169 Prabhu said, "First let me hear what you make of its meaning; afterwards I shall expound it—to the extent to which I understand

164. The Ācārya is Śaṅkara Ācārya.

166. The "*māyāvādins*" would consider that union with *brahman* (*mokṣa*) is the ultimate goal of humanity (*parama-puruṣārtha*); Caitanya says it is not that, but *bhakti*. *Bhakti* is added frequently in this text to the traditional four: *artha*, *kāma*, *dharma*, *mokṣa*.

167. The Vedāntins consider that when a *jīva* is sunk in *māyā*, he forgets his own true nature; when he is released from *māyā*, he is again established in his true form. Therefore freedom from the bondage of *māyā* is that which should be desired by all, for when he is released he gains union with *brahman*, his proper state. But there are some *munis*, called *ātmārāma*, who are not deluded, and therefore have no need to struggle for release; even these worship.

Śloka 15. Nirgranthas: lit., "those without books," Jains. See 2.17.*śl.*8; 2.24.*śl.*2; 2.24.*śl.*73; 2.25.*śl.*47. [For the exposition of this famous *śloka* see vv. 168-79 and 2.24.235. TKS]

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it." 170 When he heard this, Bhaṭṭācārya explained the *śloka*; he raised various arguments according to axioms found in the *śāstras* of philosophy. 171 In accord with those philosophical texts, he asserted nine different logically valid interpretations. When he heard, Mahāprabhu smiled a little and said, 172 "Bhaṭṭācārya! I recognize you as Bṛhaspati incarnate. No one else has the power to explain the *śāstras* in such a way. 173 But you have explained the meaning according to the brilliance of your learning; there are even more meanings to the *śloka* than these." 174 At the entreaties of Bhaṭṭācārya, Prabhu explained. Among his nine meanings, he had not touched on the central one. 175 In the *śloka* "*ātmārāmāśca* . . . " there are eleven words; and to each of the *padas* he assigned a precise meaning. 176 He joined "*ātmārāma*" to the primary meaning of each word, and with each compound he proceeded to expound eighteen different meanings. 177 "Bhagavān, his *śaktis*, and his qualities; the power of these three is ultimately unknowable, and cannot be described. 178 These three obscure all other kinds of goals and the means of their attainment to steal the mind of the *siddha* and *sādhaka*. 179 This is proven by Śukadeva, Sanaka, and so on"—in such a way he explained the various meanings.

180 And when he heard this, Bhaṭṭācārya was amazed, and he then understood Prabhu to be Kṛṣṇa, and he reproached himself. 181 "This one is indeed the manifest Kṛṣṇa, and I did not recognize it; I was full of pride, and committed a great offence." 182 Thus reproaching himself, he took refuge with Prabhu; and Prabhu was inclined toward mercy. 183 He showed before him his four-armed form, and afterwards as Śyāma, with flute to his mouth—his intrinsic true form. 184 When he saw this, Sārvabhauma fell prostrate on the ground, and rising again he praised him, his palms pressed together. 185 By the grace of Prabhu all knowledge of the truth bloomed in him; and he described the greatness of the name, the giving of *prema* and so on. 186 In less than the passing

172. Bṛhaspati, Vedic seer and lord of speech and preceptor of the gods.

175. The *śloka* just recited, from *BhP* 1.7.10, begins with the compound "*ātmārāmāśca.*" *Pada*: one fourth of the *śloka*.

176. This is treated in great detail in 2.24, and will be examined at that point.

178. Goals are such as the attainment of heaven, *mokṣa*, etc. The *sādhaka* is he who is set upon the religious path; *siddha* is the perfected one who has already reached the goal.

179. These were *siddhas* of the *jñāna-mārga*, but when they heard of the qualities of Kṛṣṇa they were so entranced that they abandoned the path of knowledge and became *bhaktas*.

183. [His four-armed form was that of Nārāyaṇa, which reflects his sovereign divinity (*aiśvarya*), and the two-armed form Vrajendranandana, which reflects his loving sweetness (*mādhurya*). TKS]

186. "Moment" is *daṇḍa*, a period of twenty-four minutes.

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of a moment he composed a hundred *ślokas*—Bṛhaspati could not generate such *ślokas*. 187 And when he heard, Prabhu embraced him with happiness, and Bhaṭṭācārya fell unconscious, in a passion of *prema*. 188 With tears and stupor and goose flesh and trembling and sweating and palpitations, he danced and sang and wept and fell, holding the feet of Prabhu. 189 When he saw this, Gopīnāthācārya's heart was delighted; seeing Bhaṭṭācārya dance, Prabhu's people smiled. 190 Gopīnāthācārya said to Prabhu, "[What] have you done, Prabhu, [to bring about] these actions of Bhaṭṭācārya?" 191 Prabhu said, "You are a *bhakta*; [it is] from companionship with you. Jagannātha has given grace to him fully." 192 Then Prabhu calmed Bhaṭṭācārya down; and when he was calm, Bhaṭṭācārya praised him greatly, 193 "[That] you have saved the world is a small task, but you have saved me, and this is a most wonderful power. 194 I was embedded in the *śāstras* of philosophy like a lump of iron; but you have melted me with mighty heat." 195 When he had listened to these praises, Mahāprabhu went to his own place; Bhaṭṭācārya fed him through [the offices of] the Ācārya.

187-88. See the commentary to v. 12 above.

195. This incident, of the defeat of Sārvabhauma and his conversion by Caitanya, has perhaps more than any other, captured the imaginations of those Vaiṣṇavas who would find in their great leader the intellectual power and learning which seem in the brahmanical tradition at least to be prerequisites for religious greatness. Two facts are certain: Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma had been a scholar of the Vedānta, and he has left us a commentary on the *Advaitamakaranda* of Lakṣmīdhara, in the last *śloka* of which he describes his father Viśārada as "full of the knowledge of the Vedanta" (*vedāntavidyāmaya*); and there is no reason to doubt that at some point he became a Kṛṣṇa-*bhakta*. All the early texts agree on this, and Vāsudeva was too famous a man, from too great a family, for the early writers to take such liberty with truth, even were they in the habit of doing so. See "Indian Philosophical Analysis: Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika from Gaṅgeśa to Raghunātha Śiromaṇi" in *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies*, edited by Karl H. Potter and Sibajiban Bhattacharyya, vol. VI (Delhi: Motilal Banarssidas, 1993), 489. There seems therefore some justification for believing that it was the influence of Caitanya, whether this came through his intellect, as Kṛṣṇadāsa would have us believe, or in some other way, that Sārvabhauma came to the path of *bhakti*. In looking at the question, however, it is necessary to take into account some interesting discrepancies between Kṛṣṇadāsa's account, again largely supported by the early writings of Kavikarṇapūra, and that of Vṛndāvana Dāsa.

In the first place, Vṛndāvana Dāsa says in *CBh* 3.3.8-146 that one day Caitanya was sitting *alone* with Vāsudeva, and told him that he, Caitanya, had come to Puri because of Sārvabhauma, to get his blessing, and made various other such remarks, the hidden meanings of which Sārvabhauma did not understand. Sārvabhauma, considering him "a mere *jīva* sunk in *māyā*," began to tell Caitanya that he had made one mistake, that of taking *saṃnyāsa*. For *saṃnyāsa* in ordinary men breeds conceit: people bow to you, and you accept the homage of those to whom you would ordinarily have been paying homage. This, said Sārvabhauma, was all inimical to *bhakti*. Caitanya was delighted to hear these words about *bhakti*, and played with Sārvabhauma, expressing a desire to

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take further instruction at his feet. He said to Sārvabhauma that there were certain passages of the *BhP* which he did not understand, such as the *ātmārāma śloka* (*CBh* 3.3.*śl*.6 [= 3.3.87 GM ed.]). Sārvabhauma explained the *śloka* in thirteen ways, after which Caitanya said: Now listen to my exposition. And while he was expounding (Vṛndāvana Dāsa does not give the details of the argument) he revealed to Sārvabhauma his six-armed form (*CBh* 3.3.94-146).

If it is true that only Caitanya and Vāsudeva himself were present at the discussion, all the versions must be based on hearsay evidence. It is quite possible that Kṛṣṇadāsa gets his information, as he does in so many other circumstances, from Raghunātha Dāsa, but it is interesting that he does not say as much. At the same time, it is clear that Kṛṣṇadāsa and Vṛndāvana Dāsa versions are different traditions, because Kṛṣṇadāsa had the *CBh* at his disposal, and could easily have followed that text if he did not believe that he had other information at hand which was reliable. It is quite possible, therefore, that the tradition which Kṛṣṇadāsa follows included the details of the argument, the most likely extant source being Kavikarṇapūra's drama, as evidenced by the three quotations from that text in this chapter (*śl*.8, *śl*.20-21).

As a balance, it is interesting to note Amūlyacandra Sena's iconoclastic arguments about the incident in *ISC*, 91-97. He points out, for one thing, that Vṛndāvana Dāsa's statement that Sārvabhauma tells Caitanya that *saṃnyāsa* is inimical to *bhakti* might indicate that although he had certainly been a Vedāntin, he might well have become a *bhakta* before he met Caitanya. He is also inclined to look a little sceptically on the depth of Sārvabhauma's *bhakti*, and on his importance in the movement after his conversion. It is true that Sārvabhauma does not have a prominent place in Vṛndāvana Dāsa's narrative, nor does he find more than a mention in the writings of Rūpa and Sanātana, and not even that in the writings of Raghunātha Dāsa. This latter fact does indeed make one wonder whether or not Kṛṣṇadāsa got anything of his version from Raghunātha, or whether he was merely expanding, from unknown sources, on the accounts of Svarūpa and Kavikarṇapūra.

[The other early biographies that Kṛṣṇadāsa knew about are equally split in their treatment of this episode. The earliest, Murāri's *KCC* 3.12.7-19, only briefly describes the event: Sārvabhauma wonders at Caitanya's taking of *saṃnyāsa* and resolves to teach him Vedānta (v. 9); Caitanya anticipates and discourses on the true nature of *bhakti* as superior to Vedānta (vv. 12-13)—significantly in front of Sārvabhauma's students—and the vanquished Sārvabhauma falls at Caitanya's feet, acknowledging him to be Kṛṣṇa (vv. 14-19).

Kavikarṇapūra presents two slightly different, but complementary views of the episode. In his *kāvya*, *KCCM* 12.3-91, Kavikarṇapūra notes that Sārvabhauma was quite taken with the beauty and intelligence of the young *saṃnyāsin* Caitanya, questioning repeatedly his reasons for renouncing (vv. 3-15) and decides finally to teach him Vedānta (v. 16); Sārvabhauma expounds the Vedānta (vv. 19-22) which Caitanya corrects to the view of *bhakti* (vv. 23-26); Sārvabhauma deduces that one so brilliant can only be Kṛṣṇa (vv. 27-32) which prepares him for the revelation of Caitanya's four-armed form (v. 33). Although it is not unambiguous, it would appear that at least one of Sārvabhauma's students was present (v. 27). Sārvabhauma then sends Caitanya one hundred *ślokas* he has composed (vv. 36-41); Caitanya postpones his pilgrimage and returns to join Sārvabhauma (vv. 42-60), whom he awakens with a gift of *prasāda* which Sārvabhauma consumes joyously, forgetting his ritual impurity (vv. 61-78); Caitanya then expounds *ślokas* from the *BhP* and Sārvabhauma acknowledges again Caitanya's divinity (vv. 79-91).

Kavikarṇapūra's drama, *CCN* 6.34-74, presents a supplemental version of the above: No actual confrontation between Caitanya and Sārvabhauma is recorded, but a prior debate between Sārvabhauma and Mukunda, in front of the former's arrogant students (32-42), anticipates Kṛṣṇadāsa's arguments in *CC* 2.6 and 2.24. Sārvabhauma sends for Caitanya so that he can discuss the latter's *saṃnyāsa* and the intricacies of Vedānta (48-52); the scene shifts and suddenly the devotees are abuzz with the rumor that Sārvabhauma ate the *prasāda* proferred by Caitanya before the

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196 Another day, Prabhu went to have *darśana* of Jagannātha; he saw the *śayyotthāna* of Jagannātha, 197 and a *pūjārī* brought and gave him a garland and food from the *prasāda*; when he received the garland and the *prasāda*, Prabhu was delighted. 198 He tied up the garland and the *prasāda* in his garment and quickly came to the house of Bhaṭṭācārya. 199 It was dawn when Prabhu came there, and Bhaṭṭācārya was just waking up. 200 "Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa" broke from his lips as Bhaṭṭācārya awoke; and when he heard the name of Kṛṣṇa, Prabhu's joy increased. 201 He caught sight of Prabhu outside; and he fell over himself rushing to clasp his feet. 202 He gave him a seat to sit on, and both sat down; opening the *prasāda*-food, Prabhu put it into his hand. 203 Receiving the *prasāda*, Bhaṭṭācārya was delighted; but he had not performed his bath and morning rites; he had not even cleaned his teeth. 204 By the grace of Caitanya, all reticence went from his mind, and reciting this *śloka*, he ate the food:

Śloka 16. *Padma Purāṇa*:
Whether it be dry or stale or brought from a far country, [*mahāprasāda*] is to be eaten by the mere fact of having got it; nor should there be any discussion of time.

Śloka 17. *Padma Purāṇa*:
Even if the place be not proper, nor the time proper, so Hari commanded, the *prasāda* received by a man of culture is to be immediately consumed.

205 When he saw this, the heart of Mahāprabhu was delighted; overcome with *prema*, Prabhu embraced him. 206 Holding each other, both danced, Prabhu and his servant; at the touch of each other, the hearts of both flowered. 207 Sweat and trembling and tears floated both away in joy; overcome with *prema*, Prabhu began to say, 208 "Today I have easily conquered the three worlds.

former was ritually purified to accept it, and the story is confirmed (60-64); Sārvabhauma then discusses *bhakti* and his new-found devotion with Caitanya (65-72); and the episode ends with Sārvabhauma sending his compositions of praise to Caitanya (74).

The narrative sequence followed by Kṛṣṇadāsa in the current chapter appears to follow Kavikarṇapūra's *kāvya* and *nāṭaka* narrative rather closely, including the follow-up stories of the *prasāda* (*CC* 2.6.196-215); the writing of the *ślokas* on the palm-leaf (vv. 216-32); and the interpretation of the "*muktipade*" *śloka* (vv. 233-57). TKS]

196. See v. 66.

204. There is a pun here: *prasāda* means both "grace" and the food which has been offered to the deity.

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Today I have ascended to Vaikuṇṭha. 209 Today all my desires have been fulfilled; to Sārvabhauma has come faith in *mahāprasāda*. 210 Today, free from delusion, you have taken refuge in Kṛṣṇa. And Kṛṣṇa freely has become merciful to you. 211 Today he has broken the constraints pertaining to your physical body and related matters, today you have severed the bonds of *māyā*. 212 Today your heart has become devoted to the attainment of Kṛṣṇa, and transgressing the *dharma* of the Vedas, you have eaten the *prasāda*."

Śloka 18. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.7.41:
Those to whom the infinite Bhagavān is merciful, if they sincerely in every way take refuge at his feet, are able to pass beyond the difficult *māyā* of the gods, and for them no more egotism remains; for them the body is as food for dogs and jackals.

213 So saying, Mahāprabhu came to his own place; and from that time the egotism of Bhaṭṭācārya was broken. 214 He knew nothing other than the feet of Caitanya, and did not explain the *śāstras* in any way other than that of *bhakti*. 215 Gopīnāthācārya, seeing his Vaiṣṇava qualities, saying "Hari, Hari," began to dance, keeping rhythm with a clapping of his hands.

216 Another day Bhaṭṭācārya went to the *darśana*; but without seeing Jagannātha, he came to Prabhu's place. 217 Bowing low, he made various kinds of praise; and humbly he spoke of his own former wrong opinions. 218 He had a desire to hear of the essence of *bhakti-sādhana*; and Prabhu instructed him on *nāma-saṃkīrtana*.

Śloka 19. *Bṛhannāradīya Purāṇa* 38.126:
There is only the name of Hari, the name of Hari, the name of Hari; there is no other way, no other way, no other way, in the Kali age.

219 And he expounded and expanded on the meaning of this *śloka*, and when he heard it, Bhaṭṭācārya was amazed. 220 Gopīnāthācārya said, "That which I said to you before—listen, O Bhaṭṭācārya—has now happened to you." 221 Bhaṭṭācārya said, making obeisance to him, "Because of you, Prabhu has granted me grace. 222 You are a *mahābhāgavata*, and I was blinded by the logic of philosophy; because of my connection to you, Prabhu has granted me his grace."

Śloka 19. See 1.7.*śl.*3; 1.17.*śl.*3. [It should be noted that Murāri Gupta places this verse in the mouth of Caitanya in the same chapter (2.2.28) as the "*apāṇipādo*" *śloka* noted above (see commentary to v. 140.) TKS]

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223 Hearing these humble words, Prabhu embraced him with pleasure, and said, "Go and have *darśana* of Jagannātha." 224 Jagadānanda and Dāmodara—taking these two with him, Bhaṭṭācārya had *darśana* and came to his house. 225 He brought much of the best *prasāda*, and gave it into the hands of his own *brāhmaṇa*, and sent him with the two. 226 Personally writing two *ślokas* on a palm leaf, and saying, "Give this to Prabhu," he put it into the hand of Jagadānanda. 227 Both came to the place of Prabhu with the leaf and the *prasāda*; Mukunda Datta took the leaf into his hands, 228 and he wrote the two *ślokas* on the outside wall. Then Jagadānanda gave the leaf to Prabhu. 229 Prabhu read the *ślokas*, then tore the leaf and threw it away. But seeing them on the wall, all the *bhaktas* read the *ślokas*:

Ślokas 20-21. Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka* 6.74 [*ślokas* 44-45; quoting Sārvabhauma]:

20 I take refuge in him who, incarnated as Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, who teaches the meaning of his own *bhakti-yoga* and the knowledge of asceticism, who is the *ādi-puruṣa* and a sea of grace. 21 May I be absorbed, like a *citta*-bee, in excessive love, at the lotus-feet of him who has become manifest with the name of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, to manifest his own *bhakti-yoga*, which has become destroyed in the course of time.

230 These two *ślokas* became necklaces of jewels on the throats of the *bhaktas*, and the praise of Sārvabhauma was announced as with the beat of a drum. 231 Sārvabhauma became a single-minded *bhakta* of Prabhu, and he knew no service other than that of Mahāprabhu. 232 "Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, son of Śacī, a treasure-house of qualities"—this was his meditation, his repetition, this is the name he took.

233 One day Sārvabhauma came to the place of Prabhu; making obeisance, he began to recite *ślokas*. 234 he recited a *śloka* of the *Bhāgavata* of the praise of *brahma*, but at the end of the *śloka* he changed two *akṣaras*:

Śloka 22. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.14.8:

That man participates in the heritage of *bhakti*, who, looking well to your mercy, enjoying the fruits of the *karma* earned by himself, is living making obeisance to you with speech, mind, and body.

Śloka 21. *Citta*: thought or affection.
234. Akṣara: "syllables" or "letters," consonant-sign with inherent vowel.
Śloka 22. See 3.9.*śl.*2. He has changed "*mu*" to "*bha*" making *bhakti* in place of *mukti*.

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235 Prabhu said, "'*mukti-pade*' is the proper reading; why do you read '*bhakti-pade*'? What is your purpose?" 236 Bhaṭṭācārya said, "*Mukti* is not the fruit of *bhakti*, but is the punishment for those who have their faces averted from Bhagavān. 237 He who does not honor as true the *vigraha* of Kṛṣṇa, and who abuses him, or contests him, 238 has as punishment for these two [offences] *mukti* in union with *brahma*. *Mukti* is not the end for him who follows the way of *bhakti*. 239 Indeed, that *mukti* is of five kinds: *sālokya*, *sāmīpya*, *sārūpya*, *sārṣṭi*, and *sāyujya*. 240 If [you say] there are means of service in the first four of the series beginning with *sālokya*, then some *bhaktas* will agree. 241 But to hear '*sāyujya*' is hateful and fearful to a *bhakta*, he would prefer hell to acceptance of *sāyujya*. 242 Union with *brahma* and with Īśvara are two kinds of *sāyujya*; and union with Īśvara is more blameworthy than union with *brahma*."

Śloka 23. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.29.13:
Even if I myself am prepared to give it, my people do not take to *sālokya*, *sārṣṭi*, *sārūpya*, *sāmīpya*, or *ekatva*, without serving me.

243 Prabhu said, "There is another meaning to the word '*mukti*'; in the word '*mukti-pada*' the manifest Īśvara speaks. 244 At whose feet is *mukti*, he is called '*mukti-pada*,' he who is *samāśraya* of the ninth meaning is *mukti-pada*. 245 So by these two meanings 'Kṛṣṇa' is meant; what is the purpose of changing the reading?" Sārvabhauma said, "I am not able to speak that word. 246 Even though your meaning can be gotten from this word, because of the double meaning, [still] it cannot be spoken. 247 Even though there are five meanings in the word '*mukti*' in its specialized meaning it is still knowledge of *sāyujya*. 248 To say the word '*mukti*' brings hatred and terror to my heart, while to say the word *bhakti* brings joy to it." 249 Hearing this, Prabhu smiled, with joy in his heart, and Prabhu gave Bhaṭṭācārya a

238. *Sāyujya*: "union with" *brahman*.
239. See commentary on 1.3.16.
241. See commentary on v. 238 above.
242. One might desire union with *brahman*, which, as a lower state of attainment, would still allow for devotion in the highest state; if one desires union in the highest state, however, there is no further recourse, there is no room for *bhakti*.
Śloka 23. See 1.4.*śl*.36; 2.9.*śl*.24; 2.19.*śl*.24; 3.3.*śl*.12.
244. He at whose feet *mukti* can be obtained: i.e., Kṛṣṇa. In *BhP* 2.10.1 there are mentioned ten objects or meanings (*padārtha*); the ninth of these is *mukti* and the tenth *āśraya*. *Āśraya*: "refuge" is Kṛṣṇa: he is the repository of *mukti*, the ninth.
245. I.e., *mukti*.
247. There are five kinds of *mukti*.

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profound embrace. 250 That Bhaṭṭācārya who had read and taught the *māyāvāda* now blossomed forth in such speech by the grace of Caitanya. 251 If it touches iron and gold does not come, then no one can recognize a touchstone. 252 And everyone, when they saw the Vaiṣṇava qualities of Bhaṭṭācārya, knew Prabhu to be the manifest Vrajendranandana.

253 Kāśī Miśra and the others, all those who lived at Nīlācala, came to take refuge at the feet of Prabhu. 254 I shall describe all these occurrences later—how Sārvabhauma served Prabhu. 255 How he regularly carried out feeding [him]—I shall expand on this at a later time. 256 This was the *līlā* of Mahāprabhu, in company with Sārvabhauma. He who listens to this reverently 257 is freed from the bonds of *jñāna* and *karma*, and shortly gains the feet of Caitanya.

258 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

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Madhya Līlā
Chapter 7

Śloka 1.

I praise that gracious Caitanya who, with mind moist with mercy, made Vāsudeva free from his leprosy, healthy in form, and delighted in *bhakti*.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to the hosts of Gaura-*bhakta*s.

2 In this way he saved Sārvabhauma; and a desire was born in him to take a journey to the south. 3 In the bright fortnight of the month of Māgha, Prabhu took *saṃnyāsa*, and in Phālguna he came to live at Nīlācala. 4 At the end of Phālguna he saw the Swing Festival, and in a passion of *prema* he sang and danced much. 5 He remained there for the month of Caitra, and released Sārvabhauma; at the first of Vaiśākha he had a mind to go to the south. 6 He summoned his own people, and spoke to them humbly; he embraced them, and holding them in his holy arms, [said], 7 "Knowing all of you, I consider you more than my life; my life can go, but I cannot abandon you. 8 You are all my friends, and you have done a deed of friendship, that you have brought me here and showed me Jagannātha. 9 Now from all of you I beg one gift; all agree, and give me your permission to go to the south. 10 To inquire about Viśvarūpa I shall certainly go, and I shall go alone, and take no one with me. 11 As long

4. Dola-yātrā: the festival at which the image is taken form the temple and placed, often with his consort, in a swing. Phālguna is February-March. *Āveśa*: passion, delirium, possession.

5. Caitra: March-April, the last month of the year; Vaiśākha: the first month of the new year, April-May.

10. Viśvarūpa was Caitanya's brother, who had taken *saṃnyāsa* before him and who, there was obviously reason to believe, had gone to the south.

11. Setubandha: the extreme southern tip of the subcontinent is believed to have originally connected the island of Sriī Lanka with the mainland.

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as I have not returned from Setubandha, you will remain at Nīlācala." 12 That Viśvarūpa had gained perfection, everyone knew; Caitanya used this cover to rescue the southern country.

13 When they heard this, there was great sadness in the minds of all; it was as if a thunderbolt had fallen on their heads, and their mouths dried up. 14 Nityānanda Prabhu said, "How can this be? You will go alone? Who will help you? 15 Let one or two go with you; do not do such a rash thing. Let two whom you pick go with you. 16 I know all the ways to the pilgrimage places in the south. Let me go with you, Prabhu! Give me the command!" 17 Prabhu said, "I am a puppet, and you are the holder of the string. As you cause me to dance, so I dance. 18 Having taken *saṃnyāsa*, I would have gone to Vṛndāvana; you brought me to the house of Advaita. 19 And coming to Nīlācala, you broke my staff; in my profound love for you all is the destruction of my duty. 20 Jagadānanda wants me to enjoy material goods; and I am anxious to do what he says. 21 If I ever did anything contrary to his words, he would not speak a word to me for three days in anger. 22 Mukunda is saddened, seeing that I have taken the *dharma* of a *saṃnyāsin*, bathing three times [a day] in the winter, and lying on the ground. 23 Mukunda is saddened in his heart, but he says nothing with his mouth; and when I see his sorrow, my own sorrow increases twofold. 24 I am a *saṃnyāsin*, and Dāmodara is a *brahmacārī*; he always remains over me, holding the punishment rod of instruction. 25 Before him, I know nothing of these matters; he does not like it that my actions are my own. 26 From the grace of Kṛṣṇa, which is his, he does not have to concern himself with other people; but I can never escape consideration of others. 27 So you all remain at Nīlācala, and for a few days I shall wander by myself among the pilgrimage places."

28 Prabhu relished those qualities by which he was under the sway of all of these people, under the pretext of finding fault with them. 29 Caitanya's affection for his *bhaktas* is a matter which is indescribable; he himself bore [in addition] the sorrow of renunciation. 30 And seeing the sorrow which afflicted the *bhaktas*, that sorrow seemed unbearable to him. 31 Under the pretext of

12. It is not clear whether this is an editorial comment on the part of Kṛṣṇadāsa, or whether this is what the *bhaktas* were thinking. *Siddhi prāpti*: "gained perfection," i.e., died.

17-24. These incidents are all related in 3.3.

26. I.e., Caitanya has not yet reached a stage of indifference to the world. [More theologically, in his role as model devotee he realizes all-too-well the effects of his own actions on the behavior of others; and in his role as Lord, he cannot divorce himself from his devotees, as the following verses make clear. TKS]

28. Vaśa: sway, control. See also 1.4.216; 1.7.138; 1.17.71, *śl.*5; and 2.23.26.

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attributing faults to their qualities, he forbade them all; in renunciation he would wander alone to the pilgrimage places. 32 The four of them begged him much; but Prabhu was the self-dependent Īśvara, and paid them no heed. 33 Then Nityānanda said, "Whatever you order, whether it is sorrow or happiness, is my duty. 34 But one more prayer: consider it and give your assent. 35 You have a loincloth and an outer garment, and vessel for water and you will take nothing else with you. 36 Your two hands will be busy in the counting of the names; how will you carry your waterpot and outer garment? 37 And on the road you will become unconscious in a delirium of *prema*; who will keep your waterpot and clothing? 38 Here is a simple *brāhmaṇa* named Kṛṣṇadāsa; honor this prayer and take him with you. 39 He will go with you and carry your waterpot and clothing. [But] do whatever you wish; I shall say no more." 40 Then at these words, Prabhu embraced him, and with them all he went to the house of Sārvabhauma.

41 Sārvabhauma bowed low, and offered him a seat, and he seated them all together. 42 And speaking many things of Kṛṣṇa, he said to him, "I have come to your place to ask permission. 43 When he took *saṃnyāsa*, Viśvarūpa went to the south. Of course, I want to make inquiry after him. 44 Give me your permission, that I may go to the south; with your blessing, I shall return safely." 45 When he heard this, Sārvabhauma was very much pained; holding his feet he gave a dejected answer, 46 "As a result of the merits of many births, I have made your friendship; my fate has now broken this same companionship. 47 If a thunderbolt were to fall upon my head, or if my son should die—this I could bear; but separation from you cannot be borne. 48 You are self-dependent Īśvara, and you will go; but stay [here] a few days, that I may see your feet." 49 At his sorrow, Prabhu's decision was delayed; he remained a few days and did not depart. 50 Bhaṭṭācārya eagerly invited him, and having food cooked in his house, he fed Prabhu. 51 His wife, who was known as "Sāṭhīra Mātā," cooked and fed him; there is a wonderful story of her. 52 But I shall speak of her later, and expand on this; now let me tell the story of Prabhu's southern pilgrimage.

53 Prabhu remained a few days at the place of Bhaṭṭācārya, and then he asked leave. 54 Because of the eagerness of Prabhu, Bhaṭṭācārya agreed; and Prabhu

32. Nityānanda, Jagadānanda, Dāmodara, and Mukunda. *Svatantra*: self-dependent.

38. He is also called Kāla Kṛṣṇadāsa (2.10.60). He was one of Nityānanda's people, from the village of Ākāihāṭa in Barddhamān district.

51. His wife is called "*brāhmaṇī*," and she was known as the "mother of Ṣāṭhī," Ṣāṭhī being their daughter's name.

52. For the interesting story of Ṣāṭhī, see 2.15.184-290.

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took him to the temple of Jagannātha. 55 Having had *darśana*, he begged leave from the *ṭhākura*; the *pūjārī* brought a garland and *prasāda* and gave it to Prabhu. 56 Receiving the garland and the leave, he joyfully made obeisance, and in great joy Gaurahari set forth toward the southern country. 57 Bhaṭṭācārya, with many others of his own people, circumambulated Jagannātha and went forth. 58 Along the way, on the sea shore, was Ālālanātha; Sārvabhauma said to Gopīnātha Ācārya, 59 "I have kept four loin-cloths and four outer robes in the house; have them brought by the *brāhmaṇa*, as well as *prasāda*-food." 60 Then Sārvabhauma said at the feet of Prabhu, "You will certainly respect this my request. 61 Rāya Rāmānanda lives on the banks of the Godāvarī; he is the *adhikārī* in Vidyānagara. 62 Do not disregard him because he is a Śūdra and because he is concerned with things of the world; at my request please meet with him. 63 He is a man suited to be your companion; in the earth there is not a *rasika-bhakta* equal to him. 64 He is the limit of both learning and *bhakti-rasa*; if you talk with him you will know his greatness. 65 Not understanding his unwordly speech and behavior, I have laughed [at him], calling him 'Vaiṣṇava.' 66 By your grace, now, I know the truth about him; when you talk with him you will know his greatness." 67 Prabhu, having agreed to his words, bade him farewell and embraced him. 68 "At home, when you worship Kṛṣṇa, give your blessing to me, that by your grace I may return to Nīlācala." 69 And so saying, Mahāprabhu departed. And Sārvabhauma fainted, and fell there on the earth.

70 Disregarding him, Mahāprabhu went quickly; who can say what was in his mind and heart? 71 The nature of the mind in a profound experience is like this: gentle as a flower, but hard as a thunderbolt.

Śloka 2. *Uttaracarita* 2.7:

Who can know the minds of those people transcending the world, which are harder than a thunderbolt and softer than a flower?

72 So Nityānanda Prabhu raised the Bhaṭṭācārya up, and sent him home with his own people. 73 The *bhaktas* came quickly and went with Prabhu, and Gopīnātha came then, bringing clothing and *prasāda*. 74 Together with every-

55. Ṭhākura: Jagannātha.

56. Or: the garland which represented the permission of the deity to leave.

61. Adhikārī: the royal agent or functionary in the town of Vidyānagara.

65. I.e., when Sārvabhauma was not himself a *bhakta*, when he was a follower of the *advaitavāda*, he used to scoff at Rāmānanda's devotion.

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one, then, Prabhu came to Ālālanātha; having made obeisance, he praised him much. 75 Overcome by *prema* he danced and sang there for some time, and many people came and sat there to see. 76 All around, all the people cried, 'Hari, Hari!' as among them, overcome by *prema*, Gaurahari danced. 77 His body was like liquid gold, and his cloth the color of the dawn, with florets of gooseflesh, tears, trembling, and sweat the ornaments upon it. 78 Seeing this, the hearts of the people were overcome; many people came, and no one went home. 79 Some danced and some sang of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Gopāla, and the people floated in *prema*—women, old men, young girls and boys. 80 And when he saw this, Nityānanda Prabhu said to the *bhaktas*, "In the future, this kind of dancing will happen in every village." 81 The proper time had passed, but the people did not leave; but Nityānanda Gosvāmī created a way. 82 He went with Prabhu for the midday rituals, and seeing them the people came running from all four directions. 83 When they had performed the midday rituals, they came to a temple of the *devatā*; his own people entered and put a bar on the door. 84 Then Gopīnātha fed the two *prabhus*; and the people all ate the leavings of the remaining *prasāda*-food of Prabhu. 85 Hearing [that Caitanya was within], the people all came to the outside door, and made a great commotion, saying 'Hari, Hari!' 86 Then Mahāprabhu caused them to open the door, and in joy the people came and had *darśana*. 87 In this way, until it was evening, the people came and they became Vaiṣṇavas, and all danced and sang. 88 In this way he there, with his *bhaktas*, passed the night in the delight of stories of Kṛṣṇa. 89 In the morning, after he had bathed, he went away; bidding farewell to his *bhaktas*, he embraced them. 90 They all fell to the ground in a faint; but Prabhu did not turn back toward them. 91 In the pain of separation, Prabhu went, saddened, and after him went Kṛṣṇadāsa, carrying his vessel and his clothing. 92 The *bhaktas* remained fasting there; the next day, saddened, they returned to Nīlācala.

93 Like a maddened lion, Prabhu went forward; overcome by *prema*, he went, making *nāma-saṃkīrtana*.

Śloka 3. [the words of Caitanya]:

O Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa
O Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa
Save me, Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa

81. "Proper time": it was time for midday rituals.
84. *Śeṣa-prasādānna*: leftover *prasāda*-food.

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Deliver me, Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa
O Rāma Rāghava Rāma Rāghava Rāma Rāghava, protect me
Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa, deliver me.

94 Repeating this *śloka*, Gaurahari went on his way; seeing the people on the way he said to them, "Say Hari, Hari!" 95 Those people became drunk with *prema*, and said "Hare Kṛṣṇa!"; they followed behind Prabhu, entranced at the sight. 96 Embracing them, Prabhu carried them for a long distance; infusing *śakti* into them, he bade them farewell. 97 Those people returned to their own villages, and said "Kṛṣṇa," and laughed and wept and danced incessantly. 98 And whomever he saw he said to him, "Speak the name of Kṛṣṇa," and in this way that man made Vaiṣṇavas of all the people of his own village. 99 As many people as came by chance from within the village, by the grace of his *darśana* became like that, 100 then they would return to their own villages and make them Vaiṣṇava. When people of other villages came and saw him, they too became Vaiṣṇavas, 101 and they in turn instructed people in other villages, and in this fashion did all the country of the south became Vaiṣṇava. 102 In this way, while going along the road, he made hundreds and hundreds of people Vaiṣṇavas, having embraced them. 103 In whatever village he stopped, many people of that village came to see him in the house where he ate. 104 By the grace of Prabhu, they all became *mahābhāgavatas*; and those among them who were *ācāryas* saved the world. 105 In this way they soon came to Setubandha; by virtue of their connection to Prabhu, all those countries became Vaiṣṇava. 106 Those powers which he had not made manifest in Navadvīpa, he manifested and saved the southern lands. 107 He who worships Prabhu receives his grace; and he considers all these *līlās* true. 108 He, in whom is not born faith in these unworldly *līlās*, is destroyed in this world and in the other. 109 So at first has been described the way in which Prabhu proceeded; in a similar way, learn of his wanderings through the south.

110 While going in this way, he came to Kūrmasthāna; seeing the Tortoise, he praised it and bowed to it. 111 Overcome with *prema*, he laughed and trembled and danced and sang; and seeing this, the minds of all were struck with astonishment. 112 Hearing of these wonderful things, all the people came to see; they

96. Śakti: power, here clearly the power of devotion.
Śloka 3. See 2.9.*śl.*2.
106. Śaktis: powers.
110. Kūrmasthāna: Kūrmakṣetra, as it is more usually called, or in modern India Śrīkūrmam; it is a place in modern Gañjam district, in which there is a temple of the Tortoise-*avatāra*.

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thought the form and the *prema* of Prabhu very wonderful. 113 Seeing him they became Vaiṣṇavas, and said "Kṛṣṇa Hari!" And overcome with *prema* the people danced, with arms raised in the air. 114 And incessantly hearing the name of Kṛṣṇa in the mouths of the people, people from other villages became Vaiṣṇava; 115 in this way, successive countries became Vaiṣṇava, and with the flood of the nectar of the name of Kṛṣṇa the country was inundated. 116 After a while, when Prabhu came to his senses, the *sevaka* of the Tortoise paid him much respect. 117 Into whatever villages he went, these sorts of things came about; they have been spoken of in one place; I shall not speak of them again.

118 There was in that village of Kūrma a vedic *brāhmaṇa*; in much pure *bhakti* he offered Prabhu an invitation. 119 Bringing him to his house, he cleansed the feet of Prabhu; he, with his family, drank that water. 120 With many manifestations of affection, he caused him to take food; the remainder of the food of the Gosvāmī all the family ate. 121 "Those lotus-feet of yours on which Brahmā meditates have become visible, manifest in my house. 122 The limit of my blessedness cannot be described; today my birth, my family, and my wealth have become worthwhile. 123 Have mercy on me, Prabhu! Let me go with you! I am not able to bear the waves of sorrow of material things." 124 Prabhu said, "You should not say such foolish things; stay in your house and always take the name of Kṛṣṇa. 125 Instruct whomsoever you see about Kṛṣṇa; by my command, having become a *guru*, save this country. 126 The waves of worldly affairs shall never bind you; and again in this place you will gain my companionship." 127 In this way in whose house he ate, he spoke, and taught him thus. 128 And going along the way he stayed in various temples in villages; and he ate in various people's houses in various places. 129 Those rituals which Gosvāmī had performed in Kūrma, he performed everywhere, until he had again returned to Nīlācala. 130 Thus this matter has been expanded; in this way you will know the doings of Prabhu everywhere. 131 So that night he remained in that place, and in the morning, after having bathed, Prabhu went on his way. 132 Kūrma followed after Prabhu for a great distance. Prabhu, with great care, sent him to his home.

133 There was a gentle *brāhmaṇa* named Vāsudeva, whose whole body was rotten with leprosy, and full of worms. 134 From his body those worms would fall off, and he would pick the worms up and put them in their places. 135 In

128. Dui cāri sthāne: "in various places"; other texts read *ei pariṇāme*: "in this [as opposed to other] states," implying that, unlike his actions in the north, where he always dined in *brāhmaṇa* houses, he ate at the house of anyone, thereby saving him.

132. Both the *brāhmaṇa* and the village were named Kūrma.

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the night he heard that the Gosvāmī had come, and in the morning he came to see, at the house of Kūrma. 136 Having heard from the mouth of Kūrma of the coming of Prabhu, he fell to the earth, fainting in sorrow. 137 In various ways he began to lament, but coming to that place, Prabhu embraced him. 138 At the touch of Prabhu, the leprosy fled away with his sorrow, and now full of joy his body became beautiful. 139 Witnessing the grace of Prabhu, his heart was astonished. He recited a *śloka*, holding his feet, and praising him.

Śloka 4. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.81.16:
Where am I poor and evil; where is Kṛṣṇa Śrīniketana? Knowing me for a bad *brāhmaṇa*, I am still embraced by [his] arms.

140 Praising him much, he said, "Hear, O you who are full of mercy! Such qualities are not in *jīva*s. But they are in you. 141 When they see me, and get the smell of my foul disease, people flee away. But you touch me; you are the self-dependent Īśvara. 142 But I was good while I was vile and lowly; yet now conceit will be born in me." 143 Prabhu said, "You will never be proud. You will forever speak the name of Kṛṣṇa. 144 Commanded by Kṛṣṇa, go and save *jīva*s, and shortly Kṛṣṇa will embrace you." 145 So saying, Prabhu disappeared, and the two *brāhmaṇa*s wept on each others' shoulders, at the qualities of Prabhu. 146 So the tale of the salvation of Vāsudeva has been told, and the name of Prabhu became "Vāsudevāmṛtapada."

147 So have been told the first travels of Prabhu, the *darśana* of Kūrma and the liberation of Vāsudeva. 148 He who hears this *līlā* with reverence will soon be joined to the feet of Caitanya. 149 I do not know the beginning or the end of the *līlā* of Caitanya; I write that which I hear from the mouths of the great ones. 150 For this do not take offense at me, O *bhakta*s; my only refuge is at the feet of all of you.

151 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

Śloka 4. See 1.17.*śl*.6. [This *śloka* is not to be found in the printed edition of Rādhāgovinda Nātha, but its omission is clearly a mistake and not an editorial decision. The *śloka* is found cross-referenced as 2.7.*śl*.4 in his *śloka* index. Furthermore, the Gauḍīya Maṭha edition includes it (2.7.143) as do all other major editions, as well as the MSS consulted. TKS]

145. Kūrma and Vāsudeva.

146. "He whose feet (*pada*) are like immortal nectar (*amṛta*) to Vāsudeva."

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Madhya Līlā
Chapter 8

Śloka 1.

The ocean of Gaura, by the cloud of the *bhakta* Rāmānanda, distributes the nectar of the perfection of *bhakti* according to himself, that by it, raining down, the refuge of this ocean of jewels in the form of the experience of perfection, be gained by the nectar of perfection.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and glory to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 According to these previous principles Prabhu continued his journey, and after some days he came to the Narasiṃhakṣetra at Jiyaḍa. 3 Seeing Nṛsiṃha he prostrated himself, and overcome by *prema* he danced and sang and praised much; 4 "Glory to Śrī Nṛsiṃha, glory to Nṛsiṃha, to Narasiṃha be praise! Glory to the lord of Prahlāda, the bee at the lotus-mouth of Padmā."

Śloka 2. Śrīdhara Svāmin's *Bhāvārthadīpikā* commentary on *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 7.9.1:

As a lion is gentle towards his own offspring and violent in his wrath toward others, so this Nṛsiṃha, even though wrathful, is gracious to his own *bhaktas*.

5 Reciting many *ślokas* in this way he praised him much, and the servants of Nṛsiṃha brought and gave him a garland and *prasāda*. 6 As before, a certain *brāhmaṇa* invited him; remaining there that night, he went away. 7 In the morning he rose up and went off, overcome by *prema*; he did not know in what

4. Prahlādeśa: the Nṛsiṃha-*avatāra*, the man-lion, was to save Prahlāda from Hiraṇyakaśipu; thus the *avatāra* is known as the "lord"—*īśvara* or *īśa*—of Prahlāda. Padmā here is Lakṣmī; the word also means lotus.

7. *Āveśa*: overcome, possessed, here and throughout the chapter.

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direction he was going, nor whether it was night or day. 8 And as before, he made everyone Vaiṣṇavas; after a few days he came to the banks of the Godāvarī River. 9 When he saw the Godāvarī he remembered the Yamunā River, and seeing the forest on the banks he was reminded of Vṛndāvana. 10 In that forest he danced and sang for some time. And crossing the Godāvarī he bathed there. 11 Leaving the ghat, Prabhu sat at some distance beside the water and made Kṛṣṇa-*nāmā-saṃkīrtana*.

12 At that time Rāmānanda Rāya, mounted on a palanquin came to bathe, with sounding instruments. 13 With him came many vedic *brāhmaṇa*s; according to the custom, he bathed and offered *tarpaṇa*. 14 Prabhu saw him and recognized him—'This is Rāmā Rāya'; and his heart rose up anxious to meet him. 15 But Prabhu remained quietly sitting there; Rāmānanda saw the extraordinary *saṃnyāsin*, and came over. 16 His luster was like a hundred suns, and his clothes like the dawn, a very large, well-made powerful body, and eyes like lotuses. 17 Seeing this, he was astonished, and coming there he bowed and made obeisance. 18 Getting up, Prabhu said, "Rise up, say 'Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa'!" Prabhu's heart thirsted much to embrace him. 19 Then he asked: "Are you Rāmānanda Rāya?" And he said, "I am he, and a lowly *śūdra*, your servant." 20 Then Prabhu caught him up in a deep embrace; and overcome with *prema*, both Prabhu and servant were unconscious. 21 Natural *prema* was born in both of them, and both, each embracing the other, fell to the earth. 22 Stupor and sweat, and tears and trembling, hair standing on end in delight, and palor were on the faces of both, and a murmuring of the syllables of Kṛṣṇa's name was heard. 23 Seeing this, the *brāhmaṇa*s were astonished; those vedic *brāhmaṇa*s all asked, 24 "The radiance of the *saṃnyāsin* is indeed like that of *brahma*; why does he weep and embrace the *śūdra*? 25 And this *mahārāja*, of great and profound learning, why does he become disquieted and maddened at the touch of the *saṃnyāsin*?" 26 In such ways the *brāhmaṇa*s reflected to themselves; and seeing these unsympathetic people, Prabhu restrained himself.

12. Dolā: a palanquin which swings from the carrier poles suspending it.

13. Tarpaṇa: the offering of oblations to ancestors. Rādhāgovinda Nātha is at pains to point out that "according to custom or injunction" (*vidhi*) does not mean the injunction of the Vedic tradition, for, as he says, Rāmānanda did not participate in the brahmanical system.

22. [For these symptoms, see text and commentary to 1.7.86-93; 1.17.5; 2.18.151-74; and 2.23.31; see especially the commentary to v. 135 below. TKS]

26. [*Saṃvaraṇa*: "restrained" himself, lit., "covered over." This expression is frequently used in the biographical tradition to denote the conscious withdrawal of the outward signs of *prema* and Caitanya's manifest divinity, often motivated by the presence of sceptics or non-believers. TKS]

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27 Becoming calm, both sat in that place, and smiling Mahāprabhu began to say, 28 "Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya told me of your qualities; he implored me to meet you. 29 It is for meeting you that I have come here, and it is good that I have seen you so easily." 30 Rāya said, "Sārvabhauma knows me as his servant; he is attentive to my welfare even when he is not present. 31 By his grace I have gotten *darśana* of your feet; today my birth as a man has been fulfilled. 32 You have dispensed your grace to Sārvabhauma; this is the sign of it—that because of your *prema* for him you have touched an untouchable. 33 Where you are, Īśvara Nārāyaṇa is manifest; where I am, a servant of the king, a man concerned with the world, a lowly *śūdra*. 34 You did not abhor touching me out of respect for the Vedas; for you even to look upon me is forbidden by the Vedas. 35 Because of your grace you have done such deeds for which you can be reproached; you are Īśvara incarnate; who knows your innermost secret? 36 To save me you have come here; you are most full of mercy, you are the savior of the fallen. 37 This is the true nature of a great man—to save the lowly; it is not work appropriate to him; but still he goes to [the lowly man's] house.

Śloka 3. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.8.4:

O Bhagavān, great men go forth for the good of householders of humble hearts; let it not be considered otherwise.

38 There are a thousand *brāhmaṇa*s and others with me; at the sight of you the hearts of all are melted. 39 I hear the name 'Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa' from the lips of all of them; the bodies of all ripple with gooseflesh and tears are in their eyes. 40 In your form and in your nature are the signs of Īśvara; it is not possible that these immaterial qualities be in a *jīva*."

41 Prabhu replied, "You are the greatest of *mahābhāgavata*s; the hearts of all are melted at the sight of you. 42 What shall I say of others—I am a *māyāvādī*

37. "It is not the *dharma* of a *brāhmaṇa* or a *saṃnyāsin* to see or touch a lowly person, one who is concerned with the material world, such as I. But a truly great man (i.e., a *mahānta*) will ignore this, and even visit the house of such as I."

42. Caitanya had taken his *mantra* from Īśvara Purī, and had been initiated into *saṃnyāsa* by Keśava Bhāratī, both by their names members of Śaṅkara *advaitin* orders. It is said however that the *mantra* which he received was the Gopāla-*mantra*, which might suggest that Īśvara, despite his being a member of the Purī order, was himself a Kṛṣṇa-*bhakta*. In any case, Caitanya because of his clothing and perhaps sectarian marks on his forehead was recognizable as a member of the Bhāratī-*sampradāya*.

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saṃnyāsin; at your touch I float in *prema* for Kṛṣṇa. 43 I know this—that to purify my hard heart, Sārvabhauma told me to meet you." 44 In this way each praised the qualities of the other, and each at the sight of the other got joy in his heart. 45 At that time a vedic Vaiṣṇava *brāhmaṇa* came bowing to extend Prabhu an invitation. 46 He honored the invitation, for he knew him to be a Vaiṣṇava; and smiling a little, Prabhu said to Rāmānanda, 47 "I have a desire to hear words of Kṛṣṇa from your mouth, and that again I gain *darśana* of you." 48 Rāya replied, "If you have come to purify impure ones, not by a single *darśana* can the impurities of my heart be cleansed. 49 Remain for several days and scour it; then my evil heart can be made pure." 50 Although the separation could not be endured by either of them, still Rāmānanda Rāya bowed and went away. 51 Prabhu then went to the house of that *brāhmaṇa* and ate there, and both being restless, the evening finally came. 52 Prabhu bathed and performed the evening rituals and waited there, and Rāya came with a single servant to meet him. 53 Rāya made obeisance, and Prabhu embraced him, and they talked together, sitting in a solitary place.

54 Prabhu said, "Recite a *śloka* which demonstrates 'that which is to be gained.'" And Rāya said, "Viṣṇu-*bhakti* is in the observance of one's own *dharma*."

Śloka 4. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 3.8.9:

By those who follow the *varṇāśrama-dharma* is the *para-puruṣa* Viṣṇu worshiped; there is no others means [of gaining] him.

54. *Sādhya*: "that which is to be gained." To Vaiṣṇavas, this is the eternal service of Kṛṣṇa in pure *prema*. Rāmānanda is saying that one's own *dharma*, *svadharma*, the proper way of life for any individual, is *bhakti* to Viṣṇu.

Śloka 4. There are four *varṇas*, and four *āśramas*, and each has a *dharma* assigned it in the *śāstras*: *brāhmaṇa*: worship, sacrifice, study, teaching, giving, and acceptance of gifts; *kṣatriya*: giving, study, sacrifice, ruling and war; *vaiśya*: giving, study, sacrifice, agriculture, and trade; *śūdra*: the service of the other three. The *āśramas* and their *dharmas* are as follows: *brahmācāra*: living in the house of the *guru*, pure action, service of the *guru*, observance of vows, study of the Vedas, reverence and courtesy to the *guru*, etc.; *gṛhastha*: marriage, earning a living, homage to the gods, *ṛṣis*, and ancestors, etc.; *vānaprastha*: eating only roots and fruits, wearing matted hair, sleeping on the ground, silence, bathing three times a day, homage to the gods, the fire-sacrifice, asceticism, etc.; *bhikṣu* or *saṃnyāsa*: abandonment of *dharma*, *artha*, and *kāma*, considering all things the same, compassion for all living creatures, abandonment of companionship, etc.

Rāmānanda's choice of this *śloka* to recite in response to Caitanya's request is interesting, for the *bhakti-śāstras* say that true *bhakti* has nothing to do with the *varṇāśrama-dharma* or any other aspect of life regulated by the vedic tradition. See 2.22.49-50, for example. Rādhāgovinda Nātha's comment is that Rāmānanda is using this *śloka* as a starting point for his argument, for he must realize that other texts (e.g., *BhG* 2.37) say that what is gained through the following of the

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55 Prabhu said, "This is superficial; say what lies deeper." And Rāya replied, "The presentation of *karma* to Kṛṣṇa is the essence of *sādhya*."

Śloka 5. *Bhagavad Gītā* 9.27:
Whatever you do, or eat, or offer, or give, or mortify, Kaunteya, make it an offering to me.

56 Prabhu said, "This too is superficial; say what lies deeper." And Rāya replied, "The abandonment of *svadharma*—this is the essence of *sādhya*."

Śloka 6. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.11.32:
He who abandons his own full *dharma*, even though propounded by me, being aware of its qualities and faults, and worships me, he is the best of men.

Śloka 7. *Bhagavad Gītā* 18.66:
Abandon all the Laws and instead seek shelter with me alone.
Be unconcerned, I shall set you free from all evils.

57 Prabhu said, "This is still superficial; say what lies deeper." And Rāya replied, "*Bhakti* mingled with *jñāna* is the essence of the *sādhya*."

varṇāśrama-dharma is heaven, a lower state than that which the Vaiṣṇavas seek to gain. It is true that there are many ways of worshiping, and each of these pleases Īśvara in a different way. As a result, he grants grace, but also in different ways. And thus the ends which are gained by different means of worship are different; if one is to gain only heaven (*svarga*), then following the *varṇāśrama-dharma* is the appropriate way.

55. Observance of the *varṇāśrama-dharma* gains heaven for the worshiper, and therefore, since heaven is pleasurable, such observance is selfish and puts enjoyment over indifference to the pleasure or pain of the self. As in the *BhG* quote to follow, action is efficacious only when it is directed toward the deity, without thought of the satisfaction of the self. [*Sāra*: essence, denoting the best part of anything, its pith, heart, cream, and so forth. In the following passage, the connotation is one of process and refinement, and plays on the metaphoric image of gradually churning butter and cream from milk, and with the application of heat, getting thicker and richer, perhaps itself a deliberate pun on the pursuit of *rasa*, which is the pure experience of devotion, but also sap or juice. TKS]

56. Previously (v. 54) Rāmānanda used the term "*svadharma*" and quoted a *śloka* to suggest that he meant by this "*varṇāśrama-dharma*"; presumably it should be so read here.

Śloka 6. See 2.9.*śl.*21.

Śloka 7. See 2.9.*śl.*22; 2.22.*śl.*44.

57. Following Rādhāgovinda Nātha: there are three types of knowledge (*jñāna*): knowledge of the truth of godhead, knowledge of the true nature of the *jīva*, or the relationship between the *jīva* and the *bhagavat*, and knowledge of the identity of the *jīva* and *brahma (n)*. The third form is antagonistic to *bhakti*, but the first two forms of knowledge are acceptable. However, in 2.22.16

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Śloka 8. *Bhagavad Gītā* 18.54:

Having become *brahman*, serene of spirit, he does not grieve, he does not crave: equable to all creatures he achieves the ultimate *bhakti* of me.

58 Prabhu said, "This is superficial; say what lies deeper." Rāya replied, "*Bhakti* devoid of *jñāna* is the essence of the *sādhya*."

Śloka 9. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.14.3:

O unconquered one, you are often controlled by those in the three worlds who live paying heed in body, heart, and speech to the words and actions of you and your *bhaktas*, and according to the *śrutis* heard from the mouths of *sādhus* and in the place [of *sādhus*], abandoning completely attempts and refuge in *jñāna*.

59 Prabhu said, "This is so, but tell what is deeper." And Rāya said, "*Prema-bhakti* is the essence of all *sādhyas*."

Śloka 10. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 13 [quoting Rāmānanda Rāya]:

O *bhakta*, if he is worshiped with *prema* in various means and attentions, the heart of him who is friend to the wretched is melted in happiness; as when a strong hunger or thirst is felt in the stomach, water and food are the sources of pleasure to it.

Śloka 11. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 14 [quoting Rāmānanda Rāya]:

If any means can be found, then buy the wisdom which is gained by the self; but one's own strong desire is the sole price in the purchase and this desire cannot be had through good actions in a crore of rebirths.

60 Prabhu said, "This is true, but speak of further things." And Rāya replied, "*Dāsya-prema* is the essence of all *sādhya*."

below and in other places, it is clear that knowledge by itself is not efficacious; it might lead one to the lowest of the three strata of the ultimate, i.e., *brahma*. But even to reach this level of attainment one must follow *jñāna* mixed with *bhakti*.

Śloka 8. See 2.24.*śl*.41; 2.25.*śl*.43.

59. Rādhāgovinda Nātha: while *sādhana-bhakti* (i.e., *kīrtana*, listening to the *BhP*, etc.) is going on, by the grace of Bhagavān the mind and heart are purified, and the knowledge of the true relationship between the *jīva* and the deity is gained; the worshiper is then in direct relationship to the *svarūpa*, and the desire for service of the deity, in this condition, is *prema-bhakti*.

60. *Dāsya* is the first of the four states of relationship to Kṛṣṇa: that of a servant to a master. Some texts add a fifth, coming before *dāsya*, that is, *śānta*. As we shall see in 2.19.173-174, Kṛṣṇadāsa

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Śloka 12. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 9.5.16:

That man who only hears the name becomes pure—what is the want of such servants of him whose feet are to be sought?

Śloka 13. Yamunācārya's *Stotraratna* 48:

When will I, my other desires being stilled, be fulfilled in joy by eternal service to you, and become your constant servant?

61 Prabhu said, "This is so, but there is more further on." And Rāya replied, "*Sakhya-prema* is the essence of all *sādhya*."

Śloka 14. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.12.11:

They, worshipful for the merit they had earned, played with him, whom the followers of *māyā* consider as a human child, and whom worshipers in the *dāsya-bhāva* consider to be the god to be fully adored, and whom those who follow *jñāna* consider to be the experience of the pleasure of *brahma*.

62 Prabhu said, "This is most excellent, but there is more." And Rāya replied, "*Vātsalya-prema* is the essence of all *sādhya*."

Śloka 15. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.8.46:

O *brāhmaṇa*: what holy work, engendering such great merit, did Nanda do, or the most blessed Yaśodā, that Hari sucked milk from her breast?

feels that *śānta*, "peaceful," is not valid because it is not an emotional relationship; in *śānta-bhāva*, one feels peace because one is an insignificant creature before the all-powerful deity. This does not give Kṛṣṇa satisfaction; only love gives Kṛṣṇa satisfaction, and as a servant can love a master, the *dāsya-bhāva* is valid, although it is the lowest of the valid relationships.

Śloka 13. See 2.1.*śl.*12.

61. Sakhya is the second of the four states, "friendship," as represented in the Vraja-*līlā* by such as Kṛṣṇa's brother Balarāma, and others among the *gopas*, the cowherd boys who were Kṛṣṇa's companions and friends. It is a state more efficacious than *dāsya*, for in the *dāsya-bhāva* the *bhakta* looks up to Kṛṣṇa, though with love. In the *sakhya-bhāva*, he considers Kṛṣṇa as a friend, and from this kind of affection Kṛṣṇa derives satisfaction.

Śloka 14. See 3.7.*śl.*6.

62. Vātsalya is the third of the four states, "parental love," the love which Kṛṣṇa's foster parents Yaśodā and Nanda showed for him. It involves reprimands, rebukes, and punishments, as well as protection, love, and care. It includes both *dāsya*, as one cooks for, cares for, and generally serves a child, and *sakhya*, for one can treat a child as an intimate friend.

Śloka 15. See 3.7.*śl.*7.

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Śloka 16. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.9.20:

Such grace as the *gopī* received from the giver of *mukti*, Brahmā did not receive, nor Śiva, nor even his most beloved Śrī.

63 Prabhu said, "This is most excellent, but there is more." And Rāya replied, "*Prema* for a blessed one is the essence of all *sādhya*.

Śloka 17. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.47.60:

That grace which rose up for the beautiful women of Vraja, who received the blessing of necks embraced by his arms at the time of the *rāsa*-celebration was not vouchsafed even to Śrī, eternally beloved, or heavenly women, whose scent is like lotuses; so why others?

Śloka 18. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.32.2:

After the various lamentations of the *gopīs* in the *rāsa-līlā*, he suddenly appeared among them, dressed in a yellow robe, with a garland of wild-flowers and a smiling face—like Madana the mind-stealer manifest.

64 So there are multifarious means for gaining Kṛṣṇa, but the differences in gaining Kṛṣṇa are also many. 65 Whoever has a particular *bhāva*—that is best of all; if they are examined impartially, it appears that they are different.

Śloka 19. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*dakṣiṇa-vibhāga, sthāyibhāva-laharī*] 2.5.38:

Gradually there appears as a residue a certain sweet love for something which consists in the expansion of a special *rasa*.

66 The qualities of each preceding *rasa* are fewer, and progressively they expand

63. This is here called *kānta-prema*, though often *mādhurya* or *śṛṅgāra*. The passion which is evident in a relationship of lover and beloved includes the other three types of love or affection; it is also of the greatest intimacy, and thereby gives to Kṛṣṇa the greatest satisfaction.

Śloka 17. See 2.8.*śl.*50; 2.9.*śl.*9; 3.7.*śl.*5.

Śloka 18. See 1.5.*śl.*22; 2.8.*śl.*30.

64. I.e., the *rasa* which is experienced when Kṛṣṇa-*svarūpa* is gained varies according to the way in which the Kṛṣṇa-*svarūpa* is gained. The *rasa* of *kānta-prema*, in other words, is of a different quality from that of *dāsya-prema*.

65. I.e., one worships in the way for which one is most suited, and his own way seems best to the worshiper. But there are objective differences.

Śloka 19. See 1.4.*śl.*5.

66. *Śānta-rasa* (which Rāmānanda did not include before) has one quality, *dāsya* two, *sakhya* three, *vātsalya* four, and *madhura-rasa* five.

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up to five. 67 By the primacy of qualities, the primacy of taste grows in each *rasa*; the qualities of *śānta*, *dāsya*, *sakhya*, and *vātsalya* reside in *madhura*. 68 It is as if in succeeding elements the qualities of sky and the rest were increased gradually culminating all five in the earth. 69 The gaining of Kṛṣṇa fully is from this *prema*; and Kṛṣṇa is controlled by this *prema*, so it says in the *Bhāgavata*.

Śloka 20. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.82.44:
Bhakti alone to me leads to immortality for all beings. It is most fortunate that love toward me has been born in you, gaining myself.

70 The promise of Kṛṣṇa is firm for all time: in whichever way one worships Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa reciprocates accordingly.

Śloka 21. *Bhagavad Gītā* 4.11:
In whatever way one worships me, I honor him in that same way, for in all their various ways men do follow my path, Pārtha.

71 He is not able to worship according to this *prema*; thus he becomes a debtor, so the *Bhāgavata* says.

Śloka 22. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.32.22:
Your union with me is stainless, and I by my own deeds will not be able to repay you even in the lifetime of a god. You have loved me properly, and have cut fully all the unaging fetters of world and family. Let your holy deeds be rewarded by their own holiness.

67. By "taste" he is playing on the word *rasa*, which means both the ultimate religious or esthetic experience, and "juice."

68. The five elements are ether, air/wind, fire, water, and earth, and their qualities or *guṇas* are: sky: sound; air/wind: sound and touch; fire: sound, touch, and form; water: sound, touch, form, and taste; and earth: sound, touch, form, taste, and smell. Thus all the qualities are included in "earth," and earth has as well a particular quality of its own.

69. The fifth, or *kānta-prema*. For more on the control (*vaśa*) of Kṛṣṇa through *prema*, see 1.4.216; 1.7.138; 1.17.71, *śl.*5; and 2.23.26.

Śloka 20. See 1.4.*śl.*3; 2.13.*śl.*8.

Śloka 21. See 1.4.*śl.*2; 1.4.*śl.*28.

71. First, the *gopīs* have dedicated themselves wholly to the satisfaction of Kṛṣṇa; if he were in this same way to dedicate himself wholly to the satisfaction of them, they would still be unsatisfied, for satisfaction of themselves was not the object of their *prema*. And secondly, the *gopīs* individually gave up all to worship him; he cannot abandon all the *gopīs* in order to satisfy an individual.

Śloka 22. See 1.4.*śl.*29; 3.7.*śl.*11.

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72 Even though the beauty of Kṛṣṇa is the ultimate of sweetness, his sweetness increased by association with the women of Vraja."

Śloka 23. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.33.6:
As a great emerald among the golden ones there, so Bhagavān, son of Devakī, shone forth.

73 Prabhu said, "This is certainly the ultimate of *sādhya*; but I pray, tell me if there is anything more." 74 And Rāya replied, "Such a man who would ask for more than this, I have not known on the earth for such a long time. 75 Within all this, the *prema* of Rādhā is the crest-jewel of *sādhya*; the greatness of this is witnessed by all the *śāstras*."

Śloka 24. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*, *uttara-khaṇḍa* 45 [quoting from *Padma Purāṇa*):
Just as Rādhā is the beloved of Kṛṣṇa, so is she a reservoir of love for him. Among all the *gopīs*, she alone is perfectly loved by him.

Śloka 25. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.30.28:
Surely the Bhagavān Hari was worshiped by her so that he abandoned us and happily led her away in secret.

76 Prabhu said, "Say more, for I gain happiness in hearing; an unprecedented stream of nectar flows from your mouth. 77 He stole Rādhā away in fear of the *gopīs*; if it is dependent upon others, the profundity of *prema* does not manifest itself. 78 If he openly abandoned the *gopīs* in favor of Rādhā, then we know the depth of Kṛṣṇa's love for Rādhā." 79 Rāya said, "Hear the greatness of that love; for in the three worlds there is no equal for the *prema* of Rādhā. 80 Having left the circle of the *rāsa*-dance of the *gopīs*, he wandered lamenting in the forest, looking for Rādhā.

72. [*Mādhurya*: sweetness; opposed to *aiśvarya*, sovereign divinity. TKS]
Śloka 24. Kuṇḍa: reservoir. See 1.4.*śl.*40; 2.18.*śl.*2.
Śloka 25. See 1.4.*śl.*14.
77. I.e., he had to steal her away, and not take her openly, because of the jealousy and hurt that that would cause the others. But, says Caitanya, if this is so, *prema* must to some extent be dependent upon others, or he would not have been afraid to take her away openly.
78. But, Caitanya goes on, if Kṛṣṇa left the other *gopīs* for Rādhā's sake, caring more for her love than the hurt it might cause the others—and presumably himself, for he loved the others too—then that was a true manifestation of *prema*.

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Śloka 26. Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* 3.1:
Kṛṣṇa, foe of the demon Kaṃsa, abandoned all the beautiful women of Vraja and held Rādhā to his heart, her, by whom the fetter was tied by the *vāsanas* of worldly existence.

Śloka 27. Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* 3.2:
And that Mādhava, pained in his heart by the blow of the arrow of Anaṅga, went searching here and there for Rādhā, his heart burning and repentant, in the groves on the banks of Kalinda's daughter.

81 If we examine the meaning of these two *ślokas* we will know; on examination it will rise up like a well of nectar. 82 He was with a hundred crores of *gopīs* in the *rāsa-vilāsa*; yet within it one *mūrti* remained next to Rādhā. 83 Seeing the equality of ordinary *prema* everywhere, the crooked love of Rādhā became trickery.

Śloka 28. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi*, [*śṛṅgārabheda-prakaraṇa*] 15.102:
Like a snake are the ways of love, by nature crooked; thus *māna* is produced both with and without reason, in young men and women.

84 Being angry, she left the *rāsa* dance, in pique; and not seeing her, Śrī Hari was very disturbed. 85 The *rāsa-līlā* was fully the essence of the desire of Kṛṣṇa; and Rādhika was the fetter to his desire for *rāsa-līlā*. 86 Without her the *rāsa-līlā* did not blossom in his heart, and leaving the circle he went to search for Rādhā. 87 Wandering here and there, he found Rādhā nowhere; he was repentant, and grieved by the arrow of Kāma. 88 Among the hundred crores of *gopīs*, [the fire of] Kāma was not extinguished; by this can be deduced the qualities of Śrī Rādhikā."

89 Prabhu said, "It was for this that I have come to your place, for knowledge of the truth about matters of *rasa*. 90 Now I have seen a demonstration

Śloka 26. See 1.4.*śl.*42.
Śloka 27. "Kalinda's daughter": the river Yamunā.
82-83. In the *rāsa*-dance, a *mūrti*, a form, of Kṛṣṇa was between each two *gopīs*, and one *mūrti* in the center of the circle. For a hundred crores of *gopīs* there were a hundred crores of Kṛṣṇa-*mūrtis*, plus one. Rādhā, seeing that she had no more of Kṛṣṇa than did any of the others, became irritated, and to demonstrate her irritation she left the dance, in pique (*māna*). *Bāmatā*: trickery or waywardness, lit., "left-ness."
Śloka 28. See 2.14.*śl.*4.
87. Kāma is Kāmadeva, the god of love and sexual passion.
90. *Sevya*: that which is to be served; *sādhya*: that which is to be gained.

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of 'that which is to be served,' and 'that which is to be gained.' But I want to hear a little more. 91 Tell me of the *svarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa, and the *svarūpa* of Rādhikā; what is the truth of *rasa*; what is the form of the truth of *prema*. 92 Being merciful, tell these truths to me; for except for you no one is able to explain the matter." 93 Rāya replied, "I know nothing about these things; I speak the words that you cause me to speak. 94 I recite your teaching—just as a parrot recites. You are the manifest Īśvara; who can understand your play? 95 You suffuse my heart, and you cause my tongue to speak; I do not know whether what I say is good or bad." 96 Prabhu said, "But I am a *saṃnyāsin* who is *māyāvādī*; I do not know the truth about *bhakti*. I float in the *māyāvāda*. 97 In the company of Sārvabhauma my mind became purified. I asked him questions of the truth of the *bhakti* of Kṛṣṇa. 98 And he said, 'I know nothing of the matters of Kṛṣṇa. Among all people, Rāmānanda knows, and he is not here.' 99 So I have come to your place, having heard of your greatness. And you praise me, knowing me to be a *saṃnyāsin*. 100 Whether a man is a *brāhmaṇa* or a *saṃnyāsin* or a *śūdra*, he who is versed in the truths of Kṛṣṇa is a *guru*. 101 Do not evade [me] by calling [me] a *saṃnyāsin*; but speak of the truth of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, and fill my heart."

102 Even though Rāya was a *premī*, among the *mahābhāgavatas*, the magical power of Kṛṣṇa could not hide from his heart. 103 And so the most powerful desire of Prabhu he understood, and the heart of Rāya was trembling. 104 And Rāya said, "I am the dancer, and you are the holder of the strings; as you cause me to dance, so I want to dance. 105 My tongue is the *vīṇā*-instrument; but you are the holder of the *vīṇā*; what rises up in your mind—it is that which I sound. 106 Kṛṣṇa is the highest Īśvara, *svayaṃ bhagavān*, the container of *avatāras*, and the chief cause of everything. 107 The infinite Vaikuṇṭha and the infinite *avatāras*, the infinite Brahmā-worlds—he is the receptacle of all of these. 108 He is Vrajendranandana, whose body is *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*; he possesses all majesty, all *śaktis*, and is full of all *rasa*.

94. "Play" here is *nāṭa*, drama.

100. This was the opinion current in Kṛṣṇadāsa's time in Vṛndāvana, and but a few years later, Narottama Dāsa, who was a *kāyastha*, Śyāmānanda, who was a *sadgopa*, and others took *brāhmaṇas* as their pupils (*PHM*, 80-81). In the lists of the qualities which a proper *dīkṣā-guru* must have, there is no mention of caste (Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's *HBhV* 2.238). It was an iconoclastic attitude which set the Bengali Vaiṣṇava community in Vṛndāvana apart.

102. Rāmānanda had *prema*, his heart was pure, and he was able to understand the truth about Caitanya, could penetrate the veil of Kṛṣṇa's *māyā*. He knew, in other words, that the talk of Caitanya's being a *māyāvādī saṃnyāsin* and so forth was for outward show, and that Caitanya's true nature was *svatantra* Īśvara, the self-dependent Lord.

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Śloka 29. *Brahma Saṃhitā* 5.1:
Kṛṣṇa is the highest Īśvara, the embodiment of *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*, beginningless, yet the beginning of all things, Govinda, the cause of all causes.

109 He is the immaterial new Madana in Vṛndāvana, and his worship is in the *kāmagāyatrī* and *kāmabīja*. 110 [Of] men and women, of movable and immovable things, he is the attractor of the hearts of all, the manifest mind-stealing Madana.

Śloka 30. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.32.2:
After the various lamentations of the *gopīs* in the *rāsa-līlā*, he suddenly appeared among them, dressed in a yellow robe, with a garland of wild-flowers and a smiling face—like Madana, the mind-stealer manifest.

111 The nectar of the *rasa* of various *bhaktas* is of various kinds, and [he is] both subject and object of the nectar of all these *rasas*.

Śloka 31. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga*, *sāmānyabhakti-laharī*] 1.1.1:
He who is the *mūrti* of the nectar of all the *rasas*, who attracted Tārakā and Pālikā by his increasing beauty, and made Śyāmā and Lalitā his own, may that moon, beloved of Rādhā, be victorious.

Śloka 29. See 1.2.*śl.*17; 2.20.*śl.*19; 2.21.*śl.*8.

109. Madana: Kāmadeva, "he who enchants." Kṛṣṇa is "immaterial" (*aprākṛta*) and untouched by the material *guṇas*, he is *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*. Kāmadeva is also immaterial, because he was burnt up by the fire from the eye of Śiva when he sought to tempt that god from his meditation (see *Kumāra-sambhava* 3). This is one of the couplets which cause orthodox interpreters a good deal of difficulty, for the *kāmabīja* and *kāmagāyatrī* are Tāntric or Sahajiyā *mantras*; this and many other things indicate strongly that Rāmānanda was himself a Sahajiyā (*PHM*, 54-56). For *kāmabīja* and *kāmagāyatrī*, see *PHM*, 149, 228-230. See also 2.21.104-114 below, and *Bṛhadgautamīya Tantra* for an interpretation of the *kāmabīja* "*klīṃ*."

Śloka 30. See 1.5.*śl.*22; 2.8.*śl.*18.

111. Various *bhaktas* taste *rasa* in different ways, each according to his particular *bhāva*; by "subject (*viṣaya*) and object (*āśraya*)" is meant that he both gives and receives; he receives the devotion and love of the *bhakta* in whatever *bhāva* the *bhakta* is worshiping, and he gives the taste of the *rasa* of that *bhāva* to the *bhakta* at the same time. Both terms have extensive technical meanings; see Rūpa's *BhRS* and *UNM*.

Śloka 31. Tārakā, et al: the names of *gopīs*.

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112 He is the source of the *mūrti* which is full of the chief of the *rasas*—*śṛṅgāra*, and thus steals the hearts of all, to himself.

Śloka 32. Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* 1.46:
O friend, engendering bliss in the whole world by the beauty of his limbs, dark and soft like a string of blue lotuses, he aroused the celebration of Kandarpa in the hearts of the women of Vraja; thus sweet Hari plays in the spring, like Love incarnate, freely embracing the beautiful women of Vraja, according to his own desire.

113 He steals the hearts of the *avatāras* Lakṣmīkānta and the rest, and attracts [even] Lakṣmī and the rest of the women.

Śloka 33. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.89.58:
O Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna! I have brought these *brāhmaṇas* in desire to see you both, sources of the protection of *dharma*; again having destroyed the *asuras* and evil things of the earth, quickly return to me.

Śloka 34. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.16.36:
O God! Who has the authority, the right, to touch your feet, out of delight for which the playful Śrī performed strict austerities for a long time, abandoning her pleasures?

114 By his own sweetness his own mind is stolen; he himself desires to embrace himself."

Śloka 35. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Lalitamādhava* 8.34:
What is this unprecedented, astonishing, ultimate sweetness of mine which throbs so profoundly? When I see this, I am attracted and with greedy mind seek to enjoy it impetuously like Rādhikā.

112. The *mūrti*, the form, of Kṛṣṇa, is full of the best of all the *rasas*—the passionate or *śṛṅgāra-rasa*; it is because of this quality, to taste this *rasa*, that he becomes Rādhā. See 1.4.89-178.
Śloka 32. See 1.4.*śl.*43.
113. Lakṣmīkānta: "the husband of Lakṣmī," Nārāyaṇa. Viśvanātha Cakravartī comments on this verse: Lakṣmī, greedy for the beauty of Kṛṣṇa, performs ascetic acts in order to gain him; Kṛṣṇa, appearing before her, asks the cause of her asceticism. Lakṣmī replies that her desire is to sport in the fields as a *gopī*, and when Kṛṣṇa says that this is hard to obtain Lakṣmī says: Then I want to become a golden line on your breast. And Kṛṣṇa granted her wish.
Śloka 34. See 2.9.*śl.*7; 2.24.*śl.*15.
Śloka 35. See 1.4.*śl.*20; 2.20.*śl.*28.

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115 Briefly he spoke in this way of the true form of Kṛṣṇa. "And now let me speak in brief of the form of the truth of Rādhā. 116 Kṛṣṇa has infinite *śaktis*, of which three are chief: their names are *cit-śakti*, *māyā-śakti*, and *jīva-śakti*. 117 They are also called *antaraṅgā*, *bahiraṅgā*, and *taṭasthā*. The *svarūpa-śakti* is *antaraṅgā*, and is the greatest of all.

Śloka 36. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 6.7.61:
The *śakti* of Viṣṇu is of three kinds: *parā*, *kṣetrajñā*, and the third called *avidyā-karman*.

118 The *svarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa is full of *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*, and thus the *svarūpa* of *śakti* is of three kinds. 119 *Hlādinī* is a function of the *ānanda*-part, *sandhinī* of the *sat*-part, and *saṃvit* of the *cit*-part, which is also known as *jñāna*.

Śloka 37. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 1.12.69:
Hlādinī, *sandhinī*, and *saṃvit* all exist as one in you, who are the foundation of all; but gladness or pain do not exist mixed in you, for you are devoid of all material qualities.

120 'Which gives joy to Kṛṣṇa'—because of that, its name is *hlādinī*; and by that *śakti* he tastes the pleasure of himself. 121 Kṛṣṇa, whose form is pleasure, tastes pleasure, and gives pleasure to his *bhaktas*: and that is the source of *hlādinī*. 122 The most essential *aṃśa* of *hlādinī* is called *prema*; and the glory of *prema* is the *rasa* which is experienced through *ānanda*. 123 The highest essence of *prema* is known as *mahābhāva*, and the form of that *mahābhāva* is Rādhā Ṭhākurāṇī.

Śloka 38. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* [*rādhā-prakaraṇa*] 4.3:
Between the two of them, Rādhā is superior in every way; her nature is *mahābhāva*, and she surpasses all in qualities.

124 [Her] body is the *svarūpa* of *prema*, she is *prema* [itself] manifest; the best of the beloveds of Kṛṣṇa, famed throughout the world.

117. Antaraṅgā: intrinsic; *bahiraṅgā*: extrinsic; *taṭasthā*: intermediary. [For the Gosvāmin treatment of the three *śaktis*, see 1.2.84-86; 1.7.106-19 (esp. commentary on v. 106); 2.6.131-47; and 2.20.101-102. For Rādhā's role and position, see 1.4.52-88. TKS]
Śloka 36. See 1.7.*śl.*7; 2.6.*śl.*10; 2.20.*śl.*9; 2.24.*śl.*88.
120. Hlādinī: she who gladdens (*-hlād*).
Śloka 37. See 1.4.*śl.*9; 2.6.*śl.*11.
Śloka 38. See 1.4.*śl.*11. [The comparison is between Rādhā and her chief rival Candrāvalī. TKS]

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Śloka 39. *Brahma Saṃhitā* 5.47:

I bow to Govinda, the *ādi-puruṣa*, who as the soul of all dwells in Goloka in his own true form, with those parts, inspired by *rasa* consisting of bliss and consciousness.

125 That *mahabhāva* is the essential crest-jewel; it fulfills the desires of Kṛṣṇa—this is its function. 126 And the crest-jewel of *mahābhāva* is the *svarūpa* of Rādhā. The bodies of the *sakhīs*—Lalitā and the rest—are simply extensions of her body. 127 The love of Kṛṣṇa toward Rādhā is a sweet-smelling ointment for the body; by it, her body, the color of glowing fire, becomes even sweeter in scent. 128 The first bath is in the stream of the nectar of compassion; the middle bath is in the stream of the nectar of youth; 129 and the final bath is in the stream of the nectar of beauty. The *śyāma*-colored silk sari which she wears is her own modesty. 130 The passion of Kṛṣṇa is the second, dawn-colored cloth; her breast is hidden by the blouse of her *māna* and her love. 131 The saffron is her beauty, and her sandalwood the love of her *sakhīs*, and the radiance of her smile is the camphor—with these three her body is anointed. 132 The *rasa* of the burning [passion] of Kṛṣṇa is full of musk; and with that musk her body became anointed. 133 The deceit of her hidden *māna* is the decoration of her hair, and the ground scent on her body is the quality of her own *dhīrādhīrā*.

Śloka 39. See 1.4.*śl.*12. [*Kalā*: part, probably here referring to the *gopīs* and/or the other members of Kṛṣṇa's *dhāma*. A somewhat more strained reading preferred by several commentators extends it to mean the *gopīs* who are skilled in the traditional sixty-four arts (*kalā*). TKS]

126. The problem is: if Rādhā is able to satisfy fully all the desires of Kṛṣṇa, then what is the need of the hundred crores of *gopīs* of which the texts speak? The answer is that all these other *gopīs* are not really different from Rādhā—they are *kāya-vyūhas* (one body becoming many bodies) of her. Rūpa's *UNM* [*sakhī-prakaraṇa*] 8.1 defines a *sakhī* as "one who promulgates, or assists in, the *prema-līlā*."

127. [*Sneha*: love or affection. There is an etymological pun on the word *sneha* which alternately means sticky, adhesive or oily unguent. *Ujjvala*: glowing, blazing; it would appear that Kṛṣṇadāsa is taking his verbal cues from Rūpa's *UNM*, which is primarily concerned with the love that only Rādhā can provide. The following passages clearly derive from that work. TKS]

128. Three baths should be taken each day: morning, noon, and evening.

129. Śyāma: "dark," the color of Kṛṣṇa.

130. Māna: the irritation and jealousy of Rādhā; *UNM* [*sthāyibhāva-prakaraṇa*] 14.96; *praṇaya*: *UNM* [*sthāyibhāva-prakaraṇa*] 14.108 defines this as an intense stage of *māna*, a lack of faith which is however unfounded. See also the commentary to *CC* 2.2.56.

133. Dhīrādhīrā: according to *UNM* [*nāyikābheda-prakaraṇa*] 5.35, this refers to a woman separated by a misunderstanding from her lover, who employs irony and tears to get back at him.

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134 Her lips burned with the red of the *tāmbūla* of passion, and the guile of *prema* is the kohl on her eyes. 135 With the *sāttvika-bhāva* she is *suddīpta*, and with *harṣa* and the other *sañcārī-bhāvas*; her body is covered with the ornamen-

134. Tāmbūla, or *pāna*, stains the lips red with the juice of its chewed areca nut.

135. See ante, 2.6.11-12 and commentary; Rādhāgovinda Nātha: the people dwelling in Gokula, in *viraha* for Kṛṣṇa, sweat and tremble and gooseflesh breaks out on their bodies, in their anxiety they rave with flattering words, in their heat of passion they become pale, and, their eyes wet with tears, they are devoured by deep longing—this is the *uddīpta sāttvikabhāva* of the people of Gokula. It is a condition in which the conflict of the various *bhāvas* is most intense. *Harṣa*: delight. See also 1.7.86-93; 1.17.5; 2.18.151-74; and 2.23.31.

Sañcārī-bhāva: the physical effect of the *bhāva* condition on the eyes, brows, speech, and so on, is known as *vyabhicāri-bhāva*; when *vyabhicāri-bhāvas* are diffused throughout the course of all the *bhāvas*, they are known as *sañcārī-bhāva*. *Sañcārī-bhāvas* are thirty-three in number: for examples of *nirveda* (indifference), *viṣāda* (dejection), *harṣa* (delight), and *dhṛti* (restraint), see 2.2.65. For *autsukya* (anxiety), *cāpalya* (inconstancy), *dainya* (humility), *amarṣa* (anger) and *unmāda* (madness), see 2.2.54. The characteristics of the rest are:

Glāni: exhaustion, debility, from affliction of the heart and body; its signs are trembling, inertia, pallor, emaciation, and unsteadiness of eye.

Śrama: also a type of exhaustion, born from coition, wandering along paths, and dancing; its signs are sleepiness, sweat, spasms, yawning, and sighing.

Mada: drunkenness, a condition of intoxication in which intellectual knowledge is destroyed; it is induced by wine or induced by passionate love, and its signs are erring in walking, speech, and lack of control of the body, eyes which do not focus and are red.

Garva: arrogance or pride; its signs are sarcastic speech, not replying when spoken to, looking at one's own body, not listening to the speech of others, etc.

Śaṅkā: doubt or suspicion; its signs are dryness of the mouth, pallor, looking all around, remaining hidden, etc.

Trāsa: fear; its signs are such as embracing things on both sides, trembling, paralysis, and wandering about.

Āvega: shock. It can arise from love, unrequited love, fire, wind, rain, earthquake, loud roaring, or enemies. All of these have different signs. As an example, those associated with love are trembling, talk about the beloved, unsteadiness, and rising up from one's seat in welcome.

Apasmṛti: fits, as in epilepsy; its signs are such as falling on the ground, running, pain in the body, trembling, frothing at the mouth, thrashing with the limbs, and shouting loudly.

Vyādhi: illness, such as fever arising from the pain of separation; its signs are such as inertia, coldness of the limbs, heavy breathing, fever, and exhaustion.

Moha: an emptiness of the mind, or infatuation, arising from many things, including fear, separation, delight, or dejection; its signs are such as falling on the ground, lack of control of the senses, lack of desire to move, etc.

Mṛti: a condition near death, the signs of which include unclear speech, pallor, slight breathing, and hiccupping.

Ālasya: lethargy; among its signs are torpor of the body, yawning, sleep, antipathy to activity, rubbing the eyes, drowsiness, and sitting down.

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tation of all these *bhāvas*. 136 And decorated with the *kilakiñcita bhāva* and others of the twenty—these clusters of *guṇas* blossomed on her whole body like

Jāḍya: apathy; its signs are such as unblinking eyes, silence, forgetfulness.

Brīḍā: bashfulness; its signs are such as silence, hiding the face, meditation or reflection, writing on the ground, and keeping the head bent.

Avahitthā: feigning at concealing one's feelings; its signs are such as hiding whatever parts of the body might give the emotion away, looking in the other direction, and meaningless attempts to focus attention elsewhere.

Smṛti: remembering; its signs are such as trembling of the head and restlessness of the eyebrows.

Vitarka: doubt; its signs are such as raising the eyebrows, and restless movement of the head and limbs.

Cintā: reflection; its signs are such as sighing, eyes cast down, picking at the ground, sleeplessness, raving, emaciation, and tears.

Mati: opining or ascertainment; its signs are such as ascertainment between truth and error in discussion of the *śāstras*, instructing students, and discriminating between logic and illogic.

Augra: wrath; its signs are such as killing, imprisoning, reproach, shaking of the head.

Asūyā: ill will or malice; its signs are such as ill feeling, disrespect, attributing faults to the qualities of the disliked person, defamation, looking askance, and raising the eyebrows.

Nidrā: sleepiness; its signs are such as yawning, inertia, sighing, and not focusing the eyes.

Supti: dreaming; its signs are such as lassitude of the senses, staring eyes, etc.

Bodha: the condition of awareness, doing away with the various kinds of lassitude, unconsciousness, and stupefaction. Its signs are alertness, etc.

136. Rūpa's *UNM* [*anubhāva-prakaraṇa*] 11.2: when a young *nāyikā* cleaves passionately in all ways to her lover, the manifestation of this is twenty-fold; and these twenty types of manifestation are like ornaments to her body, and her body glows with them. These are:

Bhāva: when at the first onslaught of the *śṛṅgāra-rasa*, certain changes take place in her body and mind.

Hāva: when the movement of her neck, brows, eyes, etc., become more pronounced than in *bhāva*.

Helā: when all signs of passionate love are clearly manifested.

Śobhā: when her body is ornamented by beauty and enjoyment, she is in a condition called "radiant."

Kānti: the burning radiance, more intense than in *śobhā*, which comes with the satisfaction of the god of love.

Dīpti: when the *kānti* condition is intensified by the proper conjunction of age, food or enjoyment, place, time, and qualities.

Mādhurya: the total absorption of all activities in all conditions.

Pragalbhatā: total lack of fear in matters of enjoyment.

Audārya: the showing of humility in all situations.

Dhairya: the stability or calmness of the mind.

Līlā: the imitation or copying of the lover by the beloved in actions, dress, etc.

Vilāsa: when the time, place, furniture, face, eyes, everything, are uniquely appropriate for a tryst.

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garlands of flowers. 137 On her beautiful forehead the *tilaka* of good fortune glowed, and the jewel of *prema-vaicittya* was in the hollow of her heart. 138 Her hand placed on the shoulder of her friends, fixed in her youthful years, and all around her *sakhīs*, directing their minds to the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*. 139 There is a beautiful couch in the fragrant abode of her own body; she remains ensconced on it, eternally thinking of union with Kṛṣṇa. 140 The earrings of the glory and qualities of the name of Kṛṣṇa dangle from her ear; the glory and qualities of the name of Kṛṣṇa flow from her lips. 141 She causes Kṛṣṇa to drink the honey of her *śyāma-rasa*, and eternally fulfills all the desires of Kṛṣṇa 142 The pure *prema* of Kṛṣṇa is a mine of jewels, his body replete with many incomparable qualities.

Śloka 40. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Govindalīlāmṛta* 11.122:

Who is the fountainhead of love of Kṛṣṇa? Only one—Śrīmati Rādhikā. Who is beloved of him? None other than that Rādhikā alone, who possesses incomparable qualities. Her hair is curled, there is restlessness in her glance, and firmness in her breast; this Rādhā alone is able to fulfill the desires of Hari, and no other.

Vicchitti: the nourishment of the beauty of the body, even when dress and ornamentation are little.

Vibhrama: restraint at an improper place, when near the beloved at the tryst, even though passion may be strong.

Kilakiñcita: when delight, pride, desire, anger, laughter, malice, fear, and weeping all arise at once.

Moṭṭāyita: when desire becomes strong at remembering or hearing the voice of the lover.

Kuṭṭamita: a show of anger when the breast or lips are touched, even though inwardly the girl might be feeling pleasure and delight.

Vibboka: when out of pride or *māna*, she treats the things which her lover has given her with contempt.

Lalita: in which the charm of the raising of the eyebrows, the tenderness, and in general unusual conduct of the whole body is manifested.

Vikṛta: in which modesty, *māna* and so on are not manifested as intended, but in altered form.

The "clusters of *guṇas*" or qualities of Rādhā are: sweetness, youth, restlessness of sidelong glance, glowing smile, possessing the marks of charming beauty, etc.; see 2.23.39-43.

137. Rūpa's *UNM* [*śṛṅgārabheda-prakaraṇa*] 15.147: that torment which arises in the mind when one is close to the beloved, a consciousness of separation even in proximity.

141. The color associated with the *śṛṅgāra-rasa* is *śyāma*, the dark emerald color, which is one of Kṛṣṇa's names.

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143 Satyabhāmā longed for the qualities of such good fortune as was hers, from whom the lovely women of Vraja learned the arts of pleasure; 144 whose qualities of beauty and so on Lakṣmī and Pārvatī envied, whose *dharma* as *pativratā* Arundhatī admired; 145 and the multitude of whose virtues Kṛṣṇa cannot cross over; how then can a worthless *jīva* count those qualities of her?"

146 Prabhu said, "You have made known the *prema-tattva* of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa; I want to hear of the greatness of their love-play." 147 And Rāya replied, "Kṛṣṇa is charming and confident, and his actions are eternally those of the play of *kāma*."

Śloka 41. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*dakṣiṇa-vibhāga, vibhāva-laharī*] 2.1.230:

He who is clever, young, full of high spirits, and sure, and who is usually controlled by his beloved, is *dhīralalita*.

148 Day and night he plays amorously in the *kuñja* grove with Rādhā, and his youth is fulfilled in the delight of the play.

Śloka 42. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*dakṣiṇa-vibhāga, vibhāva-laharī*] 2.1.231:

With words that suggested her boldness in the art of love the previous night, Hari made Rādhā lower her eyes in shame before her friends; and with great skill painted on her breast a picture of a playful crocodile. Thus he made fertile his youth while sporting in the *kuñja*-grove.

149 Prabhu said, "This is so, but say what comes after." And Rāya replied, "Far-

143. Satyabhāmā was one of the women on whom Kṛṣṇa bestowed a great affection; but it was not as much as he gave to Rādhā. In his commentary on *BhP* 10.45.36, Śrīdhara Svāmin lists sixty-four such arts; they are such as song, music, dance, stringing of garlands, ornamentation, sleight of hand, ornamental carving, knowledge of metrics, etc.

144. Pativratā: a chaste woman, true to her vows to her husband. *Arundhatī* is the wife of a *muni*, legendary for her chastity. E.g., see 2.20.48 commentary.

146. Or: the *tattva* of Kṛṣṇa, the *tattva* of Rādhā, and the *tattva* of *prema*.

147. Dhīralalita: charming and confident; explained in *śloka* 41. "The play of *kāma*": *kāma-krīḍa*, love-play. Since Kṛṣṇa does not of course have lust, Rādhāgovinda Nātha is obliged to interpret *kāma* as *prema*; it is not however likely that Kṛṣṇadāsa intended this, since in other places he states categorically that *kāma* and *prema* are qualitatively different.

Śloka 42. See 1.4.*śl.*16.

149. Buddhi: intellect, insight.

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ther than this my intellect cannot venture. 150 There is one variation of *prema-vilāsa*; but whether or not you will be pleased when you hear it, I do not know." 151 And so saying he sang a song he had himself composed. In *prema* Prabhu placed his hand over [Rāmānanda's] mouth. [And this was the song]:

152 I fell in love in the twinkling of an eye;
day after day it grew, and still did not reach an end.
153 He was no *ramaṇa*, nor I a *ramiṇī*;
the desires of both our hearts were ground together.
154 O friend! All these tales of love you tell to Kānu,
lest he forget;
155 We did not seek a messenger, we sought no other;
the Five-Arrowed One was intermediary in matters of our union.
156 Now he is angry, and you are [my] messenger;
is such the way of a good man?

150. Vivarta: variation. Viśvanātha in his commentary interprets *vivarta* as *viparita*: "inverse." Rādhāgovinda Nātha, following Jīva Gosvāmin, says that it means that it "cannot be known by its external signs or characteristics," i.e., that the truth of the relation between the *nāyaka* and *nāyikā*, or Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, cannot be understood by outsiders.

151. [Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out that Caitanya probably did this because the subjects implied by this song are secret and not to be discussed openly. It is also possible that Kṛṣṇadāsa employed this device for the same reason, i.e., not to reveal the esoteric reaches of theology to the uninitiated. TKS]

152. The meter of the song is an abrupt change to a short terse *payāra*. The song is a song of Rādhā, addressed to the messenger or go-between for her and Kṛṣṇa.

153. Ramaṇa, "passionate man"; *ramiṇī*, "passionate woman." It is at this point that Viśvanātha's "inverse" interpretation comes in, for as Rādhāgovinda Nātha reads it, this line means that neither Rādhā or Kṛṣṇa were desirous of their own satisfaction, but that their love was unselfish, directed only at the satisfaction of the other. "Ground together" is literally that—*peṣala*, mixed as powders in a mortar. The interpretation is that one is thus inseparable from the other, the familiar Vaiṣṇava notion of simultaneous union and separation; for while the desires are inseparable, they still belong to each of the two. *Manobhāva*, which is here translated "desire," might also mean something like "condition of mind or heart," which would give the additional meaning that Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are actually two in one.

155. Pañca-vāṇa: The Five-Arrowed One, i.e., Kandarpa or Kāmadeva.

156. The poem has a slightly different and somewhat clearer form in *Vaiṣṇava Padāvalī*, ed. by Harekṛṣṇa Mukhopādhyāya, p. 136, as has been translated by Denise Levertov and Dimock in *IPK*, p. 41 as follows:

From the time our eyes first met
our longing grew.
He was not only the desirer, I not only the desired:

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Śloka 43. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Ujjvalanīlamaṇī* [*sthāyibhāva-prakaraṇa*] 14.155:
O lord of these woods and forest groves, the wise architect of passion has slowly melted with sweat the lac, which is your heart and that of Rādhā, and has joined separate elements as one within this Brahmā-world, and in vermilion in the form of the passion of man he has painted pictures in various ways, pleasing himself.

157 Prabhu said, "This is the ultimate of that matter which is to be gained, and it has been known for certain by your grace. 158 And no one can attain what is to be gained without the means of gaining it; be merciful, and explain the method of gaining it." 159 And Rāya said, "I speak those words which you cause me to speak; and I do not know whether I have spoken well or ill. 160 What man is there steadfast within the three worlds, who can be unmoved in the dance of your *māyā*? 161 You are the speaker through my mouth, and you are the hearer. Then hear the most secret description of the *sādhana*; 162 for the *līlā* of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is a most profound matter, and is not perceived by the *dāsya*, *vātsalya* and the other *bhāvas*. 163 Among them all, only that of the *sakhīs* has the power; and the spread of this *līlā* is from the *sakhīs*. 164 Apart from the *sakhīs*, this *līlā* is not nourished; and in spreading this *sakhī-līlā*, the *sakhīs* taste it. 165 Apart from the *sakhīs*, there is no

passion ground our hearts together in its mortar.
Friend, do not forget to recall to Krishna
how it was with us then.
Then we required no messenger, sought
only each others lips for our love.
It was the god of love himself who united us,
he of the five arrows . . .
But now my lordly lover has learned new manners,
now he sends *you*, herald of his indifference!
So, with anger like a king's, increasing,
sings the poet Rāmānanda Rāy.

The term "*vivarta*" is a technical Sahajiyā term, meaning the Sahajiyā interpretation of Vaiṣṇava texts; Akiñcana Dāsa perhaps took the name for his Sahajiyā commentary on the *CC*, the *Vivarta Vilāsa*, from this very passage.

157. Sādhya: that which is to be gained or striven after; *vastu*: ultimate matter, essential unit.

158. Sādhana: process by which the ultimate experience is gained, i.e., usually the disciplined ritual practice; *upāya*: method, means.

162. I.e., it is gained only by *madhura* or *śṛṅgāra*.

163-64. The love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is aided by the *sakhīs*; they too love Kṛṣṇa, but because their love is unselfish and directed only at Kṛṣṇa's happiness, when Kṛṣṇa is happy with Rādhā they too are happy.

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other who participates in this *līlā*; [it is accessible] for him who participates in the *sakhī-bhāva*. 166 And one gains what is to be striven after: the service of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in the grove. There is no other method to gain that.

Śloka 44. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Govindalīlāmṛta* 10.17:
Īśvara is nourished [only] through *cit-śakti*, so the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, self-manifested in the form of intense pleasure, cannot retain the nourishment of *rasa*, apart from those who are his own—should not any *rasa*-knowing person take refuge at the feet of those *sakhīs*?

167 The nature of the *sakhīs* is an inexplicable matter; *sakhīs* are not concerned about their own *līlā* with Kṛṣṇa. 168 But they bring about the *līlā* of Rādhikā with Kṛṣṇa, and get a crore of pleasures more than [they would] from their own love-making. 169 The *svarūpa* of Rādhā is the creeper of paradise of the Kṛṣṇa-*prema*, and the *sakhīs* are its shoots and flowers and leaves. 170 If the creeper is sprinkled with the nectar of the *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa, then the happiness of the shoots, etc., is a crore of times greater than from their own fomentation.

Śloka 45. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Govindalīlāmṛta* 10.16:
The *sakhīs* of Rādhā, who is like the *prema*-creeper as the essence of all things, the *hlādinī-śakti* of him who is the moon to the lotuses of Vraja, are like new shoots, leaves and flowers, and like Rādhā herself. Thus when that Rādhā is sprinkled and delighted by the water of the juice of the nectar of the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*, they become a hundred times more delighted than if they had been themselves watered; this is so, and how could it be otherwise?

165-66. [It is unclear whether or not the *sakhī-bhāva* herein described refers to any actual practice by the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava community. That the *sakhīs* are primarily concerned with helping Rādhā meet successfully with Kṛṣṇa suggests the role of the *mañjarī*, a preferred figure for worship through the *siddha-deha* (perfected body) gained by the practitioner in yogic *sādhana*. The *mañjarīs* are those privileged characters who, as Rādhā's friends and servants, alone of all inhabitants of Vraja are privy to the trysts of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. They themselves do not pretend to the amorous advances of Kṛṣṇa, preferring Rādhā as the recipient of those (see vv. 167-68 below); nonetheless, Rādhā attempts to bring these *sakhīs* together with Kṛṣṇa (see vv. 171-72 below). This latter possibility was seldom acknowledged by later practitioners of *mañjarī-sādhana*, which leaves open the distinct possibility that another practice or an earlier, prototypical form of *sādhana* is here specified. Cf. Rāmānanda Rāya's activities described in 3.5.3-75 and especially the commentary to 3.5.18. TKS]

169. [The floral image is consistent with the interpretation of *mañjarī* in vv. 166-67, because *mañjarī* means "flower bud" or "stalk." TKS]

170. Watering the roots of the plant is better than sprinkling the leaves.

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171 Even though the *sakhīs* have no mind toward union with Kṛṣṇa, still Rādhā, with great care and affection, brings that union about. 172 By many wiles she sends them to meet with Kṛṣṇa, and from this gains a crore of times more pleasure than from her own union with him. 173 For pure *prema* between them all nourishes *rasa*, and seeing the love of them all, Kṛṣṇa is satisfied. 174 The *prema* of the *gopīs* is natural; there is no material sexual desire in it; in its similarity to the play of sexual love it is called by the name *kāma*.

Śloka 46. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.285-86 [quoting an unnamed *tantra*]:

It has been customary to call the erotic love of the *gopīs* pure *prema*;
Uddhava and the rest of the *bhaktas* long for this *prema*.

175 Kāma means that the source of pleasure is one's own senses. The excellence of the *bhāva* of the *gopīs* is intended for the pleasure of Kṛṣṇa. 176 The *gopīs* have no desire for the pleasure of their own senses; the love-play of their union with Kṛṣṇa was to give him pleasure.

Śloka 47. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.31.19:

O beloved! In fear that your most delicate lotus feet be injured by our hard breasts, we place them gently down. With those lotus feet you wander about the forest—are they not hurt by those sharp pointed stones? You are our very life, and therefore our minds are rended.

177 He whose greed is for the nectar of that *gopī-bhāva* leaves the *loka* of the *dharma* of the Vedas and worships Kṛṣṇa. 178 He who worships him in the *rāgānugā-mārga* gains Vrajendranandana in Vraja. 179 He who worships, taking

174. Sahaje: "natural," lit., "born with" or innate. This might well have its Sahajiyā meaning of "in equilibrium"; to the Sahajiyā point of view, sexual love is sexual love, but in the religious context it has an unselfish, outer-directed purpose.

Śloka 46. Kāma: erotic or sexual love. See 1.4.*śl.*25.

Śloka 47. See 1.4.*śl.*26; 2.18.*śl.*7; 3.7.*śl.*9.

177. Loka can mean either popular or social custom, or "the place," heaven, *svarga-loka*. See 1.4.143 text and commentary.

179. The worshiper concentrates his devotion on the character and person of one or another of the people in the *BhP* story, and when the transformation in *bhāva* takes place, he becomes that person, in relation to Kṛṣṇa. [In technical terms of yogic *sādhana*, he gains a perfected body or *siddha-deha* in which he participates as a *nitya-parikara* or permanent member of Kṛṣṇa's entourage in heavenly Vṛndāvana. The identification of such figures is the point of Kavikarṇapūra's *GGUD*. TKS]

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any *bhāva* of the people of Vraja, assumes the body appropriate to that *bhāva* and gains Kṛṣṇa in Vraja. 180 An example of this in the *upaniṣads* is those characters in the *śrutis* who, having worshiped in the *rāgā-mārga*, gained Vrajendranandana.

Śloka 48. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.87.23:
Sages engaged in severe austerities, disciplining breath, mind, and senses, pray in their hearts for that which even your enemies constantly meditate upon; and those wise and strong women, with arms like the body of the king of Nāgas press to their breasts the nectar of your lotus-feet—we, like them, and according to their example, have gained it.

181 The word '*samadṛśa*' means following along in that *bhāva*; the word '*sama*' says that the bodies of the *gopīs* of the *śrutis* have been gained. 182 '*Aṅghri-padmasudhā*' means the bliss of union with Kṛṣṇa; by the means of *vidhi*-injunction one does not gain Kṛṣṇacandra in Vraja.

Śloka 49. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.9.21:
That Bhagavān, son of the *gopikā*, is easily obtainable by those who have *bhakti*; but for those who are concerned with the body, or with *jñāna*, and becoming *ātman*, it is not so easy.

183 Thus they accept the *gopī-bhāva*, and day and night think upon the love-sport of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. 184 They serve there, thinking upon the bodies of the perfected ones, and in the *sakhī-bhāva* they gain the feet of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 48. See 2.9.*śl.*10.

181. This and the following verse explain the meaning of the last line of *śloka* 48. Viśvanātha, in his commentary on this verse, says that "*samādṛṣṭi* means those who have a similar (*sama*) appearance (*dṛṣṭi*), those who follow others along a path." Both he and Jīva feel that the meaning is "accepting following the *gopī-bhāva*." On "*samaḥ*" Viśvanātha comments that those who follow the *gopī-bhāva* gain forms like (*sama*) the *gopīs*. *Śruti* here is personified, presumably meaning those characters in the *śrutis*, i.e., the divine figures.

182. Aṅghri: feet; *padma*: lotus; *sudhā*: nectar; thus "the nectar of his lotus-feet." Jīva here says: the sweetness which is tasted at the touch of Kṛṣṇa's body. *Vidhi-mārga*: the stage of *bhakti* when the *bhakta* is still following the external or enjoined (*vidhi*) rituals; Rāmānanda is saying that the ultimate experience is not known until one passes on to the more advanced stage of *bhakti*, that of *rāgānugā*.

Śloka 49. See 2.9.*śl.*11; 2.24.*śl.*26; 3.7.*śl.*4.

184. Or perhaps, "in perfected bodies": *siddha-deha cinti*, which would suggest the yogic style *sādhana* hinted at above in vv. 165, 179.

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185 Apart from the example of the *gopīs*, if one worships in knowledge of majesty, he does not gain Vrajendranandana. 186 An example of this is that Lakṣmī did worship in that way, but still did not gain Vrajendranandana in Vraja."

Śloka 50. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.47.60:
That grace which rose up for the beautiful women of Vraja, who received the blessing of necks embraced by his arms at the time of the *rāsa*-celebration, was not vouchsafed even to Śrī, eternally beloved, or other heavenly women, whose fragrance is like lotuses; so why others?

187 Having listened to all this, Prabhu embraced him, and both wept on each others' necks. 188 In this way, absorbed in *prema*, they passed the night, and in the morning each went about his own occupations. 189 At the time of departing, holding the feet of Prabhu, Rāmānanda said humbly, 190 "Prabhu has come to grant his grace to me; remain for ten days and purify my wicked heart. 191 Apart from you there is no other to save *jīvas*; apart from you there is no other to give the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa." 192 And Prabhu replied, "I came when I heard of your qualities, and listening to your talk of Kṛṣṇa has purified my heart. 193 As I heard, so I have seen your greatness; you are the ultimate in knowledge of the *prema-rasa* of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. 194 What is this talk of ten days? As long as I live, I shall never be able to leave your company. 195 You and I shall live together at Nīlācala, and joyfully pass the time in the delight of stories of Kṛṣṇa." 196 So saying, each went to perform his duties, and again in the evening Rāya came to meet him.

197 Having met again they sat together in a solitary place, and joyfully engaged in a dialogue of questions and answers. 198 Prabhu asked, and Rāmānanda answered, and in this way they talked together throughout that night. 199 Prabhu asked, "What learning is the essence of all knowledge?" And Rāmānanda said, "Apart from Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti* there is no other learning." 200 "Among the famous people, what is the greatest fame of a *jīva*?" "It is the fame of one who is a *prema-bhakta* of Kṛṣṇa." 201 "Among wealthy people what man can be accounted wealthy?" "He whose great wealth is the *prema* of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa." 202 "Among sorrows, what sorrow is most grievous?" "There is no greater sorrow than the burning of separation of the Kṛṣṇa-*bhakta*." 203 "Among the *muktas*, what *jīva* can be honored as *mukta*?" "He who has Kṛṣṇa-*prema* is the crest-jewel of *muktas*."

185. Aiśvarya: majesty; *jñāna*: knowledge.
Śloka 50. See 2.8.*śl.*17; 2.9.*śl.*9; 3.7.*śl.*5.
202. Viraha: searing pain of lovers in separation.

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204 "Among songs, what song captures the *dharma* of the *jīva*?" "That song whose inner meaning is the *prema*-play of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa." 205 "Among blessings which is the best blessing for *jīvas*?" "There is no greater blessing than the company of a Kṛṣṇa-*bhakta*." 206 "On whom does the *jīva* meditate constantly?" "The primary meditation is on the qualities and the *līlā* and the name of Kṛṣṇa." 207 "Among possible objects of meditation, what meditation is the duty of the *jīva*?" "Meditation on the lotus-feet of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is primary." 208 "After abandoning everything, where is it the duty of the *jīva* to live?" "Vṛndāvana and the land of Vraja—where occurred the *rāsa-līlā*." 209 "Among things to be heard, what is the best thing for the *jīva* to hear?" "Most soothing to the ear is the play of the *prema* of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa." 210 "Among things to be worshiped, what is the chief thing to be worshiped?" "The best thing to be worshiped is the pair named Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa." 211 "Those who desire *mukti*, and those who desire *bhakti*—what is the end of both of these?" "One is situated in an inanimate body, the other in the body of god, respectively. 212 The crow, ignorant of nectar sucks the tart lemon-fruit of *jñāna*; but the cuckoo, knowing the nectar, eats the blossoms of the mango of *prema*. 213 So the unfortunate follower of *jñāna* tastes tart *jñāna*; but he who is fortunate drinks the nectar of the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa."

214 In this way the two were in the nectar of the talk of Kṛṣṇa, and in weeping and dancing and singing, the night came to an end. 215 At dawn both went to discharge their respective duties, and in the evening Rāya again came to meet with him. 216 They went on with their favorite dialogue for some time; and holding the feet of Prabhu, Rāya made supplication, 217 "The esence of the truth of Kṛṣṇa, the truth of Rādhā, the truth of *prema*, and the truth of *rasa*, and the truth of *līlā*, have in various ways been discussed. 218 You have made me conscious of all these truths, as Nārāyaṇa taught the Vedas to Brahmā. 219 And this is the way of the Īśvara who dwells within: he does not speak these matters aloud, but manifests them in the heart.

Śloka 51. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.1.1:

Let us meditate upon the highest truth, from which the birth, etc., of this world derive, who has come from the other side, who is cognizant and of

211. I.e., those who desire *mukti* end up in a condition similar to that of a tree or stone or some other inert object; while those who desire *bhakti* are ultimately perfected. This suggests that the use of the term *mukta* in v. 203 above is meant to be figurative.

217. Tattva: truth, especially in its metaphysical delineation.

219. Antaryāmi: who dwells within.

Śloka 51. See 2.20.*śl.*59; 2.25.*śl.*39.

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self-perfected knowledge, who spans the *brahman* with his heart, about whom the original poets and sages are confused, in whom fire, water, and earth are mixed, in whom the three creations serve no purpose, by whom all deception is discarded with its own splendor.

220 But one doubt remains in my mind; be merciful, and speak to me in the certainty of it. 221 First I saw you in the true form of a *saṃnyāsin*; now I see you as a dark-colored cowherd. 222 Before you I see a golden image, and by the radiance of its golden color your whole body is hidden. 223 I see clearly in it a flute to your lips, and in various emotions its lotus-eyes are restless. 224 Seeing you in this way is most wonderful. Tell me straightforwardly, Prabhu, what is the cause of this?"

225 And Prabhu replied, "It is the depth of your *prema* for Kṛṣṇa. This is the nature of *prema*; know that for certain. 226 The *mahābhāgavata* looks at animate and inanimate objects, and everywhere is the glowing of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. 227 They look at animate and inaminate objects, but do not see those images; rather everywhere they see the blossoming of their own *iṣṭa-deva*.

Śloka 52. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.2.45:
He who sees his own god in all things of the earth, and sees all things as in his own Bhagavān, he is the greatest of *bhāgavatas*.

Śloka 53. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.35.9:
All the creepers and trees of the forest, bodies trembling with *prema*, their branches laden with flowers and fruits, branches bending under their burden, as though manifesting in themselves Viṣṇu, rain streams of nectar.

228 You have great love toward Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, and everywhere Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are revealed to you."

229 And Rāya said, "You are Prabhu! Abandon these wiles. Do not hide your own true form before me. 230 You have embraced the beauty and the *bhāva*

221. Śyāma: dark-colored.
227. Iṣṭa-deva: one's own personal deity, to whom special worship is given, in this case, Kṛṣṇa.
Śloka 52. See 2.22.śl.30; 2.25.śl.25.
Śloka 53. See 2.24.śl.77.
229. [The emphasis on the title "Prabhu" is significant, for it literally means "Lord," here clearly Kṛṣṇa *svayaṃ bhagavān*. TKS]
230. Or "the beauty of the *bhāva*." "Embraced" here means "taken on." This is a very signifi-

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of Rādhā; to taste your *rasa*, you have descended. 231 Your own profound duty is the tasting of *prema*, and accordingly you spread *prema* in the three worlds. 232 You yourself came to save me, and now you are deceiving me; what does this mean?"

233 Then, smiling, Prabhu showed to him his true form: *rasarāja* and *mahābhāva*, the two in one *rūpa*. 234 And when he saw this Rāmānanda fainted with joy; he could not control his body, and fell to the earth. 235 Prabhu with a touch of his hand brought him back to consciousness; and seeing him as a *saṃnyāsin*, [Rāya] was in his mind astonished. 236 Embracing him, Prabhu comforted him. "Except for you, no one has seen this *rūpa*. 237 It is because of your perception of the truth of the *rasa* of my *līlā* that I have shown this *rūpa* to you. 238 The golden-colored body is not mine, but is the touch of the body of Rādhā; she touches no one except the son of Gopendra. 239 I experience in my heart and soul everything she feels; then I taste the *rasa* of the sweetness of myself. 240 None of my acts are secret to you; even though I have hidden them, by the power of your *prema* you understand the secret meaning of everything. 241 But maintain this secret, and do not reveal it anywhere; people will laugh at my madness. 242 I am a madman, and you are another, and you and I are alike."

243 In this way Prabhu passed ten nights with Rāmānanda in happiness, delighting in the talk of Kṛṣṇa. 244 There was discussion of the profundity of the *rasa* and the *līlā* of Vraja; they talked much, and still did not reach its farther shore. 245 It was as if someone found a place where copper, brass, silver, gold, and the most precious gems were all buried in one place, 246 and then, as they raised them out, they found even more precious things: so it was with the questions and answers of Prabhu and Rāma Rāya. 247 On the following day, he begged Rāya for permission to depart, and at the time of departure he offered this instruction, 248 "Abandon worldly things, and go to Nīlācala; after a short while, when I have made my pilgrimage, I shall return there. 249 The two of us shall remain together at Nīlācala, and shall pass the time happily in the delight of talk of Kṛṣṇa." 250 So saying, and embracing Rāmānanda, he sent him home and himself lay down.

cant passage, for it is here that Caitanya's Rādhā-*bhāva* is emphasized for the first time. From this point on, Caitanya is almost continuously in that *bhāva*. *Avatāra*: descent. See 1.4.179-82.

233. [*Rasarāja*: Kṛṣṇa, the king of *rasa* or *rasikās*; *mahābhāva*: Rādhā; see 1.4.58-61; 2.8.123. It is interesting that the two are referred to by their places in the theological system. This is, theologically, the climax of the book. *Rūpa*: form or body. TKS]

237. *Tattva*: truth, especially metaphysical.

241-42. *Vātula*: mad, madman.

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251 Arising in the morning, Prabhu saw Hanumān; and having made obeisance to him, he set off on his journey. 252 As many people of varying opinions who lived at Vidyāpura, at the sight of Prabhu, they became Vaiṣṇavas, abandoning their own [former] beliefs. 253 Rāmānanda was anguished in separation for Prabhu, and remained in meditation on Prabhu, abandoning all worldly things.

254 So briefly has been told the meeting of Rāmānanda; it could not be described by Thousand-Mouth himself. 255 By their nature the actions of Caitanya are a deep stream of milk, and those of Rāmānanda a vast *khaṇḍa* within it; 256 and the *līlā* of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are camphor mixed in it: he who is most fortunate can taste it. 257 He who once drinks this through his ears, his ears long [for more], and he cannot abandon it. 258 In the hearing of it comes the knowledge of all truths; and *prema-bhakti* comes at the feet of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. 259 Having once learned of this the most profound truth of Caitanya, listen and have faith, and do not debate it with your mind. 260 This unworldly *līlā* is most profound; when it is gained by faith, philosophical debate recedes far away. 261 He whose all is the feet of Śrī Caitanya, Nityānanda, and Advaita—to him will come this wealth. 262 A crore of my obeisances to Rāmānanda Rāya, through whose mouth Prabhu explained *rasa*. 263 And following the *Kaḍacā* of Svarūpa Damodara, the *līlā* of the meeting with Rāmānanda has been expounded.

264 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

254. Thousand-Mouth: Śeṣa.

255. Sahaje: by nature; *khaṇḍa*: a kind of sweet, made from milk, popular in western Bengal; another part of the pun is that *khaṇḍa* is also a pool.

258. Tattva: truth.

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Madhya Līlā
Chapter 9

Śloka 1.

That Gaura freed by the weapon of his grace the elephants, people of the south, who had been seized by the crocodiles of various opinions, and made them Vaiṣṇavas.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and glory to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 On his journey to the south, Prabhu did most wonderful things, and saw thousands upon thousands of pilgrimage places. 3 Having touched all those pilgrimage places, he made them great places of pilgrimage, and by that pretext, he saved the people of the country. 4 I cannot describe the order of the places on his pilgrimage; he wandered on his pilgrimage back and forth. 5 Thus only the names of them are counted; I cannot recite the sequence of them. 6 As before, while he was travelling on the path, anyone who saw him, and to whatever village he went, the people of that village 7 all became Vaiṣṇavas, and said 'Kṛṣṇa Hari!' And they, having made Vaiṣṇavas of people of other villages, saved them. 8 There were many kinds of people in the southern country; some were *jñānīs*, and some were *karmīs*, and there were innumerable followers of false doctrine. 9 All those people, affected by the sight of Prabhu, left their own

3. The real reason for his journey to the south was to save the people; his visiting pilgrimage places was only the pretext for his going. [Cf. 2.7.9-12 where Caitanya's search for his brother Viśvarūpa is the ostensible reason for this trip. In vv. 269-73, below, Caitanya discovers the demise of Viśvarūpa. TKS]

4. Back and forth: lit., "to the left, to the right."

8. Followers of the *jñāna-mārga* and the *karma-mārga*, etc.

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persuasions and became Vaiṣṇavas. 10 Among the Vaiṣṇavas [that were there], all were worshippers of Rāma; some were *tattvavādīs*, and some Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas. 11 All those Vaiṣṇavas, at the sight of Mahāprabhu, worshiped Kṛṣṇa, and took his name.

Śloka 2.

Rāma Rāghava Rāma Rāghava Rāma Rāghava, save me!
Kṛṣṇa Keśava Kṛṣṇa Keśava Kṛṣṇa Keśava, protect me!

12 He proceeded on, reciting this *śloka* on the way, and reaching the Gautamī-Gaṇgā he bathed there.

13 Arriving at the Mallikārjuna *tīrtha*, he saw Maheśa, and caused all the people there to take the Kṛṣṇa-name. 14 He had *darśana* of Dāsārāma-Mahādeva, and went to Ahovalanṛsiṃha. 15 Seeing Nṛsiṃha he prayed to him and praised him; then he went to Siddhivaṭa, where the image of Sītāpati was. 16 Seeing Raghunātha he made obeisance and praised him; and there a *brāhmaṇa* gave him an invitation. 17 That *brāhmaṇa* always took the name of Rāma, and said no word other than the name of Rāma. 18 That day in his house [Caitanya] stayed and ate; and having given his grace to him, Gaurahari went forward. 19 At the Skandakṣetra *tīrtha* he had *darśana* of Skanda; he came to Trimaṭha and saw Trivikrama there. 20 He again came back to Siddhivaṭa, to the house of that *brāhmaṇa*. That *brāhmaṇa* took the name of Kṛṣṇa constantly. 21 When he had eaten there, Mahāprabhu asked him a question, "Tell me, *brāhmaṇa*. How has this condition of yours come to be? 22 Formerly you constantly spoke the name of Rāma; now why do you incessantly take Kṛṣṇa's name?" 23 The *brāhmaṇa* said, "This is the influence of your *darśana*. On seeing you, that which has been my nature since my birth was gone. 24 Since my boyhood I have taken the name of Rāma; but when I saw you, the name of Kṛṣṇa came to me at once. 25 And from that time the name of Kṛṣṇa has remained on my tongue; the name of Kṛṣṇa burst forth, and the name of Rāma receded into the

10. Tattvavādī: those who believe that all things are true, that there is nothing false in the world. Rādhāgovinda Nātha: at that time, followers of the Madhavācārya *sampradāya* were called *tattvavādīs*. Śrī Vaiṣṇavas are those belonging to the Śrī-*sampradāya*, followers of Rāmānuja and worshipers of Rāma or of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa.

Śloka 2. See 2.7*śl.*3.

14. Mahādeva: Śiva.

15. Sītāpati: Rāma.

16. Raghunātha: Rāma.

19. Skanda: another name for the god Kārtika or Kārttikeya.

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distance. 26 From my boyhood it has been my single nature to collect the *śāstras* which speak of the greatness of the Name:

Śloka 3. *Padma Purāṇa, Rāmacandra's śatanāma-stotra* 8:
The *yogīs* get great delight in their conscious soul which is infinite true bliss; for that reason by the word 'Rāma' he [Rāma] is declared as the highest *brahma*.

Śloka 4. *Mahābhārata, udyoga-parvan* 71.4:
The word '*kṛṣ*' meaning 'plowing' expresses the earth, and '*ṇa*' expresses cessation; together these two denote Kṛṣṇa the highest *brahma*.

27 Thus the two names alike [mean] 'highest *brahma*' and again in another *śāstra* certain distinctions are found:

Śloka 5. *Padma Purāṇa, uttara-khaṇḍa, bṛhadviṣṇu-sahasranāma-stotra* 72.335:
O pretty-faced One! The name Rāma is equal to the thousand names; by repeating the name of Rāma, I delight in Rāma who delights the heart.

Śloka 6. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin's *Haribhaktivilāsa* 11.258 [quoting *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*]:
That which results from repeating three times the thousand meritful names of Viṣṇu comes about by a single repetition of the name of Kṛṣṇa.

28 In these words is the infinite greatness of the name of Kṛṣṇa; still I was unable to repeat it. Hear the reason why. 29 My *iṣṭa-deva* is Rāma, and in his name I get pleasure; and getting pleasure I sang that name day and night. 30 When I saw you, the name Kṛṣṇa came [to me], and his greatness struck my heart. 31 This has been perceived: 'You are the manifestation of that Kṛṣṇa.'" And so saying, the *brāhmaṇa* fell at the feet of Prabhu.

32 Showing him his grace, the next day Prabhu departed and coming to Vṛddhakāśī he had *darśana* of Śiva. 33 From that place he went forward and came to another village, and took rest there among *brāhmaṇas*. 34 People came to see the glory of Prabhu; a hundred million lakhs of people came—they could not be counted. 35 When they saw the beauty of Gosvāmī they were all overcome with *prema*; and the people of that country all said 'Kṛṣṇa' and became

Śloka 3. Another meaning of *rāma* is "delight."
Śloka 6. Also found in Rūpa's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta, pūrva-khaṇḍa* 5.354.

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Vaiṣṇavas. 36 The philosophers and Mīmāṃsikas and followers of the Māyāvāda, and Sāṃkhyas and Pātañjalas, and followers of *smṛti* and the *purāṇas* and *āgamas*— 37 all were vastly learned in their own *śāstras*. Prabhu examined them critically and faulted the opinions of all of them. 38 Everywhere Prabhu established the Vaiṣṇava doctrines, and no one was able to fault the doctrines of Prabhu. 39 Being defeated one after the other, they accepted Prabhu's opinions. In this way Prabhu made the southern country Vaiṣṇava.

40 Hearing of his learning, the followers of false doctrine came; they came in pride and conceit, bringing their pupils with them. 41 A Buddhist teacher, very learned in his own "new faith," began to speak before Prabhu with vast learning. 42 Even though Buddhists were not to be conversed with and unworthy to be seen, still Prabhu talked with them in order to shatter their pride. 43 In the new faith, the Buddhist *śāstras* were primarily philosophical argument; and Prabhu countered those very arguments so that they were unable to prove them. 44 The Buddhist teacher introduced new arguments one after another, and with profound close reasoning Prabhu shattered them all. 45 The philosophically oriented *paṇḍitas* all were defeated; the people laughed, and the Buddhists were ashamed and contrite. 46 Realizing Prabhu was a Vaiṣṇava, the Buddhists went home; they all met together and took evil counsel. 47 Putting impure food on a metal plate, they brought it before Prabhu, calling it "Viṣṇu-*prasāda*." 48 Just then a bird with a great body came and took the plate of food in his beak. 49 It dropped the impure food on the Buddhists, being impure, and with a ringing sound, the plate crashed on the head of the Buddhist teacher. 50 The plate fell on its edge, and his head was cut; losing consciousness the *ācārya* fell to the ground. 51 All his pupils wept with grief, and they all ran for refuge at the feet of Prabhu. 52 "You are Īśvara manifest. Forgive our offences; be merciful and bring our *guru* back to life." 53 Prabhu said, "Everyone say 'Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Hari!' Loudly say the name of Kṛṣṇa into the ear of your *guru*. 54 Your *guru* will then regain consciousness." All the Buddhists together made Kṛṣṇa-

36. Tārkika: philosophers, usually followers of the *nyāya-śāstras*; Mīmāṃsikas: followers of the *mīmāṃsa* philosophy; Māyāvāda: the name given to the *advaita* philosophy of Śaṅkara; Sāṃkhyas and Pātañjalas: followers of the *sāṃkhya* philosophy and the *yoga* propounded by Patañjali; *āgamas*: Hindu *tantras*.

38. Siddhānta: doctrine, conclusion.

41. Buddhist: *bauddhācārya*. The "new faith" is that which is in opposition to the old one, the Vedic religion.

42. The *Śabdakalpadruma* calls the Buddhists *pāṣaṇḍī* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 3.18 says that *pāṣaṇḍīs* should not be conversed with nor touched.

47. Kavikarṇapūra calls it "impure food fit for a dog"; *CCN* 7.23. *Thāli*: a large metal plate.

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saṃkīrtana. 55 Into the ear of the *guru* they yelled, "Say Kṛṣṇa Rāma Hari." Regaining consciousness the *ācārya* got up, saying 'Hari.' 56 Saying 'Kṛṣṇa' the *ācārya* made obeisance to Prabhu, and when they saw it all the people were astonished. 57 In this way the son of Śacī performed wonders; [then] he vanished, and no one could see him.

58 Mahāprabhu went to Tripadī, Trimalla, and saw the four-armed Viṣṇu at Veṅkaṭa-acala. 59 Coming to Tripadī he had *darśana* of Śrī Rāma, and before Raghunātha he made obeisance and praised him. 60 And by his power he astonished all the people. Then the merciful Prabhu came to Pānā-narasiṃha. 61 In a delirium of *prema*, he praised and bowed to Nṛsiṃha, and the people were amazed at his glory. 62 Having come to Śiva-Kāñcī he had *darśana* of Śiva, and in the morning all the Śaivites became Vaiṣṇavas. 63 Having come to Viṣṇu-Kāñcī he saw Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, and there made obeisance and much praise. 64 Absorbed in *prema*, he danced and sang much; he stayed there for two days, and the people became Kṛṣṇa-*bhakta*s. 65 Seeing Trimalla, he went to the place of Trikālahasti. Seeing Mahādeva there, he made obeisance to him. 66 He went to the Pakṣa *tīrtha* and had *darśana* of Śiva, and then went to Vṛddhakola *tīrtha*. 67 Seeing Śveta-Varāha, he made obeisance to him, then Gaurahari went to the place of Pītāmbara-Śiva. 68 He had *darśana* of Śiyālī-Bhairavī-Devī, and then the son of Śacī came to the banks of the Kāverī. 69 Seeing the Gosamāja-Śiva, he came to Vedāvana, and seeing Mahādeva he bowed to him. 70 He came and had *darśana* of Amṛtaliṅga-Śiva. At all these Śiva-temples he made the Śaivas Vaiṣṇava. 71 Coming to Devasthāna, he had *darśana* of Viṣṇu, and had constant meetings with the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas. 72 He saw the lotus-pond of Kumbhakarṇa-kapāla; then Gaurāṅga-sundara saw the Śiva in Śiva-kṣetra. 73 He had *darśana* of Viṣṇu at Pāpanāśana, and then went to Śrīraṅga-kṣetra.

74 Having bathed in the Kāverī, he saw Raṅganātha; making obeisance and praising him, he honored him fully. 75 In a delirium of *prema*, he danced and sang much, and seeing this the hearts of all the people were astonished. 76 There was one Śrī-Vaiṣṇava, Veṅkaṭa Bhaṭṭa by name, who respectfully extended an invitation to Prabhu. 77 Taking him to his house he washed his feet, and gave that water to his whole family to drink. 78 When he had fed him, he made this

57. Vanishing was presumably one of the wonders; by this, says Rādhāgovinda Nātha, he demonstrated his divinity.

58. Veṅkaṭa-acala: Veṅkaṭa mountain.

60. *Pānā* is a sweet drink; this was the sole food-offering to Nṛsiṃha at this place.

78. The four month period of the rains is *cāturmāsya*; it is the period when mendicants remain in one place.

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supplication, "Prabhu, the rainy season retreat has come. 79 Be gracious, and stay in my house during the period of the rainy season retreat; tell me of Kṛṣṇa, and save me by your mercy." 80 Prabhu stayed at his house, in the *rasa* of talk of Kṛṣṇa, and with Bhaṭṭa he passed the four months in happiness. 81 He bathed in the Kāverī and had *darśana* of Śrīraṅga, and every day danced, absorbed in *prema*. 82 All the people saw his absorption in *prema* and his beauty; they came to see him, and the misery and sorrow of them all was dispelled. 83 Lakhs and lakhs of people came from many countries, and all spoke the name of Kṛṣṇa when they saw Prabhu. 84 No one said anything except the name of Kṛṣṇa; they all became Kṛṣṇa-*bhakta*s, and the people were amazed. 85 All of the many *brāhmaṇa*s who lived at Śrīraṅga-kṣetra invited him in turn one day after another. 86 Eventually, day by day the rainy season retreat came to an end, and many *brāhmaṇa*s were unable to have their day to feed him.

87 Living at Śrīraṅga-kṣetra there was a Vaiṣṇava *brāhmaṇa* who sat in the temple and recited the *Gītā*. 88 He read the eighteen chapters in an ecstasy of delight; but he read imperfectly, and the people smiled. 89 Some laughed, and some abused him, but he minded nothing; engrossed, he recited the *Gītā* with delighted heart. 90 When he recited he had goose flesh and tears, and he trembled and sweated, and when he saw this the heart of Mahāprabhu was delighted. 91 And Mahāprabhu asked him, "Hear me, honored one; let me know what '*artha*' brings about this happiness of yours?" 92 The *brāhmaṇa* replied, "I am ignorant, and do not know the '*śabda*' and '*artha*'; whether well or poorly, I recite the *Gītā* at the command of my *guru*. 93 Kṛṣṇa in the chariot of Arjuna, the rope in his hands—that beautiful dark one, the reins in his hands, 94 speaking with Arjuna, giving advice and counsel—this I see, and I am engrossed in joy. 95 When I recite, I get that vision, and because of that my heart does not abandon the recitation of the *Gītā*. 96 Prabhu said, "You are foremost, in recitation of the *Gītā*, and you know the essential meaning of that text." 97 So saying, he embraced that *brāhmaṇa*; and holding the feet of Prabhu, the *brāhmaṇa* praised him greatly, 98 "When I see you, my happiness is twice as great as that. That 'you are Kṛṣṇa' comes to my mind." 99 His heart was purified by the glory of Kṛṣṇa, and thus he knew all the truth of Prabhu. 100 Then Mahāprabhu instructed him, "Do not speak of this matter to anyone." 101 That

82. Āveśa: absorbed, overwhelmed, possessed, ecstatic.

91. Artha: "meaning," but perhaps better translated as something like "aspect"; in esthetic theory and criticism, texts have two general qualities or aspects: *śabda*—the external, strictly prosodic features; and *artha*—semantic, contextual, and cognitive values of the text.

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brāhmaṇa became a great *bhakta* of Mahāprabhu; for four months he was with Prabhu, and never left his side.

102 In this way Gauracandra lived in the house of Bhaṭṭa constantly with his *bhaktas* in the delight of the talk of Kṛṣṇa. 103 Bhaṭṭa was a Śrī-Vaiṣṇava, and served Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa. Seeing his firm *bhakti*, Prabhu's heart was pleased. 104 Being always with him, *sakhya-bhāva* arose [between them], and laughing and joking, both [revealed their] nature as friends. 105 Prabhu said, "Bhaṭṭa, your Lakṣmī Ṭhākurāṇī is the crest-jewel of *pativratā* women, resting on the breast of her husband. 106 My Ṭhākura Kṛṣṇa is a cowherd who tends cattle; as a pure woman, why does she want union with him? 107 For this she abandoned for a long time happiness and pleasure, and with stringent vows performed severe penance."

Śloka 7. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.16.36:

O god! Who has the authority, the right, to touch your feet, out of delight for which the playful Śrī performed strict austerities for a long time, abandoning her pleasures?

108 Bhaṭṭa replied, "Kṛṣṇa and Nārāyaṇa are but one *svarūpa*; but to Kṛṣṇa the *līlā* which is sensuous and fun is primary. 109 The *dharma* of the *pativratā* does not disappear at his touch; in delight Lakṣmī desires union with Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 8. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.59:

Although in theory the true forms of Śrī's husband and Kṛṣṇa are undivided, by *rasa* the form of Kṛṣṇa gains superiority; he is the abode of *rasa*.

110 With Kṛṣṇa the *dharma* of a caste woman is not destroyed, but is increased even more in *rāsa-vilāsa*. 111 So Lakṣmī who gives delight has desire for Kṛṣṇa; what is the fault in that? Why do you laugh?" 112 Prabhu said, "There is no fault in it, that I know. But Lakṣmī did not gain the *rāsa*-dance; this we hear in the *śāstras*:

105-106. Ṭhākurāṇī: goddess; *ṭhākura*: god; *pativratā*: the ideal wife, strict in vows of devotion.
Śloka 7. See 2.8.*śl.*34; 2.24.*śl.*15.
109. As Kṛṣṇa and Nārāyaṇa are one in *svarūpa*, when Lakṣmī desires Kṛṣṇa she is also desiring Nārāyaṇa, to whom are her vows. Therefore she is still *pativratā*.
Śloka 8. See 2.9.*śl.*13.

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Śloka 9. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.47.60:

That grace which rose up for the beautiful women of Vraja, who received the blessing of necks embraced by his arms at the time of the *rāsa* celebration, was not vouchsafed even to Śrī, eternally beloved, or other heavenly women, whose fragrance is like lotuses; so why others?

113 Why did not Lakṣmī gain this? What is the reason for it? How did the strict observers of *śruti* gain Kṛṣṇa by asceticism?

Śloka 10. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.87.23:

Sages, engaged in severe austerities, disciplining breath, mind, and senses, pray in their hearts for that which even your enemies constantly meditate upon; and those wise and strong women, with arms like the body of the king of the Nāgas, press to their breasts the nectar of your lotus feet—we, like them, and according to their example, have gained it.

114 The *śruti*-people gained it, Lakṣmī did not gain it; what is the reason for this?" And Bhaṭṭa said, "My mind cannot penetrate this; 115 I am a *jīva*; my wisdom is very slight, and my nature inconstant. The *līlā* of Īśvara is as deep as a crore of seas. 116 You are the manifest Kṛṣṇa, and know your own doings. That which you cause people to know, they know; this is the inner meaning of your *līlā*." 117 Prabhu responded, "Kṛṣṇa's nature has one peculiarity; he constantly attracts everything by his own sweetness. 118 In the *bhāva* of the people of Vraja one gains his feet. The people of Vraja do not know him as Īśvara. 119 Some, knowing him as a son, tie him to a mortar; some, knowing him as a friend, conquer him and climb on his shoulders. 120 The people of Vraja know him as the son of Vrajendra, Vrajendranandana; they have no knowledge of his divine sovereignty, but consider their own relationship to him. 121 He who worships in the *bhāva* of the people of Vraja, gains Vrajendranandana in Vraja.

Śloka 11. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.9.21:

That Bhagavān, son of the *gopīkā*, is easily obtainable by those who have

Śloka 9. See 2.8.*śl.*17; 2.8.*śl.*50; 3.7.*śl.*5.
113. Śruti-gaṇa: strict observers of *śruti*, as described in *śloka* 10; see below vv. 122-26.
Śloka 10. See 2.8.*śl.*48.
116. Sākṣāt: manifest; see 1.10.54.
117. Mādhurya: sweetness.
119. As Yaśodā did.
Śloka 11. See 2.8.*śl.*49; 2.24.*śl.*26; 3.7.*śl.*4.

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bhakti; but for those who are concerned with the body, or with *jñāna*, and becoming *ātman*, it is not so easy.

122 All the *śruti*-people followed the example of the *gopīs*, and worshiped the son of Vrajeśvarī according to the *bhāva* of the *gopīs*. 123 When in *vyūha* they took the bodies of *gopīs* in Vraja, they had *rāsa*-sport with Kṛṣṇa in those bodies. 124 Kṛṣṇa is a *gopa* by *jāti*, and the *gopīs* are his beloved ones. Kṛṣṇa does not accept the Devī or other women. 125 Lakṣmī wanted union with Kṛṣṇa in that body; she did not worship after the manner of the *gopīs*. 126 She did not gain the joy of *rāsa* in another body, so Vedavyāsa has said in the '*nāyaṃ*' *śloka*."

127 Formerly in the mind of Bhaṭṭa there had been a prideful consideration that Śrī Nārāyaṇa was *svayaṃ bhagavān*, 128 and that worship of him was the best of all, and that the worship of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas was the best of all. 129 Prabhu, to shatter this pride of his, spoke all these joking words. 130 Prabhu said, "Bhaṭṭa, do not doubt it; this is the true nature of Kṛṣṇa: *svayaṃ bhagavān*. 131 And Śrī Nārāyaṇa is a *mūrti* of the *vilāsa* of Kṛṣṇa. This is the reason that the hearts of Lakṣmī and the others were lost.

Śloka 12. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.3.28:
All these souls are but parts and fractions of parts of the *puruṣa*; but Kṛṣṇa is *svayaṃ bhagavān*. They incarnate themselves in every age to protect people persecuted by Indra's enemies.

132 The qualities of Kṛṣṇa are more unique than those of Nārāyaṇa; thus Lakṣmī always thirsts for Kṛṣṇa. 133 The *śloka* which you recited is proof of this; for it comes in this *śloka* that Kṛṣṇa is *svayaṃ bhagavān*.

123. Vyūha is the assumption of multiple forms; assumedly they retained their own forms and at the same time those of the *gopīs* in Vraja.

124. Jāti: caste; *gopa* is a cowherd. Devī: Lakṣmī.

125. I.e., in her own body, as Lakṣmī.

126. Śloka 11 above begins: *nāyaṃ sukhāpo*.

131. See 1.1.38-39 and commentary, and 1.1.*śl.*35.

Śloka 12. See 1.2.*śl.*13; 1.5.*śl.*11; 2.20.*śl.*20; 2.25.*śl.*29.

132. I.e., Kṛṣṇa and Nārāyaṇa share many of the qualities of divinity, but according to Rūpa's *BhRS* [*dakṣiṇa-vibhāga, vibhāva-laharī*] 2.1.41-43, there are four "unique" (*asādharaṇa*) qualities of Kṛṣṇa, which Nārāyaṇa does not share: *līlā*; primacy among those who have *prema* towards him; the sweetness of his flute; and the irresistible sweetness of his form.

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Śloka 13. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.59:

Although in theory the true forms of Śrī's husband and Kṛṣṇa are undivided, by *rasa* the form of Kṛṣṇa gains superiority; he is the abode of *rasa*.

134 By his own qualities as Bhagavān, Kṛṣṇa steals the heart of Lakṣmī; but Nārāyaṇa is not able to steal the hearts of the *gopikās*. 135 Why speak of Nārāyaṇa—Śrī Kṛṣṇa himself, to amuse the *gopīs*, became Nārāyaṇa. 136 He showed his four-armed form before them, and the *gopīs* had no love for that Kṛṣṇa."

Śloka 14. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Lalitamādhava* 6.14:

What learned man is able to understand the process of the *bhāva* of the *gopīs*, devoted to the Lord of Cattle, scion of Nanda, who passes along paths difficult to comprehend? It is wonderful that when he appeared in his Viṣṇu-body, with its four all-conquering arms, endowed with radiance, the wave of their passion dissipated.

137 So saying, Prabhu pulverized his pride; then to give him happiness he reversed his argument. 138 "Do not be sorrowful, Bhaṭṭa; it has been in fun. Listen to the arguments of the *śāstras*, in which the Vaiṣṇavas have faith. 139 As Kṛṣṇa and Nārāyaṇa have a single true form, so the *gopīs* and Lakṣmī are not separate: they also have one form. 140 By the *gopīs*, Lakṣmī tastes union with Kṛṣṇa. If one considers them separate in divinity, it is an offence. 141 There is one single Īśvara, according to the worship of *bhaktas*, and though a single *vigraha* he takes many varied forms."

Śloka 15. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Laghubhagavatāmṛta, pūrva-khaṇḍa* [quoting *Nārada-pañcarātra*] 3.86:

As [the radiance of] a jewel, if divided into parts, is made up of blue, white and other colors, so Acyuta has different forms according to aspects of meditation.

Śloka 13. See 2.9.*śl.*8.

Śloka 14. See 1.17.*śl.*8.

137. [The preceding argument points up the important theological distinction that Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas make in contrasting the two primary features of Kṛṣṇa: his sovereign majesty (*aiśvarya*) and his loving sweetness (*mādhurya*); see esp. the commentary to v. 132 above. TKS]

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142 Bhaṭṭa said, "I am a most lowly *jīva*, and you are that very Kṛṣṇa, the manifest Īśvara. 143 I know nothing of the unfathomable *līlā* of Īśvara. What you tell me, that I honor as true. 144 Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa have been fully merciful to me; by their mercy I have gained the sight of your feet. 145 Being gracious, you have told me of the greatness of Kṛṣṇa, of whose divinity and qualities and form no one can find the limit. 146 Now I know the superiority of Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*; you have fulfilled me, having spoken to me in your grace."

147 So saying, Bhaṭṭa fell at the feet of Prabhu; and in his mercy Prabhu embraced him. 148 The four month period came to an end, so taking the permission of Bhaṭṭa, Prabhu, having seen Śrīraṅga, continued south. 149 Bhaṭṭa went with him, he did not go to his house; and with much tenderness Prabhu bade him farewell. 150 Bhaṭṭa fell unconscious when he had to separate from Prabhu; and in this way, Śrī Śacīnandana carried on his activities.

151 Gaurahari travelled on, and came to Ṛṣabha mountain; seeing Nārāyaṇa, he bowed and praised him greatly. 152 Hearing that Paramānanda Purī was staying there for four months, Prabhu went to Purī Gosvāmī. 153 Prabhu bowed to the feet of Purī Gosvāmī, and in *prema* Purī Gosvāmī embraced him. 154 For three days both remained together in the house of a certain *brāhmaṇa*. 155 Purī Gosvāmī said, "I am going to Puruṣottama; and having seen Puruṣottama I shall go to Gauḍa and bathe in the Gaṅgā." 156 Prabhu said, "Go again to Nīlācala. I shall come there from Setubandha in a little while. 157 To remain with you is my wish; if you come to Nīlācala, you will be being merciful to me." 158 So saying, he took leave of him, and Prabhu journeyed to the south in great pleasure. 159 Then Paramānanda Purī headed for Nīlācala;

142. Sākṣāt: manifest; see v. 116 above.

146. [According to the 5th chapter of Yadunandana Dāsa's *Karṇānanda*, written several decades after the *CC*, this Veṅkaṭa Bhaṭṭa was the father of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa. According to Yadunandana, who is quoting Rāmacandra, the disciple of Śrīnivāsa Ācārya, Gopāla performed intimate service to the person of Caitanya during the four month sojourn, and talked with him frequently. Before Caitanya took leave, he instructed Gopāla to go to Vṛndāvana. Telling the story, Rāmacandra refers explicitly to this chapter (*madhya* 9): *yerūpe dakṣiṇa tīrthe kaila paryyaṭana / śrīcaitanya caritāmṛte ache e likhana // madhyakhaṇḍe dekhiha navama paricchede / dakṣiṇera tīrtha yātrā kariha āsvāde // . . . eimata cāturmāsyā vyatīta hailā / veṅkaṭera bālaka śrī gopāla bhaṭṭa nāma //*. And then Caitanya reputedly instructs Gopāla to go to Vṛndāvana and join Rūpa and Sanātana (whom he has not yet met): . . . *paścate tumi tave yābe vṛndāvana // vṛndāvane śrī rūpa sanātanera saṅge / . . .* TKS]

152. Paramānanda Purī was a pupil of Mādhavendra Purī, a co-pupil of Īśvara Purī, the *guru* of Caitanya.

155. Puruṣottama: Jagannātha in the city of Purī.

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Mahāprabhu travelled and travelled and came to Śrīśaila. 160 The one dressed as a *brāhmaṇa*, who tended Śivadurgā, saw Mahāprabhu; and both were greatly delighted. 161 He offered him an invitation, and fed him for three days; the two sat in a lonely place and talked of secret things. 162 With him Mahāprabhu had conversation befitting an intimate; then taking leave of him, he came to Purī Kāmakoṣṭhī.

163 From Kāmakoṣṭhī he went to Dakṣiṇamathurā, and there he met a *brāhmaṇa*. 164 That *brāhmaṇa* extended an invitation to Mahāprabhu; he was a Rāma-*bhakta*, a great and ascetic man. 165 Having bathed in the Kṛtamālā, he came to his house: Would he give him food? The *brāhmaṇa* was not cooking. 166 Mahāprabhu said to him, "Hear me, sir. The midday rituals have been completed; why do you not cook?" 167 The *brāhmaṇa* said, "Prabhu! My house is in the forest. The items to cook have not yet been gathered from the forest. 168 Lakṣmaṇa will bring vegetables and fruit and forest rice, and then Sītā will prepare them." 169 Recognizing his devotion, Prabhu was pleased; and the *brāhmaṇa* cooked in a random fashion, 170 and Prabhu ate—in the third watch of the day. The *brāhmaṇa* was upset, and fasted. 171 Prabhu queried, "*Brāhmaṇa*, why do you fast? Why do you burn in such sadness?" 172 The *brāhmaṇa* replied, "There is no purpose in my life; I shall enter either fire or water, and abandon it. 173 The mother of the world, Mahālakṣmī Sītā Ṭhākurāṇī was touched by a *rākṣasa* demon—this I heard with my own ears. 174 It is not right to retain this body; my body burns in this fire, but my life does not leave me." 175 Prabhu said, "Do not trouble yourself more in this way; you are a learned man; why not examine the matter? 176 Sītā is the beloved of Īśvara, and the image of *cit* and *ānanda*. One does not have the power to see her with the material senses. 177 How can she be touched, if she is not seen? Rāvaṇa stole a *māyā*-form of Sītā. 178 When Rāvaṇa came, Sītā disappeared, and sent a *māyā*-Sītā

160. "Dressed as a *brāhmaṇa*" or "in the guise of a *brāhmaṇa*" is problematic, but the text is clear: *śivadurgā rahe tahā brāhmaṇera beśe.* The grammatical construction is somewhat ambiguous. It is possible that Śivadurgā could refer to the man's name, but it seems more likely that the *brāhmaṇa* is identified as the attendant to a *mūrti* of Śiva and Durgā, especially given the following lines, which are unambiguous.

161. Gupta-kathā: talk of secret things.

167. Obviously, the *brāhmaṇa* is in the midst of meditation on the Rāma story, and of the exile of Rāma, Sītā, and Lakṣmaṇa in the forest.

172. Commit suicide.

176. She is made up of *cit* and *ānanda*, not of material nature, and therefore cannot be touched by material nature. Nor can she be perceived with the material senses; therefore no matter what has been heard about her, that cannot be true.

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before Rāvaṇa. 179 Immaterial objects are not perceived by the material: this is constantly pointed out in the Veda and *purāṇas*. 180 Have faith in my words, and do not again think these bad thoughts." 181 At the words of Prabhu, the *brāhmaṇa* had faith; he ate, and again had hope in life.

182 Having consoled him, Prabhu went on his way. Having bathed in the Kṛtamālā, he went to Durveśana. 183 He had *darśana* of the Raghunātha at Durveśana, and bowed to the Paraśurāma at Mahendraśaila. 184 Coming to Setubandha he bathed at the Dhanutīrtha, and having seen Rāmeśvara, he rested there. 185 In an assembly of *brāhmaṇas*, he listened there to the *Kūrma Purāṇa*, and in it came the stories of the *pativratā*. 186 He heard in the story that Rāvaṇa had taken a *māyā*-Sītā, and when he heard this, Prabhu was delighted in his heart. 187 The daughter of Janaka was the crest-jewel of *pativratās*, the mother of the world, Sītā, wife of Śrī Rāma. 188 Seeing Rāvaṇa, Sītā took refuge with Agni, and Agni concealed Sītā from Rāvaṇa. 189 Taking Sītā, he kept her in the place of Pārvatī, and with the *māyā*-Sītā Agni tricked Rāvaṇa. 190 After Raghunātha came to kill Rāvaṇa, when he brought back Sītā, he submitted her to an ordeal by fire. 191 And then Agni consumed the *māyā*-Sītā, and brought the real Sītā and gave her to the wise Rāma. 192 Hearing this, Prabhu was delighted in his heart, as he reflected on the *brāhmaṇa* who was a servant of Rāma. 193 Hearing all this discussion, Prabhu was very pleased; requesting it from the *brāhmaṇa*, he took that page [on which the story was written], 194 and wrote a new page and placed it in the book; he requested and took the old page, that people might believe. 195 Taking the page, he again came to Dakṣiṇamathurā, and he brought and gave that page to the *brāhmaṇa* who was the servant of Rāma.

Ślokas 16-17. *Kūrma Purāṇa*:

16 Propitiated by Sītā, the fire-god made a Shadow-Sītā; Rāvaṇa stole that; Sītā had gone to the city of the fire-god. 17 At the time of the ordeal, it was that Shadow-Sītā who entered the fire. The fire-god brought [the real] Sītā from his own city and presented her [to Rama].

183. Raghunātha: Rāma.

185. Pativratā: Sītā, the ideal wife, who was true to her husband Rāma. *Cf.* 2.23.60 and 3.20.48 commentary.

188. Agni: the god of fire.

193-95. [This is an interesting sequence because it suggests that the older, worn manuscript is deemed more authentic and of greater reliability than a fresh one. This raises interesting questions about the practice of copying and destroying old MSS. TKS]

Ślokas 16-17. Chāyā-sītā: shadow Sītā.

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196 Getting the leaf, the *brāhmaṇa* was delighted, and held the feet of Prabhu and wept. 197 The *brāhmaṇa* said, "You are the manifest Śrī Raghunandana; in the guise of a *saṃnyāsin* you have given me *darśana*. 198 You have saved me from great sorrow; consent to eat today in my house. 199 That other day I did not feed you well, because of the sorrow in my heart; yet by my good fortune I have again seen you." 200 So saying, the *brāhmaṇa* quickly prepared food, and fed Prabhu in the best possible way. 201 Gaurahari remained there that night, being merciful to him, then he came to Tāmraparṇī in the country of the Pāṇḍyas.

202 Then Prabhu bathed on the banks of the Tāmraparṇī; seeing the Nayatripadī, he wandered in delight. 203 At Ciḍayatālā *tīrtha* he saw Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, and had *darśana* of Śiva when he came to Tilakāñcī. 204 He saw the Viṣṇu image at Gajendramokṣaṇa *tīrtha*, and Sītāpati at Pānāgaḍi *tīrtha*. 205 Coming to Cāmatāpura he saw Śrī Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, and had *darśana* of Viṣṇu at Śrīvaikuṇṭha. 206 At the Malaya mountain he bowed to Agastya, and had *darśana* of Kanyākumārī. 207 At Āmalītalāta, Gaurahari saw Rāma, and came to the Mallā country, where the Bhaṭṭamāris were. 208 He saw Tamāla-Kārtika and came to Bātāpānī; having seen Raghunātha there, he passed the night. 209 The *brāhmaṇa* Kṛṣṇadāsa was with Gosvāmī and met the Bhaṭṭamāris. 210 Showing him women and wealth, they aroused his greed, and destroyed the wisdom of the simple respectable *brāhmaṇa*. 211 Getting up in the morning, the *brāhmaṇa* went to the house of the Bhaṭṭamāris, and Prabhu came quickly in search of him. 212 Coming there, he said to all the Bhaṭṭamāris, "Why do you keep my *brāhmaṇa* here? 213 You are *saṃnyāsīs*, and you see that I am also a *saṃnyāsī*; you give me much sorrow, and I do not consider this as just." 214 When they heard this, all the Bhaṭṭamāris got up and took their weapons, and came running from all around to beat him. 215 Their weapons in their hands fell on their own bodies; and in great disorder, the Bhaṭṭamāris fled in all directions. 216 In the house of the Bhaṭṭamāris there rose up a great weeping. [Prabhu] seized the *brāhmaṇa* by the hair and led him away.

217 That day he went to the banks of the Payasvinī; he bathed there and went to the temple of Ādikeśava. 218 Seeing Keśava, he was overcome with *prema*; he danced and sang many prayers and praises. 219 Seeing this *prema*, people were greatly astonished; all the people treated Prabhu with the greatest defer-

207. Bhaṭṭamāris: left-hand Tāntric *saṃnyāsins*; v. 214 below suggests that it was a militant order.

209. [The *brāhmaṇa* Kṛṣṇadāsa is Caitanya's servant on his trip south. TKS]

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ence. 220 He entered into conversation with great *bhaktas*, and there he got the section of the *Brahma Saṃhitā*. 221 When he got this manuscript, the joy of Prabhu was unbounded; its manifestations were trembling and weeping and sweating and gooseflesh and paralysis. 222 There is no scripture of theology equal to the *Brahma Saṃhitā*; it is the primary source for knowledge of the greatness of Govinda. 223 In a few syllables it speaks profound doctrines; among all the *śāstras* of the Vaiṣṇavas it is the most essential. 224 He had the manuscript copied with great care, and came in great delight to Anantapadmanābha.

225 For two days he had *darśana* of Padmanābha, and in joy came to see Śrī Janārdana. 226 He stayed there two days, singing and dancing and coming to Payoṣṇī, he saw Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa. 227 He came to the Siṃhāri *maṭha*, the place of Śaṅkarācārya, and seeing the Matsya *tīrtha*, he bathed in the Tuṅgabhadrā. 228 He came to the place of Madhvācārya, where there were many followers of the *tattvavāda*; when he saw the Uḍupa-Kṛṣṇa there, he became mad with *prema*. 229 The Narttaka-Gopāla Kṛṣṇa, in his most entrancing [way], had come to Madhvācārya in a dream. 230 He was on a boat with the *gopīcandana* sandalwood paste. And somehow Madhvācārya gained that Kṛṣṇa, 231 and brought him and established him, and the *tattvavādins* performed his service. 232 When he saw the image of Kṛṣṇa, Prabhu was very happy, and overcome by *prema* he danced and sang for a long time. 233 The *tattvavādins*, considering Prabhu to be a *māyāvādin*, did not talk with him when they first saw him. 234 But when they saw him absorbed in *prema*, they were much surprised. 235 Gauracandra knew the pride in the hearts of all of them, and began a conversation with them all. 236 The *ācārya* of the *tattvavādins* was much learned in the *śāstras*, and Prabhu, as if lowly and ignorant, asked him questions. 237 "I do not know well what is to be gained nor the manner of gaining it. Tell me the best *sādhya* and *sādhana*." 238 The *ācārya* replied, "The *varṇāśrama-dharma* and presenting

220. Rādhāgovinda Nātha says that *adhyāya* refers to the fifth section of the *Brahma Saṃhitā*, a section particularly revered by Vaiṣṇavas, and the only portion extant.

222. Siddhānta-śāstra: scripture of theology.

228. Tattvavāda: the extreme dualist position of Madhvācārya and his followers.

229-231. The story is that a merchant was coming from Dvārakā by boat; on the boat he had a load of a particular kind of sandalwood paste (*gopīcandana*) and an image of a dancing Kṛṣṇa. As he approached the place of Madhvācārya, the boat sank, taking the image with it. Kṛṣṇa in this dancing form then appeared in a dream to Madhva, instructing him to take the image from the water; Madhva did so, and established its worship there. Caitanya is now in South Kanara District in Karnataka. Uḍupi is still the center of Madhva *sampradāya*.

237. Sādhya-sādhana: what is to be gained and the manner of gaining it.

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[oneself] to Kṛṣṇa: these are the best *sādhanas* of the Kṛṣṇa-*bhakta*. 239 Gaining the five kinds of *mukti* and going to Vaikuṇṭha: this is the ultimate *sādhya*, and the *śāstras* attest it." 240 Prabhu countered, "The *śāstras* say 'listening to *kīrtana*', and that Kṛṣṇa-*prema* as a result of service is the highest *sādhana*.

Śloka 18-19. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 7.5.23-24:
18 Listening [to stories] of Viṣṇu, praising him, meditating on him, serving his feet, proper action, obeisance, service, friendship, and presentation of the self— 19 anyone who performs these nine kinds of *bhakti*, openly dedicated to Bhagavān Viṣṇu, I consider most learned.

241 For *prema* comes to Kṛṣṇa from *śravaṇa* and *kīrtana*: and that is the highest end of man, the limit of the goals of men.

Śloka 20. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.2.40:
The man thus aroused, his affection inspired by his own *nāma-saṃkīrtana*, with spinning thoughts, like a madman, transported beyond the world of men, sometimes laughs out loud, sometimes weeps, sometimes cries out, and sometimes sings and dances.

242 The abandonment of *karma* and the vilification of *karma*—this the *śāstras* attest; there is never any *prema-bhakti* of Kṛṣṇa from *karma*.

Śloka 21. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.11.32:
He who abandons his own full *dharma*, even though propounded by me, being aware of its qualities and faults, and worships me, he is the best of men.

Śloka 22. *Bhagavad Gītā* 18.66:
Abandon all the Laws and instead seek shelter with me alone. Be unconcerned, I shall set you free from all evils.

239. For the five kinds of *mukti*, see 1.3.16 and 2.6.239.
Śloka 18. Kīrtana: praising; *smaraṇa*: meditating; *arcana*: proper action, especially ritual praise.
241. Śravaṇa: listening to stories and praises of Kṛṣṇa.
Śloka 20. See 1.7.*śl.*4; 2.23.*śl.*20; 2.25.*śl.*34; 3.3.*śl.*9.
Śloka 21. See 2.8.*śl.*6.
Śloka 22. See 2.8.*śl.*7; 2.22.*śl.*44.

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Śloka 23. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.20.9:
You shall work until a condition of renunciation arises, or until faith, in listening, etc., to my story, is born in the heart.

243 *Bhaktas* abandon the five kinds of *muktis*; they consider *mukti* as vain and equal to hell.

Śloka 24. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.29.13:
Even if I myself am prepared to give it, my people do not take to *sālokya*, *sārṣṭi*, *sārūpya*, *sāmīpya*, or *ekatva* without serving me.

Śloka 25. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 5.14.44:
That the king did not want all those things hard to abandon: the earth and sons and followers and wealth and wives—even that Lakṣmī of the gentle glance, begged for by the immortals—that was necessary, for even *mokṣa* is meaningless to those great ones whose minds are fixed on service to the enemy of Madhu.

Śloka 26. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 6.17.28:
All followers of Nārāyaṇa fear nothing at all; for they look upon heaven, *mukti*, and hell as the same.

244 So *bhaktas*, you must abandon *karma* and *mukti*, both these; you see that I am a *saṃnyāsin*; do you deceive me because of that? 245 These are not the proper *sādhya* and *sādhana* of a Vaiṣṇava, but you argue for the establishment of them both as *sādhya* and *sādhana*."

246 When he heard this, the *tattvācārya* was ashamed in his heart; seeing the Vaiṣṇava qualities of Prabhu he was astonished. 247 The *ācārya* said, "What you say is true. In all the *śāstras* these are the certainties of Vaiṣṇavas. 248 Still, that which Madhvācārya propagated [we] observe fully, being related to him in sect." 249 Prabhu said, "Those who follow *karma* and *jñāna* are both devoid

Śloka 23. See 2.22.*śl*.25.
Śloka 24. See 1.4.*śl*.36; 2.6.*śl*.23; 2.19.*śl*.24; 3.3.*śl*.12.
Śloka 26. See 2.19.*śl*.38.
244. "Do you say these things, upholding the *advaita* position, because you see that I am dressed like a *saṃnyāsin*, and therefore believe in the *advaita-vāda*?"
248. The *ācārya* is saying that Madhva preached *mukti* as the *sādhya* and dedication of one's work (*karma*) to Kṛṣṇa as the *sādhana*, and that although this is not what is said in the Vaiṣṇava *śāstras*, they, as followers of Madhva, also follow his teachings.

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of *bhakti*; I see those two signs in your *sampradāya*. 250 In all, I see one quality in your *sampradāya*: having considered the *vigraha* as true, you have established it as Īśvara."

251 In this way he crushed the pride in that house; then Gaurahari went to the Phalgu *tīrtha*. 252 He had *darśana* of the Tritakūpa of Viśālā, and the son of Śacī came to the *tīrtha* called Pañcāpsarā. 253 Having seen the Gokarṇa-Śiva, he came to Dvaipāyanī; the crest jewel of *saṃnyāsin*s came to Sūrpāraka *tīrtha*. 254 He saw the Lakṣmī at Kolāpura, and Kṣīra-Bhagavatī, and Lāṅgā-Gaṇeśa, and Corā-Bhagavatī. 255 From there, Gaurahari went to Pāṇḍupura, and when he saw Viṭṭhala Ṭhākura, he was greatly delighted. 256 In an ecstasy of *prema* he danced and sang much; and when they first saw Prabhu the minds of all were stunned. 257 There a *brāhmaṇa* extended him an invitation. When he had eaten, he received some good news: 258 A pupil of Mādhava Purī, Śrīraṅga Purī by name, was resting in that very village, in the house of a *brāhmaṇa*. 259 Hearing this, Prabhu went to see him, and saw him seated in the house of the *brāhmaṇa*. 260 Overwhelmed in *prema*, he made obeisance to him, with gooseflesh and trembling and tears, sweat rolling down his limbs. 261 When he saw him, the mind of Śrīraṅga Purī was astonished. He said, "Rise up, rise up, Śrīpāda! 262 Śrīpāda! You hold a relationship to my Gosvāmī; none other exhibits such signs of *prema* as these." 263 So saying, he raised Prabhu up and embraced him, and both wept hanging on each other's necks. 264 After a time, having left this ecstasy, both became calm, and Prabhu informed him of his relationship with Īśvara Purī. 265 The two spent night and day speaking of Kṛṣṇa, and in this way passed several days. 266 Out of curiosity, Purī asked him the place of his birth; Gosvāmī delightedly told him Navadvīpa. 267 Śrīraṅga Purī had formerly gone with Mādhava Purī to Navadvīpa, 268 and had taken a meal in the house of Jagannātha Miśra, and had eaten there a wonderful dish made of plantain flowers. 269 "The wife of Jagannātha was a *mahāpativratā*, in affection as if she was mother of the world. 270 There is none as skilled in cooking in the three worlds, and she cares for *saṃnyāsin*s with the same love she

250. I.e., although you, like the followers of *jñāna*, consider that *mukti* is the desirable end of men, you do not, as the followers of *jñāna* do, consider that the image is merely *māyā*; you consider it as true, as made up of *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*. [This episode is perhaps significant in the light of the later and still divisive controversy surrounding the attempts by a small minority to affiliate the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava *sampradāya* with the Madhva *sampradāya*. TKS]

254. Caitanya is at this point travelling up the west coast of India, and is in Maharashtra.

256. See commentary v. 82.

260. [For these signs of *prema*, see text and commentary to 2.8.135 and 2.23.31-32. TKS]

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would show her sons. 271 She had a son who had become an ascetic and taken *saṃnyāsa* when he was very young; Śaṅkarāraṇya was his name. 272 It was at this *tīrtha* that Śaṅkarāraṇya gained his perfection . . ." Śrīraṅga Purī spoke much along these lines. 273 Prabhu replied, "In a former stage of my life he was my brother, and in that stage Jagannātha Miśra was my father." 274 And in this way the two conversed according to their desires, and Śrīraṅga Purī departed to see Dvārakā. 275 For four days the *brāhmaṇa* kept Prabhu there, and when he had bathed in the Bhīmarathī, he had *darśana* of Viṭṭhala.

276 Then Prabhu came to the banks of the Kṛṣṇabeṇvā, and saw many *tīrthas* and temples of gods in that place. 277 The society of *brāhmaṇas* was Vaiṣṇava in action; Vaiṣṇavas all, they read the *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta*. 278 When he heard the *Karṇāmṛta*, Prabhu was delighted; he eagerly had the manuscript copied. 279 There is nothing like the *Karṇāmṛta* in the three worlds, from which there is knowledge of the pure Kṛṣṇa-*prema*. 280 It is the ultimate in the sweetness and beauty of the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*; he knows [these things], who constantly reads the *Karṇāmṛta*. 281 So he obtained the *Brahma Saṃhitā* and the *Karṇāmṛta*, these two manuscripts; he took them with him as if they were great jewels.

282 He bathed in the Tāpī, and came to Māhiṣmatīpura; he saw various *tīrthas* there on the banks of the Narmadā. 283 Seeing the Dhanu *tīrtha*, he bathed in the Nirvindhyā, and came to the Ṛṣyamukha mountain in the Daṇḍaka forest. 284 There within the forest were the seven trees, very old and very firm and very tall. 285 When he saw the trees, Prabhu embraced them; bodily the seven *tāla*-trees went to Vaikuṇṭha. 286 When they saw the empty place, the people were astonished, and they said, "This *saṃnyāsin* is an *avatāra* of Rāma. 287 The *tālas* have bodily gone to Śrīvaikuṇṭha-*dhāma*; who except for Rāma alone could have such power?" 288 Prabhu came and bathed in Pampā Lake; he came to Pañcavaṭī and rested there. 289 Having seen Nāsika and Tryambaka, he went to Brahmagiri; he came to Kuśāvartta, where the Godāvarī is born. 290 He saw Saptagodāvarī and many *tīrthas*, and again came to Vidyānagara.

291 When Rāmānanda Rāya heard of Prabhu's coming, he joyfully came to meet him. 292 Bowing low, he fell and held his feet; and Prabhu raised him up

271. The reference is to Caitanya's elder brother Viśvarūpa. Śaṅkarāraṇya was the name he took at his *saṃnyāsa*.

272. *Siddhi*: perfection; Viśvarūpa had died at Pāṇḍupura.

277. Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala's *Kṛṣṇakarāmṛta*.

285-87. [See Kavikarṇapūra's *KCCM* 13.17-19. TKS]

289. Kuśāvartta: the source of the Godāvarī river.

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and embraced him. 293 Both wept in an ecstasy of *prema*. Overwhelmed in this *prema* the hearts of both were wrung out. 294 After a time they became calm; they sat together and talked of what was in their hearts. 295 Prabhu told everything about his pilgrimage, and gave him the two manuscripts, *Karṇāmṛta* and *Brahma Saṃhitā*. 296 Prabhu said, "That which you explained is all witnessed in these two manuscripts." 297 Rāya received the books with great joy. With Prabhu he tasted them, and he kept them and copied them down. 298 "The Gosvāmī has come" was echoed in the village, and the people all came to see the Gosvāmī. 299 When he saw the people, Rāmānanda went to his own house; at midday Prabhu rose up [and went] to eat. 300 At night Rāya came once again, and the two sat up, talking of Kṛṣṇa. 301 The two spent night and day, speaking of Kṛṣṇa, and thus in great joy several days passed. 302 Rāmānanda said, "Gosvāmī! When I received your command, I wrote an entreaty to the king. 303 The king gave me his permission to go to Nīlācala, and I have begun to make preparations to go." 304 Prabhu said, "This is the reason for my coming: I shall take you to Nīlācala." 305 Rāya said, "Prabhu, you go first to Nīlācala. With me are noisy soldiers and horses and elephants. 306 I shall make all arrangements in ten days' time, and I shall follow after you." 307 Then Mahāprabhu gave him his command to come, and in great joy departed for Nīlācala.

308 Travelling on that path on which he had formerly gone, Prabhu saw many Vaiṣṇavas. 309 Wherever he went, people raised the cry 'Hari'; and when he saw this Gaurahari was greatly pleased. 310 When he came to Ālālanātha, he sent Kṛṣṇadāsa [ahead] and summoned Nityānanda and the rest of his people. 311 When Nityānanda Rāya heard of the coming of Prabhu, he jumped up, and because of *prema* he could not be still. 312 Jagadānanda and Dāmodara, and Paṇḍita Mukunda danced about; their bodies could not contain their delight. 313 Gopināthācārya also went, in great joy, and they all met Prabhu on the road. 314 Prabhu, overcome by *prema*, embraced them all; they all wept in joy [likewise] overwhelmed with *prema*. 315 Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya came in great delight, and he met Prabhu on the shore of the sea. 316 Sārvabhauma fell at the feet of Mahāprabhu, and Prabhu raised him up and embraced him. 317 Sārvabhauma wept, overcome with *prema*; and with them all, Prabhu went to have *darśana* of Īśvara. 318 When he saw Jagannātha, Prabhu was overcome with *prema*, and his body trembled and sweat and had gooseflesh, and floated

293. See commentary v. 82. The same expression is used repeatedly in the following passage.
317. Īśvara: Jagannātha.

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in tears. 319 Prabhu, absorbed in *prema*, danced for a long time, and a crowd of pilgrim guides all came, bringing garlands and *prasāda*. 320 When he received the garlands and *prasāda*, Prabhu became calm; and all the servants of Jagannātha met him joyfully. 321 Kāśī Miśra came and fell at the feet of Prabhu; honoring him, Prabhu embraced him. 322 And a temple servant of Jagannātha came to meet Prabhu. Sārvabhauma took Prabhu to his own home, 323 offering him an invitation to take food at his house. And he had wonderful *mahāprasāda* brought. 324 When he had performed the midday rituals, Prabhu took his own people, and went to eat in the house of Sārvabhauma. 325 When he had fed him, he made him lie down, and Sārvabhauma himself massaged his feet. 326 Prabhu sent him to eat, and remained that night in his house, in love for him. 327 With Sārvabhauma and others of his own people, he stayed awake the night, speaking of his pilgrimage. 328 Prabhu said, "I have wandered to so many *tīrthas*, but have not seen a single Vaiṣṇava like you. 329 There was one Rāmānanda Rāya, who gave me happiness." And Bhaṭṭa said, "For this I asked you to meet [him]."

330 This is the completion of the story of the pilgrimage. It has been told in brief, it cannot be expanded. 331 For the story of Caitanya is infinite, and I do not know how to tell it. But because I am greedy and proud I have tried. 332 He who hears the story of the pilgrimage of Prabhu gains the feet of Caitanya in a profound wealth of love. 333 Listen with reverence and devotion to the deeds of Caitanya; abandon your pride and envy and with your mouths say 'Hari, Hari!' 334 In this Kali age there is no other *dharma*: this is at the heart of Vaiṣṇavas and Vaiṣṇava *śāstras*. 335 The *līlā* of the moon Caitanya is incomparable and profound; I cannot enter it, but only touch it as I stand on its shores. 336 Those who listen with respect to the deeds of Caitanya, as much as they search, so much of the wealth of *prema* do they gain.

337 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

319. Pāṇḍā: pilgrim guide, conducting pilgrims around the temple complex.
322. Paḍichā: temple servant of Jagannātha.

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Madhya Līlā
Chapter 10

Śloka 1.

I pay homage to that golden cloud, who nourishes by the nectar of his own *darśana* the *bhakta*-crops withered by separation [from himself].

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*. 2 Formerly, when Mahāprabhu had gone to the south, the Rājā Pratāparudra had sent for Sārvabhauma. 3 He made obeisance and gave him a seat to sit upon, and asked him questions about Mahāprabhu. 4 "I heard that there is a great man in your house who has come from Gauḍa, and who is full of greatest mercy. 5 That he has been most merciful to you, all the people say. Now you be kind, and arrange for me to have *darśana* of him." 6 Bhaṭṭa said, "What you have heard is true; but your *darśana* of him cannot come about. 7 He is a *saṃnyāsin* indifferent to the world, and remains by himself. Even in a dream he would not have *darśana* of a king. 8 Still, because of your entreaty, I would arrange a *darśana* for you; but he has now gone to the southern country." 9 The king asked, "Why has he gone, leaving Jagannātha?" 10 "To purify the *tīrthas* he has gone in pilgrimage to them; and in that guise he saves the people of the world.

Śloka 2. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.13.10:

Bhāgavatas like you are themselves the true forms of pilgrimage places; they make pilgrimage to all the pilgrimage places by means of Gadādhara, who is situated in their own hearts.

Śloka 2. See 1.1.śl.31; 2.20.śl.2.

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11 This is the firm nature of a Vaiṣṇava; and he is not a *jīva*, he is the self-dependent Īśvara." 12 The king said, "Why did you allow him to go? Why did you not keep him, falling at his feet, imploring him?" 13 Bhaṭṭācārya said, "He is the self-dependent Īśvara; he is the manifest Kṛṣṇa—and is not manipulated by others. 14 So even though I tried to keep him, imploring him, the desire of Īśvara is independent, and he could not be restrained." 15 The *rājā* asked, "Bhaṭṭa, you are the crest-jewel of scholars; you call him Kṛṣṇa, and I honor that as true. 16 So when he comes here again, let me see him once; let my eyes be fruitful." 17 Bhaṭṭācārya replied, "He will come in a little time; we must find a solitary place for him to stay. 18 It should be near the *ṭhākura* and isolated. Find out such a place and have it set aside." 19 The *rājā* said, "Such is the place of Kāśī Miśra: it is near the *ṭhākura* and very private." 20 So saying, the king waited anxiously, and Bhaṭṭācārya went to Kāśī Miśra and told him everything. 21 Kāśī Miśra said, "I am most fortunate. For the feet of Prabhu will be placed in my house." 22 In this way all the dwellers of Puruṣottama were anxious in their hearts to meet Prabhu. 23 And just as the anxiety of all the people had become unbearable, Prabhu came back from the south.

24 When they heard this, the hearts of all were overjoyed, and all together entreated Sārvabhauma. 25 "Allow us all to meet Prabhu; by your grace let us gain the feet of Caitanya." 26 Bhaṭṭācārya said, "Tomorrow Prabhu will go to the house of Kāśī Miśra, and there he will meet you all." 27 The next day Mahāprabhu, with Bhaṭṭācārya, in great pleasure had *darśana* of Jagannātha. 28 The *sevakas* met him, and gave him *mahāprasāda*, and Mahāprabhu embraced them all. 29 When he had had *darśana*, Mahāprabhu went outside, and Bhaṭṭācārya took him to the house of Kāśī Miśra. 30 Kāśī Miśra came and fell at the feet of Prabhu, and offered himself and his house to him. 31 Prabhu showed to him his four-armed form, and having accepted him, he embraced him. 32 Then Mahāprabhu sat there on a seat, and all around him sat Nityānanda and the other *bhaktas*. 33 When he saw the situation of the house, Prabhu was pleased; all that Prabhu needed was in that house. 34 Sārvabhauma said, "Prabhu, this

11. Svatantra: self-dependent.

13. Sākṣāt: manifest, lit., before one's eyes.

18. Near the temple of Jagannātha; *ṭhākura*: lord, here the image of Jagannātha.

23. Sanātana's *Bṛhadbhāgavatāmṛta* 1.4.33: whenever and in whomever the desire to gain Bhagavān arises, he appears to him in that place. The Caitanya-*avatāra* itself came about for the same reason: the anxiety and prayers of Advaita; see 1.13.61-69.

31. Why he did this is unclear; Rādhāgovinda Nātha says that "people, unless they see some manifestation of divinity, ordinarily do not believe."

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dwelling is fit for you; that you accept it is the hope of Miśra." 35 Prabhu said, "This body belongs to you all; what you tell me, I shall agree to." 36 Then Sārvabhauma sat at Prabhu's right hand, and he began to introduce all the dwellers of Puruṣottama. 37 "All these people, Prabhu, dwell at Nīlācala, and have been anxious to meet you. 38 As the thirsty *cātaka* bird calls to the cloud, so are these all. Accept them all. 39 This man's name is Janārddana, and he is a *sevaka* of Jagannātha; he serves the holy image of Prabhu during *anavasara*. 40 And this man, holding a golden wand, is Kṛṣṇadāsa by name; and this is Śikhi Māhitī, chief among scribes. 41 And he is Pradyumna Miśra, a foremost Vaiṣṇava. And he, Dāsa by name, is chief among the preparers of food for Jagannātha. 42 And Murāri Māhitī, the brother of Śikhi Māhitī, has no refuge other than your feet. 43 And this is Candaneśvara, and this Siṃheśvara, and this is the *brāhmaṇa* Murāri, and this is Viṣṇudāsa, whose meditation is on your feet. 44 And this is the great-minded Praharāja Mahāpātra, and with him is Paramānanda Mahāpātra. 45 All these Vaiṣṇavas are jewels to this Kṣetra, and they all single-mindedly worship your feet."

46 Then they all fell prostrate at his feet; and Prabhu was gracious to them and embraced them all. 47 At that time Bhavānanda Rāya came there, and with his four sons he fell at the feet of Mahāprabhu. 48 And Sārvabhauma said, "And this is Bhavānanda Rāya. Rāmānanda Rāya is his first son." 49 Then Mahāprabhu embraced him, and with much praise told him of Rāmānanda. 50 "Who has a jewel like Rāmānanda for a son, people cannot describe his greatness. 51 You are Pāṇḍu manifest, and your wife Kuntī, and your five great-minded sons the five Pāṇḍavas." 52 Rāya replied, "I am a *śūdra*, a lowly man concerned with material things; having touched me, you have shown the signs of Īśvara. 53 With my five sons, and servants, and wealth, and house, I offer myself at your feet.

38. *Cātaka* birds are said to live on raindrops, and in fact cannot live without them. This recollects the old image of Kṛṣṇa as the dark raincloud, shedding his rain of *prema* to his thirsty *bhakta-cātakas*.

39. *Anavasara* is the time when none except for *sevakas* or servants of Jagannātha can have *darśana* of the image.

40. The golden wand (*svarṇavetra*) leads Rādhāgovinda Nātha to speculate that this Kṛṣṇadāsa was a guardian or watchman of Jagannātha. The scribe presumably kept the accounts of the temple.

44. Praharāja and Paramānanda were their names; *mahāpātra* was a title signifying that they were important figures in the government, or that their families had held such posts.

48-58. [This reference is not a simple hyperbole, but one of identity as attested in v. 56 which confirms that they are members of Caitanya's *dhāma*. Kavikarṇapūra lists Rāmānanda Rāya as Arjuna, among his alternate identities as the *gopī* Lalitā and Arjunīyā, in *GGUD*, 120-24. None of the others is found in his list. See also *CC* 1.10.130-32 and 3.9.129 text and commentary. TKS]

51. The heroes of the *Mahābhārata* epic.

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54 This [son] Vāṇīnātha will remain at your feet, and carry out whatever orders you give to him. 55 Consider him as your own, and do not hesitate; whenever you have a wish, command him." 56 Prabhu replied, "What of hesitation; you are not strangers to me. From birth to birth, you and your lineage have been my servants. 57 Within a few days Rāmānanda will come, and in his company my joy will be fulfilled." 58 So saying, Prabhu embraced him, and placed his feet on the heads of all the sons. 59 Then Mahāprabhu sent him home, and Vāṇīnātha Paṭṭanāyaka remained nearby. 60 Bhaṭṭācārya bade farewell to all the people, and then Prabhu summoned Kālākṛṣṇadāsa. 61 Prabhu said, "Bhaṭṭācārya, hear the actions of this man; he went with me to the south, 62 and abandoned me and went to become a Bhaṭṭamāri. But he was saved from the Bhaṭṭamāris. 63 Now I bring him here and bid him farewell: 'I have no responsibility for where you go.'" 64 When he heard this, Kṛṣṇadāsa began to weep, and Mahāprabhu got up and went to perform the midday ritual.

65 Nityānanda, Jagadānanda, Mukunda and Dāmodara, these four then decided among themselves, 66 "We want to send a man to the land of Gauḍa, to tell Āi of the coming of Prabhu. 67 Advaita and Śrīvāsa and the other *bhaktas* all will come, when they hear that Prabhu has returned. 68 So let us send this Kṛṣṇadāsa to Gauḍa." So saying, they supported him, giving him courage. 69 The next day they made submission to Prabhu, "Give us your permission, that we may send a man to the Gauḍa country. 70 When they heard of your trip into the south, Śacī-āi, Advaita, and the other Vaiṣṇavas were most sorrowful. 71 Let us have one man go, and tell them the good news." Prabhu said, "Do what you will." 72 So they sent Kṛṣṇadāsa to Gauḍa, and gave him *mahāprasāda* to give to all the Vaiṣṇavas.

73 So Kālākṛṣṇadāsa came to Gauḍadeśa, and went to Navadvīpa, to the side of Śacī-āi. 74 Giving her *mahāprasāda*, he made obeisance to her, and spoke the news, "Prabhu has returned from the south." 75 When she heard this, the heart of Śacīmātā was delighted, and Śrīnivāsa and all the other *bhaktas* who were there, 76 when they heard were all overjoyed. Kṛṣṇadāsa went to the house of Advaitācārya. 77 He gave *prasāda* to the Ācārya, and made obeisance, and gave a full report of Mahāprabhu. 78 When he heard it, Ācārya Gosvāmī was

55. Ātmīya: "own," a close relation.
59. Paṭṭanāyaka: a high official in the government of Orissa.
60. The Kṛṣṇadāsa who had accompanied Caitanya on his southern pilgrimage.
63. The second half of the verse is addressed to Kṛṣṇadāsa, not Sārvabhauma.
66. Āi: "mother," Śacī the mother of Caitanya.
78. Āveśa: possession, paroxysm, overwhelmed.

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greatly pleased, and in a paroxysm of *prema*, he began to shout and dance and sing. 79 Haridāsa Ṭhākura was greatly pleased, and Vāsudeva Datta, and Murāri Gupta, and Śivānanda, 80 and Ācāryaratna and Vakreśvara Paṇḍita, and Ācāryanidhi and Gadādhara Paṇḍita, 81 and Śrīrāma Paṇḍita, and Paṇḍita Dāmodara, and Śrīmān Paṇḍita, and Vijaya and Śrīdhara, 82 and Rāghava Paṇḍita, and Ācāryanandana, and how many others of Prabhu's people should I mention? 83 Hearing [the news], they were all greatly delighted, and they all together came to Śrī Advaita. 84 They all bowed at the feet of the Ācārya, and Ācārya Gosvāmī embraced them all. 85 For two or three days the Ācārya had a festival, and took a firm resolve to go to Nīlācala. 86 They all gathered together at Navadvīpa, and having taken leave of Śacīmātā, they set off for Nīlādri. 87 When they heard the news of Prabhu, those who dwelt at Kulīnagrama, Satyarāja and Paramānanda, also came there and joined [the party]. 88 And Mukunda and Narahari and Raghunandana from Khaṇḍa, came to the place of the Ācārya to go to Nīlācala. 89 At that time Paramānanda Purī came from the south, along the banks of the Gaṅgā, to the city of Nadīyā. 90 He took rest happily in the house of the Mother and the Mother respectfully gave him food. 91 He heard there of the coming of Prabhu, and he wanted to go to Nīlācala immediately. 92 There was a *bhakta* of Prabhu, Dvija Kamalākānta by name, and he took him and set off for Nīlācala. 93 They quickly came and met Prabhu there, and Prabhu was greatly delighted at finding them. 94 Overcome with *prema* he bowed to their feet, and they, overcome with *prema*, embraced Prabhu. 95 Prabhu said, "I have a desire to stay with you; be gracious to me, and make Nīlādri your dwelling place." 96 Purī replied, "I have a desire to stay with you; and so I have come from Gauḍa to Nīlācalapurī. 97 Hearing that you had returned from the south, Śacī was delighted, [as were] the *bhakta*s there. 98 All are coming to see you; but seeing that they would be delayed, I came quickly." 99 There was an empty room in the house of Kāśī Miśra; Prabhu gave him that, and a servant.

100 The next day Svarūpa Dāmodara came, the infinite ocean of the secret *rasa* of Prabhu. 101 His name in his former estate had been Puruṣottama Ācārya, when he was at Navadvīpa, at the feet of Prabhu. 102 When he saw Prabhu's *saṃnyāsa*, he became mad, and he went to Benares, and took *saṃnyāsa*. 103 Caitanyānanda was his *guru*, and gave this instruction to him, "Study the

85. Mahotsava: festival, a "great celebration."
92. Dvija: twice born; the *brāhmaṇa* Kamalākānta.
101. "Former estate": before he had taken orders.
102. Unmatta haiya: became mad.

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Vedānta, and teach it to all people." 104 He was a man completely indifferent to the world, and very learned, and with body and mind took refuge in the deeds of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. 105 "I shall worship Kṛṣṇa single-mindedly"—this was the reason that he had taken *saṃnyāsa* when maddened. 106 He took *saṃnyāsa*, abandoning his top-knot and his thread; he did not wear the *yogapaṭṭa*, and his name became Svarūpa. 107 Begging his *guru*'s permission, he came to Nīlācala, and night and day was overwhelmed with the joy of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*. 108 His learning was vast; he spoke with no one but remained alone, and the people did not know him. 109 He was versed in the *tattva* of Kṛṣṇa-*rasa*, and his body was the very form of *prema*; he was the second *svarūpa* of the manifest Mahāprabhu. 110 Some would bring books and *ślokas* and songs before Prabhu; Svarūpa examined them all, and only afterwards did Prabhu listen to them. 111 For those which were opposed to the perfection of *bhakti*, or lacking in *rasa*, Prabhu was not pleased to hear. 112 Thus Svarūpa examined them first, and if they were pure, he had Prabhu hear them. 113 Vidyāpati, Caṇḍīdāsa, and the *Gītagovinda*—in the songs of these three Prabhu found great pleasure. 114 He was like a *gandharva* in music, a Bṛhaspati in the *śāstras*; there was no one as noble-minded as Dāmodara. 115 He was most deeply beloved of Advaita and Nityānanda, and like the very life of Śrīvāsa and the other *bhaktas*. 116 That very Dāmodara came and bowed, and falling at [Prabhu's] feet, he began to recite a *śloka*:

104. "He" refers to Svarūpa.

106. When one enters an order of *saṃnyāsins* his head is shaved and his sacred thread torn off. In this way indifference to the world and social order is signified. *Yogapaṭṭa* is a cloth worn over the back and the knees during meditation. It is not clear why he did not accept this, although Sukumar Sen in conversation has suggested that the name "*svarūpa*" means that he retained his "own form"; perhaps the order into which he went was not one of the usual orders, but was an order, possibly even tāntric, in which some activities, forbidden to any ordinary *saṃnyāsin*, were kept up. Kṛṣṇadāsa's constant statements that it was Svarūpa who knew the "secret meaning" of the Caitanya-*līlā* lead one to believe that it is quite possible that Svarūpa had tāntric or Sahajīya leanings.

109. [This difficult line provides a possible second etymology, or back-formation of the name Svarūpa, with the obvious theological play on the word *svarūpa*. *Sākṣāt*: manifest, lit., appearing before one's eyes, i.e., "in the flesh." The syntax, however, admits of a second possibility, that *sākṣāt* modifies *svarūpa*, providing the reading of "the manifest second *svarūpa* of Mahāprabhu" (*sākṣāt mahāprabhura dvitīya svarūpa*). It should be noted that in this text *sākṣāt* seldom appears with Mahāprabhu or any name other than Kṛṣṇa. Rādhāgovinda Nātha glosses *svarūpa* as *mūrti* (image/body) which can be justified by a passage in the next chapter; see 2.11.65. TKS]

114. Svarūpa was like a *gandharva* (heavenly musician), and as learned as Bṛhaspati in the *śāstras*.

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Śloka 3. Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka* 8.14 [*śloka* 10]:
O ocean of Śrī Caitanya's compassion, may your compassion appear quickly, as a result of the highest limit of sweetness, by which fatigue is playfully dispelled, which is pure, whose joy shines forth, which settles disputes about the *śāstra*s, which gives *rasa*, which intoxicates the mind, which is the eternal delight of *bhakti*, and which gives honor and joy.

117 Raising him up, Mahāprabhu embraced him, and both fell unconscious, absorbed in *prema*. 118 After a time, both became calm, and Mahāprabhu began to speak to him, 119 "That you would come, I saw today in a dream. It is good; it is as if I was blind, and have gotten back my eyes." 120 Svarūpa said, "Prabhu, forgive my offences. I abandoned you and went elsewhere, I made a stupid mistake. 121 I did not possess even a trace of *prema* for you feet, so sinner that I am, I left you and went to another country. 122 I abandoned you, but you did not abandon me. With the rope of your mercy about my neck, you brought me back to your feet." 123 Then Svarūpa bowed to Nityānanda, and Nityānanda Prabhu embraced him in *prema*. 124 Jagadānanda, Mukunda, Śaṅkara, Sārvabhauma—he was properly introduced to all. 125 He bowed to the feet of Paramānanda Purī, and Purī Gosvāmī embraced him in *prema*. 126 Mahāprabhu gave him a solitary room, and a servant for attending to water and so on.

127 Another day, with Sārvabhauma and the rest of the *bhakta*s, Mahāprabhu was sitting, in the pleasure of stories of Kṛṣṇa. 128 At that time, Govinda came and, bowing, spoke these humble words, 129 "My name is Govinda, a servant of Īśvara Purī; I have come to you by the command of Purī Gosvāmī. 130 At

119. As Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out, in this period Caitanya was always in the Rādhā-*bhāva*, and none among his intimate followers really understood that *bhāva*. Although Nityānanda was very close to him, his *bhāva* was that of Balarāma, the *sakhya-bhāva*; so it was with most of the rest. In the later period of his life, Svarūpa and Rāmānanda, who had revealed to Caitanya his Rādhā-*bhāva*, were his most intimate companions. Rāmānanda had not yet arrived in Puri.

120. I.e., he had gone to Kāśī and taken *saṃnyāsa*. Whether the mad or mistaken thing (*pramāda*) was his taking of *saṃnyāsa* or the leaving of Caitanya is not clear. The former would lend weight to Sukumar Sen's idea that the name "*svarūpa*" is applied to someone who has taken orders either incompletely, or renounced them, as did Nityānanda, who is also called Svarūpa in some places.

126. I.e., to Svarūpa.

129. Purī Gosvāmī is Īśvara Purī, disciple of Mādhavendra Purī, and with whom Caitanya met in Gayā.

130. Siddhi: perfection, i.e., at the time of his death.

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the time of his gaining of perfection, the Gosvāmī commanded me: 'Remain near Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya and serve him.' 131 Kāśīśvara will come when he has seen the pilgrimage places; at this order of Prabhu, I have come running to your feet." 132 Gosvāmī said, "Purīśvara was very affectionate towards me, and in his mercy has sent you to me." 133 When he heard this, Sārvabhauma asked Prabhu, "How did Purī Gosvāmī keep a *śūdra* as a servant?" 134 Prabhu said, "Īśvara is totally independent; the mercy of Īśvara is not dependent on the Veda. 135 The mercy of Īśvara does not respect caste and family and the rest; Kṛṣṇa took food in the house of Vidura. 136 Only by the grace of Īśvara can one expect a drop of love; and one who is controlled by love acts independently. 137 One's conduct in love is a crore of times more happy than respect: there is the highest joy in hearing of someone like this." 138 So saying, he embraced Govinda, and Govinda bowed to the feet of Prabhu.

139 Prabhu said, "Bhaṭṭācārya, decide this. The servant of a *guru* is to be honored by me. 140 It is not right to have him serve me. [But] the *guru* gave him a command. What is the answer to it?" 141 Bhaṭṭācārya said, "The command of a *guru* is powerful. The command of a *guru* is not to be transgressed, and the *śāstras* are proof of it."

Śloka 4. *Raghuvaṃśa* 14.46:

At the command of his father, his mother was struck like an enemy by Bhargava; he honored the command of his elder brother; for the orders of *gurus* are to be obeyed unhesitatingly.

142 Then Mahāprabhu embraced him, and gave him permission to serve his holy body. 143 And all honored him as the beloved servant of Prabhu, and Govinda

131. Kāśīśvara was another of the servants of the Īśvara Purī.

133. Evidently, although they themselves had done away with markings of caste, *saṃnyāsins* did not accept *śūdras* as servants. Caitanya replies that to truly religious men such things as caste and family did not matter.

134. [The ambiguity (in this and the following verses) of the word Īśvara—either Caitanya's *guru*, Īśvara Purī, or the supreme lord, *svayaṃ bhagavān*—is theologically appropriate for the disciple (*śiṣya*); the expression "*svatantra* Īśvara" or "non-dependent lord" has been applied to Caitanya as Kṛṣṇa on numerous occasions. TKS]

135. Vidura was the son of a servant woman, a poor man, who humbly and in love and self-effacement offered Kṛṣṇa bananas to eat. Kṛṣṇa, because of this humility, accepted the food.

136. *Sneha*: love; *vaśa*: control.

141. See Jiva Gosvāmin's *Bhakti-sandarbha*, 238 [*śl.*717].

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served all the Vaiṣṇavas. 144 There were two *kīrtanīyā*s, Choṭa and Baḍa Haridāsa, and Rāmāi and Nandāi, who remained at Govinda's side. 145 With Govinda they served Prabhu; the extreme good fortune of Govinda cannot be described.

146 Another day, Mukunda Datta said to Prabhu, "Brahmānanda Bhāratī has come to see you. 147 If you give the order, I shall bring him here." But Prabhu said, "He is a *guru*, I shall go to him." 148 And so saying, Mahāprabhu with all his *bhakta*s came before Brahmānanda Bhāratī. 149 Brahmānanda was wearing a garment of deer-skin, and when he saw this, Prabhu was very sad in his heart. 150 Even though he saw him, he pretended that he did not, and he asked, "Where is Bhāratī Gosvāmī?" 151 Mukunda replied, "That is he whom you see before you." Prabhu said, "That is not he; you are mistaken. 152 You call this one that, and know nothing at all. Could Bhāratī Gosvāmī wear a skin?" 153 When he heard this, Brahmānanda thought to himself, 'He does not like my wearing of a skin, 154 and he speaks well; I wear the skin because of vanity. I do not cross over ocean of existence by wearing a skin. 155 I shall not wear this skin, from today onwards.' Prabhu knowing his heart, had an outer garment brought. 156 Putting aside the skin, Brahmānanda put on the other cloth, and Prabhu came and bowed to his feet. 157 Bhāratī said, "Your business is to teach people; but do not bow again, for my mind is afraid. 158 For now there are two *brahma*s here, mobile and immobile. Jagannātha is the immobile *brahma*, and you the mobile. 159 You are golden-colored, he is dark; the two *brahma*s save all the worlds." 160 Prabhu said, "Because of your coming here, you speak the truth. Two *brahma*s are manifest in Śrī Puruṣottama. 161 You are the mobile golden-colored *brahma*, Brahmānanda by name; and the dark-colored *brahma*, Jagan-

144. Or, as Rādhāgovinda Nātha interprets it, "the *kīrtanīyā* Choṭa Haridāsa, and Baḍa Haridāsa," which seems to fit the facts, although the Bengali is confusing: *choṭa baḍa kīrtanīyā dui haridāsa /*. Choṭa Haridāsa, the younger Haridāsa, or Haridāsa-*kīrtanīyā*, was the one who led the singing in *kīrtana* (3.2.100-164). Baḍa Haridāsa should not be confused with Haridāsa Ṭhākura, who was most famous for his constant repetition of the names of the deity (see 3.11 passim). These two are called "servants" of Caitanya, and Rāmāi and Nandāi were two others. Govinda however was primary among them.

154. He does not refer to vanity of appearance, but the vanity of showing the extent of his renunciation of society and the world. For all but the most indifferent ascetics would fear the contamination and impurity which comes from contact with a dead animal.

157. Bhāratī says that Caitanya has bowed to him because this external show is necessary to teach people to act properly; but Caitanya should not do it twice.

158-63. [*Brahma* (n) is used here in both the technical sense of the principle of cosmic unity, in the general sense of supreme divinity, and as a synonym for the masculine *īśvara*; it is a play on Jagannātha's common epithet as the "Wooden Lord," *dārubrahma*. TKS]

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nātha, is sitting motionless." 162 Bhāratī replied, "Sārvabhauma, being between [us], put your mind to and understand my argument with him. 163 We know the *jīva* and *brahma* as that which is to be pervaded and that which pervades [respectively]: the *jīva* is pervaded, the *brahma* pervades, as it is explained in the *śāstras*. 164 He caused me to remove the skin, and so purified me. The reason for this is the relationship between us of pervader to pervaded.

Śloka 5. *Mahābhārata, anuśāsana-parvan* [*dānadharma*] 127.75 [*viṣṇu-sahasranāma-stotra*]:

Of a golden body and golden color, of the best of bodies, wearing an armlet of sandalwood, he who will take *saṃnyāsa* is tranquil, equal-minded, devoted to peace, and firmly fixed on God.

165 All these names are his own; the thread-*prasāda*, smeared with sandalwood, are the armlets on his two arms." 166 Bhaṭṭācārya said, "O Bhāratī, I see you as victorious." Prabhu said, "What you say is true. 167 In debate between *guru* and disciple, it is true that the disciple is [always] defeated." Bhāratī said, "This is not so; there is another cause. 168 It is your nature to reprimand your *bhaktas*; hear another power which you have. 169 All my life I have meditated on the formless one; seeing you, Kṛṣṇa has become manifest to me. 170 Kṛṣṇa's name is in my mouth, and he bursts forth in my mind and in my eyes. Seeing you in that form, my heart thirsts. 171 As Bilvamaṅgala described his own condition, so, seeing you, that condition is my own."

Śloka 6. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*paścima-vibhāga, śāntabhaktirasa-laharī*] 3.1.44 [quoting Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala]:

Worshiped by those who follow the road of *advaita*, consecrated on the lion-throne of joy in the *ātman*, we have become maid-servants, forced by some rogue, who has seduced the wives of the *gopas*.

164. Caitanya acted from within Bhāratī, and caused Bhāratī himself to remove the skin. Thus he is the indwelling Īśvara, and Bhāratī is that in which Īśvara dwells or pervades, the *jīva*.

Śloka 5. See 1.3.*śl.*8; 2.6.*śl.*5.

165. All of the epithets given in the *śloka*. The thread is the thread worn by Jagannātha, smeared with the sandalwood paste with which his body had been rubbed, and it is appropriate that Caitanya should wear this.

Śloka 6. See 2.24.*śl.*42. [Rādhāgovinda Nātha and the Haridāsa Dāsa edition of Rūpa's *BhRS* attribute this *śloka* to Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala; for the source see Wilson, *The Love of Krishna*, 8-9. TKS]

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172 Prabhu said, "Your profound *prema* is to Kṛṣṇa; wherever your eyes fall, there Kṛṣṇa blooms forth." 173 Bhaṭṭācārya said, "Both are most true words; when Kṛṣṇa is before you, he makes himself manifest. 174 Without *prema* he is never manfest; by his grace one has *darśana* of him." 175 Prabhu said, "Viṣṇu, Viṣṇu! What are you saying? Sārvabhauma, this is excessive praise, and has the signs of censure." 176 So saying, he took Bhāratī and went to his own dwelling place; and Bhāratī Gosvāmī remained near Prabhu. 177 Rāmabhadrācārya and Bhagavān Ācārya [also] remained near Prabhu, abandoning all other work.

178 Another day, Kāśīśvara Gosvāmī came, and Prabhu, honored him, kept him at his own place. 179 He had Prabhu take him for *darśana* of Īśvara; before them was a crowd of people, and they blocked the way. 180 As rivers and streams mingle in the sea, so were the *bhaktas* of Mahāprabhu, everywhere. 181 They all came and gathered at the holy feet of Prabhu; and Prabhu, in his grace, kept them all near him. 182 And so has been told the meeting of the Vaiṣṇavas with Prabhu; he who listens to it gains the feet of Caitanya.

183 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

175. "Viṣṇu, Viṣṇu" is a mild epithet, voiced when hearing something improper. "Signs of censure": *nindāra lakṣaṇa*, excessive praise borders on reproach.

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Madhya Līlā
Chapter 11

Śloka 1.

Gauracandra, his body ornamented with many emotions, danced wildly in the great *tāṇḍava* dance with his *bhaktas* in the house of Jagannātha, and by his own power he innundated the universe with a flood of *prema*.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 On another day Sārvabhauma said to Prabhu, "Allay my fears and then let me make petition to you." 3 Prabhu said, "Speak, and have no fear at all. If it is proper I shall do it; if it is improper I shall not." 4 Sārvabhauma said, "There is Pratāparudra Rāya, who is very anxious to meet with you." 5 Putting his hands over his ears, Prabhu recalled 'Nārāyaṇa!' and said to Sārvabhauma, "You speak improper words. 6 For me, a *saṃnyāsin* who has abandoned the world, to meet a king—such a worldly thing would be like meeting a woman.

Śloka 2. Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka* 8.27 [*śloka* 23]:

He who wants to cross to the other shore of the ocean of the world, who is without material possessions, and has his face turned toward the

Śloka 1. Uddaṇḍa: dancing with the arms upraised and the body upright and stiff. *Tāṇḍava*: in a general sense a dance with violent gesticulation, but is also specific to the cosmic dance of Śiva, and carries that connotation here.

2. I.e., fears that you will be angry when you hear what I ask.

4. Pratāparudra: the king of Orissa; his request for audience is found in 2.10.2-22.

5. See 2.6.56 text and commentary.

6. *BhP* 9.19.17: The pull of the senses is strong, and attracts even the wise among men; not to speak of others, one should not remain in the same place with mother, sister, or even one's own daughter.

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worship of God, for him, the sight of women and of people who are concerned with worldly things, alas, is more harmful than a drink of poison.

7 Sārvabhauma said, "Your words are true. But the *rājā* is the best of *bhaktas*, a servant of Jagannātha." 8 Prabhu said, "Still, a *rājā* has the shape of a black snake; it is just as the touch of a woman of wood can affect.

Śloka 3. Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka* 8.28 [*śloka* 24]:
Much fear should be felt even for the appearance of people concerned with the world and from women. As anxiety is born in the mind from a snake, so also is it born from the mere appearance of it.

9 Do not bring again such words to your mouth; if you say such things, you will not see me here." 10 Afraid, Sārvabhauma went to his own house. At just that time, Pratāparudra came to Puruṣottama.

11 Rāmānanda Rāya came with the Gajapati; and first of all he came and met with Prabhu in great delight. 12 Rāya bowed to him, and Prabhu embraced him, and both wept in a passion of *prema*. 13 Seeing this manifestation of Prabhu's affection for Rāmānanda, the minds of all the *bhaktas* were astonished. 14 Rāya said, "At your command, the *rājā* has been told; according to your desire, he has allowed me to abandon worldly affairs. 15 I said, 'Concern with worldly things is not for me; I shall remain at the feet of Caitanya, if you will permit me.' 16 When he heard your name, the king was greatly pleased, and getting up from his throne he embraced me. 17 When he heard your name, he was in a delirium of *mahāprema*, and holding me by the hand, he spoke with special love, 18 'The salary which you are getting, you will continue to get; with your mind free of care, serve the feet of Prabhu. 19 I am impure and there is no way for me to have *darśana* of him. Whoever serves him, his life is fulfilled. 20 He is the most merciful Vrajendranandana; in some birth he will certainly give *darśana* to me. 21 That humility of *prema* which I have seen in you, not a drop of that love is in me.'" 22 Prabhu said, "You are chief among *bhaktas* of

8. Even though the form of a snake—a snake made of wood or clay—has no poison and is harmless, fear arises in the mind at the sight of it. So even though the *rājā* might himself be a good man, he is a king, and that fact is enough to arouse thoughts of the material world. At the sight or touch of even a woman carved from wood, the mind is distracted.

11. Gajapati: "lord of elephants," a title of the king Pratāparudra.

17. *Āveśa*: delirium, possession.

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Kṛṣṇa; he who has love for you is fortunate. 23 The *rājā* has so much love for you, that because of it Kṛṣṇa will accept him."

Śloka 4. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta, uttara-khaṇḍa* 6 [quoting *Ādi Purāṇa*]:
O Arjuna, those who are my *bhaktas* are not *my bhaktas*; for those who are *bhaktas* of my *bhaktas* are counted as the best of *bhaktas*.

Ślokas 5-6. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.19.21-22:
5 Diligence in service, respectful greeting with the whole body; constant *pūjā* to my *bhaktas*, knowing me in all things, 6 physical labor in my causes, the recitation of my qualities in speech.

Śloka 7. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta, uttara-khaṇḍa* 4 [quoting *Padma Purāṇa*]:
Of the worship of all [deities], the worship of Viṣṇu is best. O Devī, [but] even higher than that is the worship of his *bhaktas*.

Śloka 8. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.7.20:
For him of little power, service [to God] is indeed difficult on the roads to Vaikuṇṭha, where Janārdana the god of gods is celebrated.

24 Then Rāya made obeisance to the feet of the four Gosvāmīs: Purī, Bhāratī, Svarūpa, and Nityānanda. 25 And as was appropriate, he met Jagadānanda, Mukunda, and the rest of the *bhaktas*. 26 Prabhu asked, "Rāya, have you seen Kamalalocana?" Rāya replied, "Let me now go to have *darśana*." 27 Prabhu said, "Rāya, what have you done? Why did you come here first, without having seen Īśvara?" 28 Rāya replied, "The feet are the chariot, and the heart the charioteer. Wherever they take him, the *jīva*-chariot-rider goes. 29 What could I do? My heart brought me here. It did not decide to have *darśana* of Jagannātha." 30 Prabhu said, "Go quickly and have *darśana*; then go to the house and meet your relatives." 31 Getting these instructions from Prabhu, Rāya went to have *darśana*. Who can understand the ways of the *prema-bhakti* of Rāya?

32 Having come to Kṣetra, the *rājā* summoned Sārvabhauma; having bowed to Sārvabhauma, he asked him, 33 "Have you petitioned the feet of Prabhu on my behalf?" Sārvabhauma replied, "It has been done most carefully. 34 Still

24. Paramānanda Purī and Brahmānanda Bhāratī.
26. Kamalalocana: the "lotus-eyed one," Jagannātha.

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he will not have *darśana* of a king. He would leave Kṣetra, if I petitioned him again." 35 Hearing this, sorrow grew in the king's heart, and dejectedly he began to speak, 36 "His *avatāra* is to save sinners and the lowly; I have heard how he saved Jagāi and Mādhāi. 37 'Except for Pratāparudra I shall save the world.' I know that he has come as *avatāra* with this promise.

Śloka 9. Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka* 8.34 [*śloka* 28]:
He gives *darśana* even to people of low caste, inappropriate for *darśana*; alas, he still does not at all give *darśana* to me. Abandoning only me, he will grant his grace—why has that *deva* descended, having decided this?

38 His promise is that he will not have *darśana* of a *rājā*. My promise is that without him, I shall leave this life. 39 If I do not gain a sight of that Mahāprabhu, that wealth of mercy, what is this kingdom, and what is this body: everything is baseless." 40 When he heard this, Bhaṭṭācārya was sunk in thought; seeing the passion of the *rājā*, he was astonished. 41 Bhaṭṭācārya said, "O *deva*, do not be distressed. Assuredly Prabhu's grace will be upon you. 42 He is subservient to *prema*, and your *prema* is very profound. Certainly he will have mercy upon you. 43 Still, I shall tell you a way. Follow this way, by which Prabhu will see you. 44 On the day of the Car Festival, Prabhu with all his *bhaktas* dances before the chariot, overcome with *prema*. 45 In his delirium of *prema* he enters the flower-garden; at that time you will be there alone, having put off your kingly clothes. 46 Having gone there alone to read the *Kṛṣṇa-rāsa-pañcādhyāyī*, you will clasp the feet of Mahāprabhu. 47 At that time, having heard the name of Kṛṣṇa, he has no consciousness of external things; he will embrace you, seeing you as a Vaiṣṇava. 48 Today Rāmānanda Rāya has spoken to Prabhu of the qualities of your *prema*, and has caused the mind of Prabhu to change." 49 When he heard this, happiness was born in the heart

36. [See above 1.8.17 commentary. The story of Jagāi and Mādhāi can be found in Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *CBh* 2.13. TKS]

44. Caitanya had not been in Puri for the Car Festival until this time. The two years previous to this one, he had been on pilgrimage to the south and west, and it is obvious that Vāsudeva could not know what Caitanya's habits were in this situation. However, although this incident appears in this same place in all MSS, it probably shows Kṛṣṇadāsa's dependence on the *CCN* at this point, even though that text may refer to some later year. The suggestion which Vāsudeva makes to the king is not acted upon until 2.14, which however is still descriptive of this Car Festival.

46. Kṛṣṇa-rāsa-pañcādhyāyī, the five chapters which describe the *rāsa-līlā* of Kṛṣṇa; *BhP* 10.29-33.

47. [*Bāhyajñāna*: consciousness of external things; see 3.18.74-77 for a description of the three states of Caitanya's consciousness. TKS]

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of the Gajapati, and he resolved in that way to meet Prabhu. 50 "When will the Bathing Festival be?" he asked Bhaṭṭa, and Bhaṭṭa said, "The festival will be in three days time."

51 When he saw the Bathing Festival, Prabhu gained great happiness; and at the *anavasara* of Īśvara he became greatly saddened. 52 Prabhu, in the *gopī-bhāva*, was very pained in *viraha*, and leaving everyone went to Ālālanātha. 53 But behind him his *bhaktas* followed, and at the feet of Prabhu, they informed him that the *bhaktas* had come from Gauḍa. 54 Sārvabhauma accompanied Prabhu to Nīlācala; and going to the *rājā* he said that Prabhu had come. 55 Just then Gopīnāthācārya came there, and having given his blessing to the king he said, "Listen, Bhaṭṭācārya, 56 two hundred Vaiṣṇavas have come from Gauḍa, all great *bhāgavatas*, *bhaktas* of Mahāprabhu. 57 They are all now at Narendra; arrangements for lodging and *prasāda* must be made for all of them." 58 The *rājā* said, "I shall give an order to the temple servant, and he will arrange everything—lodging and whatever else is wanted. 59 As many of Mahāprabhu's people as have come from Gauḍa, Bhaṭṭācārya, show them to me one by one." 60 And Bhaṭṭa said, "Climb to the top of the palace; Gopīnātha knows them, and will point them out to you. 61 I do not know any of them, but want to know; Gopīnāthācārya will introduce them all." 62 Having said this, the three climbed up to the room on the roof, and just at that time the Vaiṣṇavas were just arriving. 63 Svarūpa Dāmodara and Govinda, these two, brought garlands and *prasāda* to those Vaiṣṇavas who were there. 64 For in *prema* Mahāprabhu had sent them both. The *rājā* said, "Who are these? Make them known to me." 65 Bhaṭṭācārya said, "This is Svarūpa Dāmodara, who is a second body to Mahāprabhu. 66 And the second man is the servant Govinda; by them both Prabhu, to honor them, has sent garlands." 67 First of all, Svarūpa put a garland on Advaita, and afterwards Govinda gave him a second garland. 68 Then Govinda made obeisance to the Ācārya; the Ācārya did not know who he was, and so asked Dāmodara. 69 Dāmodara said, "His name is Govinda; he was a servant of Īśvara Purī, possessed of many great qualities. 70 Purī gave him an

50. Snāna-yātrā: the Bathing Festival of the image of Jagannātha.

51. After his bath, Jagannātha is ornamented and dressed, and during that time no-one but his body-servants can see him (*anavasara*).

58. Paḍichā: temple servant of Jagannātha.

65. [*Kalevara*: body; Svarūpa is called the "*dvitīya kalevara*" of Mahāprabhu, i.e., his second body. In 2.10.109 he is the manifested second "*svarūpa*" of Mahāprabhu. *TKS*]

66. To honor the Vaiṣṇavas who had arrived from Bengal.

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order to serve Prabhu, and thus Prabhu keeps him close to him." 71 The *rāja* said, "Who is he to whom the two gave garlands? He has the brilliance of an *ācārya*; is he some great man?" 72 [Gopīnātha] Ācārya replied, "His name is Advaita Ācārya; he is the receptacle of the respect of Mahāprabhu, and most venerated by us all. 73 That one is Śrīvāsa Paṇḍita, and he is Paṇḍita Vakreśvara; and there is Vidyānidhi Ācārya; and Gadādhara Paṇḍita. 74 And that is Purandara Ācārya, a jewel among *ācāryas*; and Gaṅgādāsa Paṇḍita and Śaṅkara Paṇḍita. 75 And there is Murāri Gupta, and Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita, and Haridāsa Ṭhākura, the purifier of the world. 76 And there is Hari Bhaṭṭa, and there Śrī Nṛsiṃhānanda, and Vāsudeva Datta, and Śivānanda. 77 And Ǫovinda, Mādhava, and Vāsudeva Ghoṣa, three brothers who delight Prabhu much in *kīrtana*. 78 And Rāghava Paṇḍita, and that is the son of the *ācārya*, and Śrīmān Paṇḍita, and Śrīkānta Nārāyaṇa. 79 And that is Śuklāmbara, and that Śrīdhara, and Vijaya, and Vallabha Sena, and Puruṣottama, and Sañjaya. 80 And that is Satyarāja Khān, who lives in Kulīnagrāma, and those are Rāmānanda and others, most learned men. 81 And there see Mukunda Dāsa and Narahari and Śrī Rāghunandana, Cirañjīva and Sulocana who live in Khaṇḍa. 82 There are so many people; how shall I name them? They are all followers of Śrī Caitanya, his very life."

83 The *rāja* said, "I am astonished to witness this. I have never seen such radiance of Vaiṣṇavas. 84 The radiance of them all is like a crore of suns; and never have I heard such sweet *kīrtana*. 85 *Prema* like this, and dancing and the sound of the name of Hari: never have I seen or heard it anywhere." 86 Bhaṭṭācārya said, "Your words are most true; the creation of Caitanya is this *prema-saṃkīrtana*. 87 Caitanya has appeared to propagate this *dharma*; for the *dharma* of the Kali age is the Kṛṣṇa *nāma-saṃkīrtana*. 88 For he who worships with the sacrifice of *saṃkīrtana* is wise; all others are destroyed by the Kali age."

Śloka 10. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.5.32:

Good and wise people indeed worship [him] by sacrifice, [namely] chiefly *saṃkīrtana* together with his followers and weapons of *aṅga* and *upāṅga*, black-colored yet light-colored in his glory.

89 The *rāja* said, "By the proof of the *śāstras*, Caitanya is Kṛṣṇa; why then are all the *paṇḍitas* averse to him?" 90 Bhaṭṭa said, "He to whom is granted a drop of his mercy is able to accept him as Kṛṣṇa. 91 He who does not have his

71. Teja: brilliance, lustre.
Śloka 10. See 1.3.*śl.*10; 2.6.*śl.*4; 2.20.*śl.*53; 3.20.*śl.*2.

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mercy, however great a *paṇḍita* he be, although he sees him and hears him, he does not honor him as 'Īśvara'."

Śloka 11. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.14.29:
O god, O Bhagavān! The man who is favored by the least favor of your lotus feet can know the truth of your greatness; others, even though searching single-mindedly for a long time, cannot.

92 The *rājā* said, "All of these people came running to the house of Caitanya, without first having seen Jagannātha." 93 Bhaṭṭa said, "This is the natural way of *prema*; the hearts of all are anxious to meet Mahāprabhu. 94 After they have met him and presented him to the entire group, they will go with him to see Jagannātha." 95 The *rājā* said, "Vāṇīnātha, the son of Bhavānanda, with several other people, is taking *mahāprasāda*. 96 They have gone to the place of Mahāprabhu; why is so much *mahāprasāda* needed?" 97 Bhaṭṭa said, "Knowing that the *bhaktas* have come, at the order of Prabhu they take the *prasāda* there." 98 The *rājā* said, "The rule at pilgrimage places is shaving and fasting; how can they eat and drink without doing this?" 99 Bhaṭṭa said, "You speak of the external *dharma*; in this *rāgamārga* is the delicate inner meaning of *dharma*. 100 The indirect command of Īśvara is shaving and fasting; but the direct command of Prabhu is the eating of *prasāda*. 101 Where there is no *mahāprasāda*, there is fasting; the abandonment of the *prasāda* of Prabhu is the offence. 102 Particularly [when] Prabhu distributes [it] with his holy hands—abandoning what is thus obtained, how can we do this and fast? 103 Once Prabhu brought and gave me food of *prasāda*; I ate it in the morning, sitting on the bed. 104 To whom he sends his grace, transmitting it to his heart, he is in the refuge of Kṛṣṇa, and he abandons the Vedas and the *dharma* of society."

Śloka 11. See 2.6.*śl*.2.

92. I.e., ordinarily they would first have gone to the temple, then to see Caitanya.

99. *Vidhi*: external, injunction, that which is enjoined by the *śāstras*. In the way of passion, the *rāgamārga*, all such injunction is no longer valid; the *bhakta* has passed beyond it and is in direct relationship to the deity.

100. *Parokṣa*: indirect, that which is done through another, in this case the texts of regulation; *sākṣāt*: manifest, actual, here translated as "direct."

103. I.e., in what would be usually considered neither proper time nor place: he had not bathed, nor performed the morning rituals. But *mahāprasāda* knows neither proper time nor place.

104. See 2.8.177 for *loka-dharma*.

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Śloka 12. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 4.29.46:
When, strengthened in his soul, Bhagavān grants grace to someone, that one then abandons the opinions well-established in the Vedas and world.

105 Then the *rājā* descended from the roof of the palace. And he summoned both Kāśī Miśra and the temple servant, 106 and Pratāparudra gave this order to both of them, "As many *bhaktas* as have come to the place of Prabhu, 107 provide for all of them, according to their desires, houses, and according to their desires, *prasāda*. And give them *darśana* as they desire; leave nothing out. 108 Both of you honor the command of Prabhu carefully; and not at his order—but understanding his signs—do for him." 109 So saying, he bade farewell to the two; and seeing Sārvabhauma he came to the assembly of the Vaiṣṇavas. 110 Gopīnātha Ācārya and Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya, remaining at a distance, watched the assembly of the Vaiṣṇavas of Prabhu. 111 All the Vaiṣṇavas left the lion-gate to the right, and went on the way to the house of Kāśī Miśra.

112 At that same time Mahāprabhu, with his own people, came mingling with the Vaiṣṇavas along the way in great delight. 113 Advaita clasped the feet of Prabhu, and Prabhu embraced the Ācārya with *prema*. 114 Both were highly agitated in the joy of *prema*; yet, seeing the time, Prabhu calmed down somewhat. 115 Śrīvāsa and the others clasped the feet of Prabhu, and Prabhu embraced each of them in *prema*. 116 One by one he conversed with all the *bhaktas*, and with all of them he went within. 117 The dwelling-place of Miśra was small, yet it was sufficient for innumerable Vaiṣṇavas. 118 Prabhu seated them all around himself, and he gave garlands and sandalwood to all with his own holy hands. 119 Bhaṭṭācārya and the Ācārya came to the place of Prabhu, and according to propriety met with all of them. 120 Prabhu said with humble words to Advaita, "Today, with your coming, I have become fulfilled." 121 Advaita said, "This is the nature of Īśvara, even though he is filled with the six divine

108. I.e., do what he wants before he asks.

111. There is a large square in front of the main gate ("lion gate") of the temple of Jagannātha; the *bhaktas* were evidently moving across this square, with the main gate on their right.

114. Samaya dekhiyā: seeing the time. For some reason Caitanya evidently felt the time to be inappropriate for such expression.

117. Rādhāgovinda Nātha puts a theological interpretation on this: when the eternal *līlā* becomes manifest, not only the person of Kṛṣṇa is manifested, but the whole of his *dhāma*, his environment. As we have seen, this environment, the eternal Vṛndāvana, is made up of *cit* and while it might appear to the ordinary human eye as material, it is actually immaterial and infinite. Where Kṛṣṇa is, is infinite, and Kṛṣṇa was at this moment in the house of Kāśī Miśra.

119. The Ācārya is Gopīnātha Ācārya.

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attributes, 122 he has great pleasure from the company of his *bhaktas*. With his *bhaktas* he constantly has various delights."

123 Seeing Vāsudeva, Prabhu was delighted; putting his hands on his body he said a few words to him. 124 "Even though Mukunda has been with me from childhood, seeing you gives me even greater happiness." 125 Vāsu replied, "Mukunda had your company in the beginning; gaining your feet is another birth; 126 though he is younger than I, Mukunda now is elder. For he is the receptacle of your grace, in which is the best of all qualities." 127 Again Prabhu said, "Because of you, I have brought two books from the south. 128 They are with Svarūpa; have them copied and take them." Vāsudeva was delighted, having received the books. 129 Each of the Vaiṣṇavas copied and took [the books], and gradually the two books spread over the world. 130 Prabhu said with great love to Śrīvāsa and the others, "I am indebted to you four brothers." 131 Śrīvāsa asked, "Why do you say that which is contrary [to truth]? We four brothers are indebted to you!" 132 Seeing Śaṅkara, Prahbu said to Dāmodara, "I am proud of my affection for you; 133 but towards him my affection is pure and simple; thus let Śaṅkara stay with me." 134 Dāmodara said, "Śaṅkara is younger than I; but now in your grace he is my elder brother." 135 Prabhu said to Śivānanda, "Between us is a profound attachment; I have known it for a long time." 136 When he heard this, Śivānanda Sena became absorbed in *prema*, and falling prostrate he recited this *śloka*:

Śloka 13. Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka* 8.57 [*śloka* 41] [quoting Yāmunācārya's *Stotraratna* 26]:

O infinite one, for a long time I was fallen into the ocean of worldly life; now I have gained you, my home. O Bhagavān, by you now this peerless receptacle of your mercy has been gained.

137 At first Murāri Gupta did not meet Prabhu, but remained prostrated outside. 138 Not seeing Murāri, Prabhu inquired, and many people went run-

125. I.e., now that I have gained your feet, I have been born again as a devotee.

126. I.e., Mukunda, having gained your feet before I did, was born a second time before I was, and is in terms of the ultimate reality elder than I.

130. Tomā-cāri bhāira āmi hai mūlyakrīta. Caitanya seems to be saying that he is won over by the devotion of the four brothers; and Śrīvāsa replies that rather, the four are won over by Caitanya's grace.

132. Śaṅkara was the younger brother of Dāmodara, and as will be seen, he served Caitanya in humble ways: he massaged his feet late into the night, and sometimes let his body serve as footstool for Caitanya. Dāmodara, on the other hand did not hesitate to speak his mind to Caitanya when he felt that Caitanya was in some way wrong.

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ning to bring Murāri. 139 Murāri, holding two bunches of grass in his teeth, went humbly before Mahāprabhu. 140 Seeing Murāri, Prabhu got up to greet him; but drawing back, Murāri began to say, 141 "Do not touch me, for I am lowly and vile; this body full of sin is not fit to be touched by you." 142 Prabhu said, "Murāri, restrain your humility; seeing your humility my heart is torn." 143 So saying, Prabhu embraced him, and brushing him seated him nearby so that their bodies touched. 144 Ācāryaratna, Vidyānidhi and Gadādhara Paṇḍita, Hari Bhaṭṭa, Gaṅgādāsa, and Purandara Ācārya, 145 Prabhu sang the praises of all of them in the assembly, and embracing them again and again he paid them respect.

146 And thus honoring them all, Prahbu was delighted. But not seeing Haridāsa he inquired, "Where is Haridāsa?" 147 Haridāsa Gosvāmī was watching from a distance, having fallen prostrate at the edge of the road. 148 Having come to the place of the meeting, he did not meet Prabhu; he fell at the edge of the road and remained at a distance. 149 All the *bhaktas* came running to bring Haridāsa, "Prabhu wants to meet you; come quickly." 150 Haridāsa said, "I am of low *jāti* and vile as ashes; I have no right to go near the temple. 151 If I find a lonely place in the jungle, there I shall settle down alone and pass my days. 152 My touch is not for a servant of Jagannātha. There I shall remain—this is my desire." 153 The people went and told these words to Prabhu; and when he heard them, Mahāprabhu was greatly delighted in his mind.

154 At that time Kāśī Miśra and the temple servant, these two came and bowed to the feet of Prabhu. 155 Seeing all the Vaiṣṇavas, they were most happy, and they mingled with them all according to propriety and with joy. 156 At the feet of Prabhu, the two made this petition, "Give your command about the settlement of the Vaiṣṇavas. 157 We have arranged for enough dwelling places for all and have made arrangements for food of *mahāprasāda* for all." 158 Prabhu said, "Gopīnātha, go and take everyone, and settle each wherever he says. 159 Give them food of *mahāprasāda* at the place of Vāṇīnātha; he will make arrangements for all the Vaiṣṇavas. 160 Near my [house], in a flower garden,

139. Holding grass in the teeth, like a beast of the fields, was a sign of humility.

143. Murāri had fallen in the dust of the road; Caitanya brushed the dust from his clothing.

147. Rājapatha: road, highway. Haridāsa's humility is legendary, and stems, so tradition has it, from his having been born in a Muslim family.

153. Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out that in some MSS, the reading *duḥkha*, "sorrow," for *sukha* "delight," is found. Either one is possible. Caitanya could have been saddened by Haridāsa's humility, and he could have been pleased, since Haridāsa was upholding the laws of purity which Caitanya, in his external manifestation at least, was also at pains to uphold.

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there is a house, most isolated. 161 Give that house to me, for I have need of it; there, sitting alone, I shall meditate." 162 Miśra said, "Everything is yours, why do you even ask? Take whatever you desire—whatever place you want. 163 We two are your servants, ready to carry out your commands; whatever you want, command it in your mercy."

164 So saying, the two took their leave, and he sent Gopīnātha and Vāṇīnātha with them. 165 They showed Gopīnātha all the rooms and houses, and to Vāṇīnātha they gave vast quantities of *prasāda*. 166 Vāṇīnātha came, bringing rice and *piṭhā* and *pānā*, and Gopīnātha came, having ritually purified the dwelling-places. 167 Mahāprabhu said, "Hear, all you Vaiṣṇavas. Each of you go to your own dwelling-place. 168 Having bathed in the sea, have *darśana* of the cupola [of the temple], and then return here; we shall feast today." 169 Making obeisance to Prabhu, all went to their quarters, and Gopīnāthācārya arranged dwelling-places for them all.

170 Then Prabhu came to meet Haridāsa. Haridāsa in *prema* was making *nāmā-saṃkīrtana*. 171 When he saw Prabhu he fell prostrate before him; Prabhu embraced him and raised him up. 172 The two then wept, overcome with *prema*; his servant was overcome with the qualities of Prabhu, and Prabhu by the qualities of his servant. 173 Haridāsa said, "Prabhu, do not touch me; I am a lowly untouchable, most vile." 174 Prabhu replied, "I touch you to become cleansed, for your pure *dharma* is not in me. 175 You always bathe at all pilgrimage places, and you always give charity, and mortify yourself and sacrifice. 176 You constantly study the teachings of the four Vedas; you are purer than those who are twice-born."

Śloka 14. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.33.7:

How wonderful! That *śvapaca* on the tip of whose tongue your name is current is worthy of worship. Those who praise your name are endowed with proper action—they do ascetic deeds, offer sacrifices in the fire, bathe at pilgrimage places, and study the Vedas.

168. *Cuḍā* is the cupola of the temple. It is possible that going to the temple was for some reason out of the question at that time; it might still be the *anavasara* period of Jagannātha.

174. I.e., I do not have in me a *dharma* which is as pure as yours.

176. There is a difference between studying the Vedas and studying their meaning; the former would presumably not have been possible for one born a Muslim. As the verse following suggests, however, people of whatever birth who are *bhaktas* do what is right, and that is the inner meaning of the Vedas.

Śloka 14. See 2.19.*śl.*5; 3.16.*śl.*4.

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177 Having said this, Prabhu took him into the flower garden, and gave him a place to live in that most lonely house. 178 "Remain here, and perform *nāma-saṃkīrtana*; I shall come each day to meet you. 179 When you see the *cakra* of the temple, make obeisance; food of *prasāda* will come to you in this place." 180 Nityānanda, Jagadānanda, Dāmodara, and Mukunda met Haridāsa and gained great joy.

181 Having bathed in the sea, Prabhu came to his own place; and Advaita and the others went to bathe in the sea. 182 Returning, they had *darśana* of the cupola of the temple of Jagannātha, and came to the house of Prabhu to eat. 183 Prabhu seated them all in order, according to propriety. Gaurahari served them with his holy hands. 184 The hand of Prabhu did not come to give little food; he put on the leaves of each of them food for two or three men. 185 Prabhu had not eaten, and no one else ate; the *bhaktas* remained seated with their hands raised. 186 Svarūpa Gosvāmī then said to Prabhu, "If you do not sit down, no one can eat. 187 As many *saṃnyāsins* as stay with you, Gopīnāthācārya has invited them. 188 The Ācārya has come, bringing food proper for *saṃnyāsins*; and Purī and Bhāratī are waiting. 189 Sit down to eat with Nityānanda, and I shall serve the Vaiṣṇavas." 190 Then Prabhu put *prasāda*-food into the hand of Govinda, and with great consideration sent it to Haridāsa Ṭhākura. 191 He himself sat down with all the *saṃnyāsins*, and the Ācārya served them in delight. 192 Svarūpa Gosvāmī, Dāmodara, and Jagadānanda, these three served the Vaiṣṇavas. 193 They ate various *piṭhās* and *pānās* and were filled up to the throat; and from time to time they called "Hari" aloud. 194 The meal was finished, and they rinsed their mouths; Prabhu presented them all with garlands and sandalwood. 195 Then all went to their own places to rest. And in the evening they again came to meet Prabhu.

196 At that time Rāmānanda came to the place of Prabhu, and Prabhu introduced him to the Vaiṣṇavas. 197 Then Prabhu went, with all of them, to the temple of Jagannātha, and there began the *kīrtana*. 198 Seeing the *sandhyā-dhūpa*, they began the *saṃkīrtana*, and the temple servant brought and gave garlands and sandalwood to them all. 199 Four groups sang *saṃkīrtana* on all

179. Cakra: the wheel situated on the very top of the temple of Jagannātha.

183. It is not clear whether "propriety" means according to the usual caste order, or in terms of primacy in *bhakti*, the latter often ruling the social interaction of the Vaiṣṇavas in this group.

198. In the evening, a brazier filled with coals and emitting a strong, resinous, acrid smelling but pleasantly scented smoke is waved before the image; this is the *sandhyā-dhūpa*.

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four sides while Prabhu Śacīnandana danced in the center. 200 Eight *mṛdaṅga* drums played, and thirty-two *karatāla* cymbals; the sound of "Hari" arose, and the Vaiṣṇavas said, "Excellent!" 201 That most auspicious sound of *kīrtana* which arose filled the fourteen worlds and pervaded the universe. 202 The people who dwelt at Puruṣottama came to see, and when they saw the *kīrtana* the Oḍiyā people were dumbfounded.

203 Then Prabhu circumambulated the temple; and as he circumambulated it he danced. 204 Before and behind him sang the four groups, and when he fell down, Nityānanda Rāya supported him. 205 His tears and gooseflesh and trembling and sweat and shouting—seeing these manifestations of *prema* the people were struck with wonder. 206 Tears flowed from his eyes like a stream from a fountain and the people all around him were wet. 207 Prabhu danced about [the temple] for some time; stopping in back of the temple he performed *kīrtana*. 208 In all four directions the four groups sang in loud voices, and amongst them Gaura Rāya danced like Śiva. 209 Having danced for a long time, Prabhu became quiet, and commanded the four *mahāntas* to dance. 210 Advaita Ācārya danced in one group, and in another one Nityānanda Rāya. 211 Paṇḍita Vakreśvara danced in another one, and Śrīvāsa within the next. 212 Mahāprabhu remained watching in their midst, and there one of his divine powers became manifest. 213 Many people danced and sang all around, and all saw that "Prabhu is looking at me." 214 Prabhu wanted to see the dance of all four, and because of that desire he manifested his divine power. 215 Each one thought that he was looking only at him, absorbed in his gaze; how he could look in all directions cannot be known. 216 It was as when Kṛṣṇa was in the center, at the *pulinabhojana*, and all around his companions said—"He is looking towards me." 217 Whoever came nearby while dancing, Mahāprabhu gave him a deep

200. Mṛdaṅga: a kind of two-headed drum; *karatāla*: small cymbals, but in this version, two blocks of wood—each containing 16 cymbals in rows of four (in a manner reminiscent of the cymbals on a tambourine)—are clapped together by inserting the fingers in one block and the thumb in the other.

203. Pradakṣiṇa kariyā: circumambulated, keeping the temple to his right.

205. For the signs of *prema*, see text and commentary 2.8.135; 2.19.154-55; 2.23.31-32.

208. Tāṇḍavan nṛtya kare: like Śiva.

209. Four *mahāntas*: Advaita, Nityānanda, Vakreśvara, and Śrīvāsa.

214. Aiśvarya: divine power.

216. The *pulinabhojana* was a picnic on the river bank which Kṛṣṇa and his cowherd friends had; they were all sitting in a circle around him, and he in the center. This particular manifestation of divine power is also familiar from the *rāsa-līlā*.

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embrace. 218 Seeing this great dance, great *prema*, great *saṃkīrtana*, the people of Nīlācala floated in the joy of *prema*. 219 Gajapati Rājā, having heard the *kīrtana*, climbed to the roof of his palace with his people and watched. 220 Seeing the *saṃkīrtana*, the *rājā* was astonished, and his desire to meet Prabhu grew infinitely. 221 When the *kīrtana* was finished, Prabhu watched the offering of flowers, and then with all the Vaiṣṇavas came to his dwelling place. 222 The temple servant brought and gave them much *prasāda*; dividing it, Īśvara distributed it to all. 223 He bade farewell to them all, telling them to go to bed; such was the *līlā* of Śacī's son. 224 As many days as they were all with Mahāprabhu, they performed the delight of *kīrtana*. 225 So the *kīrtana-vilāsa* has been related; and he who hears it becomes the servant of Caitanya.

226 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

221. Puṣpāñjali: the offering of flowers to the feet of Jagannātha.

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Madhya Līlā
Chapter 12

Śloka 1.
That Gaura, having washed and cleansed with his followers the temple of Śrī Guṇḍicā, and having made it cool as his own mind, made it fit for receiving Kṛṣṇa.

1 Glory, glory to Mahāprabhu Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, glory, glory to Nityānanda, glory to the auspicious Advaita. 2 Glory, glory to Śrīvāsa and the other Gaura-*bhaktas*. Give me power, that I might describe Caitanya.

3 When Prabhu came back from the south to the east, the Gajapati was most desirous of meeting him. 4 From Kaṭaka he sent a letter to Sārvabhauma: "If it is the wish of Prabhu, I shall go to see him." 5 Bhaṭṭācārya wrote that Prabhu did not permit it; and again the *rājā* sent a letter to him: 6 "As many *bhaktas* as there are near Prabhu, approach them all on my behalf. 7 They are all merciful, and being merciful to me they will petition the feet of Prabhu. 8 By the grace of them all, I shall be joined with the feet of Śrī Prabhu. For without the mercy of Prabhu, this kingdom is nothing to me. 9 If Gaurahari does not give his grace to me, I shall abandon the kingdom and become a beggar; I shall give up my life." 10 When Bhaṭṭācārya saw the letter he was amazed, and he took it to the *bhaktas*. 11 Meeting with them all, he described the king, and afterwards he showed the letter to them. 12 When they saw the letter, all were astonished,

Śloka 1. Guṇḍicā: at the time of the Car Festival (*ratha-yātrā*), Jagannātha is taken from his own temple, and spends a few days at another one, called the Guṇḍicā temple. This place is empty the year round, except for those few days, and thus becomes dirty and full of dust and trash. Also, as the festival comes in the hot weather, it was necessary to make the temple cool with water, comfortable for the deity. Caitanya and his *bhaktas* every year, as long as he lived, cleaned the Guṇḍicā temple for Jagannātha to occupy.

4. Kaṭaka: Cuttack.

9. [The outcome of this vow has been anticipated in 2.11.23. *TKS*]

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so great was the *bhakti* of Gajapati for the feet of Prabhu. 13 They all agreed, "Prabhu will never meet him; and when we speak about it, he will be pained." 14 Sārvabhauma suggested, "Let us all go at once; we shall not speak about a meeting, we shall speak of the behavior of the king."

15 So saying, all went to the place of Mahāprabhu; all were anxious to speak, but did not speak a word. 16 Prabhu said, "Have you all come to say something? I see that you want to speak, why don't you speak?" 17 And Nityānanda said, "We want to petition you; if we do not speak we cannot bear it, yet there is fear in our hearts to speak. 18 We all wish to make known to you a matter [both] good and evil. If he does not meet you, the king wants to become a *yogī*." 19 When he heard this, the heart of Prabhu became softened, though outwardly he spoke harsh words. 20 "This is what you all want—'Take all of us and go to Kaṭaka to meet the king.' 21 Matters of my aims aside, people will condemn [me]. And people aside, Dāmodara will rebuke [me]. 22 I shall not meet with the king, as you all request. If Dāmodara tells me, then I shall meet him." 23 Dāmodara said, "You are the non-dependent Īśvara. What should be done and what should not be done, all this is known to you. 24 Should I, an insignificant creature, give you instruction? But you will meet him of your own accord, and I shall see it. 25 For the king loves you, and you are conquered by love. By his love, he will make you touch him. 26 Even though you are Īśvara, and completely non-dependent, still by nature you are dependent on others through *prema*." 27 And Nityānanda said, "Is there such a man who can say to you—'Go and meet the king!' 28 But the nature of passionate people is always this: if they do not get the object of their desire, they give up their lives. 29 The proof of this is the *yājñika brāhmaṇa* woman, who gave up her life before her husband, for the sake of Kṛṣṇa. 30 Thus I advise you, if you pay heed; there

21. The *dharma* of a *saṃnyāsin* is to remain aloof from worldly things; this is Caitanya's aim (*paramārtha*). Svarūpa Dāmodara, as has been pointed out before, was a very outspoken man, not at all afraid to rebuke and chastise Caitanya for what he considered impropriety.

23. Svatantra: non-dependent.

25. Vaśa: controlled, conquered; see 1.4.216; 1.7.138; 1.17.71, *śl.*5.

26. Parama-svatantra: utterly non-dependent.

29. The story is this: after Kṛṣṇa had stolen the clothes of the *gopīs* while they were bathing, Kṛṣṇa returned the clothes to them and they went home. Then Kṛṣṇa and the cowherd boys returned to tending the cattle, and as the cattle grazed and the boys played in the forests, they found themselves on the bank of the Yamunā, where they watered the cattle. The boys were hungry, and asked Kṛṣṇa what they should do. He told them that nearby there was a *brāhmaṇa* who was conducting a sacrifice (*yajñika*), and that they should go and in Kṛṣṇa's name ask for food. This they did, but no one paid them any attention. Kṛṣṇa then told them to go and ask the wives of the

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is a way to save his life, even if you do not meet with him. 31 If then, being merciful, you give an outer garment and send it to him, his life is saved by faith in you."

32 Prabhu said, "You are all most wise. That which is appropriate, you decide." 33 Then Nityānanda Gosvāmī [went] to Govinda, and asked for and took an outer garment of Prabhu. 34 That outer garment he gave to Sārvabhauma, and Sārvabhauma sent the cloth to the king. 35 When he received the garment, the heart of the king was overjoyed, and he made *pūjā* to the garment, as if it were Prabhu himself.

36 When Rāmānanda Rāya came from the south, he requested the king to allow him to stay with Prabhu. 37 Then the king, in delight, gave him the permission and began to try for a meeting of his own. 38 "Mahāprabhu has great mercy towards you; try to arrange a meeting with him for me." 39 When the two came together at Kṣetra, Rāmānanda Rāya met Prabhu. 40 At the feet of Prabhu he made him know of the *prema-bhakti* of the king, and he spoke thus on the subject again and again. 41 Rāmānanda was the minister of the king, and skilled in such procedures; and speaking of the love of the king, he melted the heart of Mahāprabhu. 42 Pratāparudra in his anxiety was not able to restrain himself, and he pleaded with Rāmānanda about the meeting with Prabhu. 43 Rāmānanda submitted this request at the feet of Prabhu, "Show your feet to Pratāparudra once." 44 And Prabhu said, "Rāmānanda, make this judgment. Is it proper for [me], a *saṃnyāsin*, to meet a king? 45 For in a meeting with a king comes the destruction of both worlds for a mendicant; apart from the next world, people laugh at him [in this]." 46 Rāmānanda said, "You are the non-dependent Īśvara. You are dependent on no one; whom then do you fear?" 47 Prabhu said, "I am human, I am a *saṃnyāsin* by *āśrama*; and I have fear about my actions of body, mind, and speech. 48 Everyone talks of the tiniest fault of a *saṃnyāsin*; an ink-spot is not able to hide on a white cloth." 49 Rāya said, "How many sinners have you saved; Gajapati is a servant of Īśvara, and your *bhakta*." 50 Prabhu replied, "As no one touches a jar full of milk into which a drop of wine has fallen, 51 so it is with Pratāparudra: though he possesses all

brāhmaṇas, for the women loved him much. Hearing that Kṛṣṇa was nearby, the wives of the *brāhmaṇas* became greatly agitated, and prepared much food and went off to bring it to Kṛṣṇa. But there was one woman whose husband did not allow her to go, and kept her in the house. She loved Kṛṣṇa greatly, and locked in the house she embraced Kṛṣṇa in meditation, and while she was doing that, died of her love.

36. See 2.11.11-23.

47. Mānuṣya: human.

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qualities, the name '*rājā*' stains him. 52 Still, if you have such great suffering, then bring his son to meet with me. 53 'One's self is his son'—this is the word of the *śāstras*; in my meeting with his son it will be as if he himself is meeting me."

54 Then Rāya said all that to the *rājā*, and according to the order of Prabhu, he brought his son. 55 The son of the *rājā* was a beautiful boy, dark in color, of adolescent age, with long and lively eyes. 56 He wore a yellow garment, and on his limbs were ornaments and jewels: he was reminiscent of Kṛṣṇa. 57 When he saw him, Mahāprabhu was reminded of Kṛṣṇa; and welcoming him in a delirium of love, he began to speak, 58 "This is a great *bhāgavata*, by the sight of whom all people are reminded of Vrajendranandana. 59 I have become fulfilled by the sight of him." And so saying, again he embraced him. 60 At the touch of Prabhu, the prince became ecstatic with *prema*, and had all the signs—sweat, trembling, tears, and stupor. 61 He cried out 'Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa' and danced, weeping aloud; and seeing his good fortune, the *bhaktas* praised him. 62 Then Mahāprabhu calmed him down, and gave this command, "Come daily to see me." 63 Then Rāya took his leave and came [to the *rājā*] with the *rājā*'s son. When he saw his son's condition, the *rājā* was most glad. 64 Embracing his son, he was overcome with *prema*, as if he had gained the touch of Mahāprabhu in the flesh. 65 From that [time], the son of the *mahārājā* was fortunate, and he became one among the *bhaktas* of Prabhu.

66 In this way Mahāprabhu, in the company of his *bhaktas*, always played in the delight of *saṃkīrtana*. 67 Ācārya and the other *bhaktas* invited him, and the *bhaktas* fed him in their places. 68 In this way, many days passed in various delights, and the day of the Car Festival of Śrī Jagannātha came. 69 First, Prabhu brought Kāśī Miśra, and summoning the temple servant, he also brought Sārvabhauma. 70 To the three men Prabhu spoke laughingly, and asked permission to serve and cleanse the Guṇḍicā temple. 71 The temple servant said, "We are all your servants; that which is your wish is our duty. 72 And a special order of the *rājā* has come to me, that that which is Prabhu's wish shall be quickly done. 73 Cleansing of the temple is not proper service for you; but this

60. For the signs of *prema*, see 2.8.135; 2.19.154-55; 2.23.31-32.

64. *Sākṣāt*: in the flesh, manifest before one's very eyes.

73. Rādhāgovinda Nātha suggests that it was in fact appropriate work, for three reasons: Caitanya's *bhāva* was multiple, and as a *bhakta*, such service as this would be appropriate; as Bhagavān, that service in which love is primary, love in this case for the *bhaktas*, would be appropriate; and as Rādhā, such service would be appropriate.

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is a *līlā* which is in your heart. 74 Many waterpots and brooms are needed; give me the command, and I shall bring these here today." 75 Then the temple servant brought a hundred waterpots and a hundred brooms, all new, and put them before Prabhu.

76 The next morning Prabhu took his own people, and anointed the bodies of all with sandal paste, with his holy hands. 77 And with his holy hands he gave each one a broom; and taking them all, Prabhu himself went. 78 They went to the Guṇḍicā temple to clean it; first taking a broom, he swept it. 79 Within the temple and on top of it, they all swept; sweeping the lion-throne they cleaned all four sides. 80 Within the temple they swept and purified, and afterwards in the same way they cleaned the Śrī Jagamohana. 81 On four sides, a hundred *bhaktas* swept; and himself sweeping, Prabhu taught them all. 82 In the joy of *prema* he purified the house and took the name of Kṛṣṇa; and the *bhaktas* said 'Kṛṣṇa' and did their own work. 83 His body, gray with dust, was beautiful to see, and he cleansed various places with the water of his tears. 84 He cleansed the *bhoga-maṇḍapa* and the courtyard, and gradually he cleansed the whole house. 85 He brought together in one place the grass and dust and broken vessels, and took them outside in his outer garment, and threw them away. 86 This the *bhaktas* too did with their own garments—in great joy they tossed out the grass and dust. 87 Prabhu said, "By the proof of the grass and dust I shall know exactly how much each has cleaned." 88 He had them all put the piles of sweepings in one place—Prabhu's was the biggest of all.

89 In this way they cleansed the inner parts [of the temple]; and again he apportioned [work] to all: 90 "The tiniest bits of grass and dust and sand—take them all away. Cleanse well all the inner quarters of the Lord." 91 With all the Vaiṣṇavas then he cleansed it a second time, and when he saw it, there was joy in the heart of Mahāprabhu. 92 A hundred people, carrying a hundred clay waterpots, were waiting for the proper time, having brought them beforehand. 93 And when Mahāprabhu said, "Bring the water," they brought the hundred waterpots and put them before Prabhu. 94 Then Prabhu washed the temple, the roof, the floor, the walls, and the lion-throne within the house. 95 Filling the pots, he splashed water upwards, and with that water the upper walls were washed. 96 Thus first Prabhu cleaned the temple; with his holy hands he cleansed the lion throne. 97 The *bhaktas* washed within the house, and with their own hands they cleaned the temple. 98 Some gave pots of water to Mahāprabhu, and some,

80. The *jagamohana* is the part of the temple outside the inner sanctum.
84. The *bhoga-maṇḍapa* is where food is prepared and taken.

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pretending [to do that], poured water on his feet. 99 And some, secretly, drank that water. Some begged for it, some gave it to others. 100 Having washed the room, they put the water down a drain, and with that water the whole courtyard was filled. 101 With his own garment Prabhu cleansed the house; Mahāprabhu with his own garment cleansed the lion throne. 102 With a hundred clay pots of water the temple was cleansed, and he made the temple as pure as his own heart. 103 He made the temple stainless and cool and pleasant, as if he had pulled out his own heart.

104 Hundreds and hundreds of people bore water from the tank; there was no room at the landing steps, so some took water from the well. 105 Hundreds of *bhaktas* came, bringing full vessels, and hundreds of others went, carrying empty pots. 106 Nityānanda, Advaita, Svarūpa, Bhāratī, and Purī—except for these, all the others carried water. 107 Many of the clay pots were broken, because of striking one against the other, for people came there carrying hundreds upon hundreds of pots. 108 Filling them with water, they washed the room, and made the sound of Hari's name. 109 Nothing else was heard, except for the sound of 'Kṛṣṇa, Hari!' They said 'Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa' as they passed the waterpots, and as they asked for waterpots they said 'Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa.' 110 Whatever they said, they said in the name of Kṛṣṇa; the name of Kṛṣṇa was implicit in all their work. 111 Under the control of *prema*, Prahbu repeated the name 'Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa,' and out of *prema* he did the work of a hundred people. 112 It was as if with a hundred hands he washed and cleaned; and he went beside each man and instructed him. 113 Seeing good work, he commended it; if it was not according to his liking, he made a holy reprimand, 114 "You have done well, teach others, that they do good work like this." 115 When they heard this, all were much ashamed, and all put their minds to doing work well.

116 Then Prabhu cleansed the Śrī Jagamohana, and then the eating place. 117 He washed the dancing hall and the sacrifice courtyard, and the kitchen and the rest—he washed it all. 118 He cleaned all four sides of the temple, and caused the whole interior to be washed well. 119 At that time a man from Gauḍa, honest and intelligent, put water from a pot on the feet of Prabhu. 120 Taking that water, he drank it himself. Seeing that, Prabhu was sorrowful and angry in his heart. 121 Even though the Gosvāmī was happy with him, for the sake of teaching others he put on a show of anger. 122 He brought Svarūpa Gosvāmī and said to him, "See the conduct of your man of Gauḍa. 123 In the temple of Īśvara

109. Among the Vaiṣṇavas it is common practice to call the attention of someone to something by saying the name of Kṛṣṇa.

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he washes my feet, and taking the water he drinks it himself. 124 Because of this offence what will be the outcome for me, when your man of Gauḍa performs such an infamous act?" 125 Then Svarūpa Gosvāmī put his hand on his shoulder, and giving him a shove he sent him outside the place. 126 Coming again, he entreated at the feet of Prabhu, "It would be gracious to forgive this error of ignorance." 127 Then Mahāprabhu was delighted in his heart. He caused everyone to sit on two sides in rows. 128 He himself sat in the middle. With his own hands he began to collect grass and thorns and straw. 129 "As much as anyone collects I shall gather together in one place. We shall take our *piṭhā* and *pānā* from him who collects the least." 130 In this way he cleaned the whole place; he made it cool and stainless as his own heart. 131 When he cleared the drains the water flowed, like a new river flowing to the sea.

132 In this way, as many paths as there were before the gates of the city, he cleansed them all. Who can describe it all? 133 He cleansed inside and out the temple of Nṛsiṃha, and resting for a little while he began to dance. 134 All around the *bhaktas* made *kīrtana*, and in the midst of them Prabhu danced like a drunken lion. 135 Sweat and trembling and pallor and tears and goose-flesh and shouting—streams of tears flowed down before him, cleansing his own limbs. 136 And they washed the limbs of the *bhaktas* all around him, as rain from the clouds in the month of Śrāvaṇa. 137 The sky was filled with great loud *saṃkīrtana*, and the earth trembled with the wild dancing of Prabhu. 138 Prabhu always liked the loud singing of Svarūpa, and Gaura Rāya danced madly in joy. 139 In this way they danced for some time, and Prabhu rested when he understood that it was time. 140 The son of Ācārya Gosvāmī was named Śrī Gopāla; Bhagavān told him to dance. 141 In his dance, under the control of *prema*, he fainted, and fell unconscious to the ground. 142 Immediately Ācārya Gosvāmī took him into his lap; seeing that he did not breathe, he was overcome with grief. 143 He recited the *mantra* of Nṛsiṃha and threw water on him; with the sound of his cries the universe was rent. 144 He did many things, but [his son]

125. "The place" is *purī*; it does not refer to the city, which at this time was not called by that name.

129. I.e., that individual will have to provide food for everyone. This is a curious proposition, however, because many of the devotees would seize the opportunity to feed the group as an act of humility and devotion; here it seems to be proposed more as an incentive to ensure the temple is completely cleaned.

133. There is a temple of Nṛsiṃha near the Guṇḍicā-mandira.

135. See commentary to v. 60 above.

136. Śrāvaṇa: the fourth month of the Bengali calender, July-August.

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did not regain consciousness; Ācārya wept, and all the *bhaktas* wept. 145 Then Mahāprabhu put his hand upon his breast, and in a loud voice said, "Arise, Gopāla." 146 When he heard this, Gopāla became conscious; saying "Hari," all the *bhaktas* danced. 147 Vṛndāvana Dāsa has described this *līlā*; thus I have touched on it only briefly.

148 Then Prabhu rested for a while, and played with the *bhaktas* in the waters of the lake. 149 Getting up on the bank, they dressed in dry clothes. Having made obeisance to Nṛsiṃhadeva, they went into the grove. 150 Prabhu sat down in the garden with his *bhaktas*, and Vāṇīnātha came bringing *prasāda*. 151 Kāśī Miśra and the temple servant named Tulasī, these two brought as much food as five hundred people could eat. 152 They sent so much rice and *piṭhā* and *pānā* that seeing it Prabhu's mind was delighted. 153 Purī Gosvāmī, Mahāprabhu, Bhāratī Brahmānanda, Advaita Ācārya and Nityānanda Prabhu, 154 and Ācāryaratna, Ācāryanidhi, Śrīvāsa, Gadādhara, Śaṅkarāraṇya, Nyāyācārya, Rāghava, and Vakreśvara were there. 155 And receiving the request of Prabhu, Sārvabhauma himself sat there. Prabhu was seated on a low wooden stool in the company of all these *bhaktas*. 156 Others sat around him according to their ranked order. Filling the garden the *bhaktas* sat down to eat. 157 Prabhu loudly called "Haridāsa." But Haridāsa kept his distance and made this request, 158 "You take the *prasāda*, Prabhu, with your *bhaktas*; it is not proper for me to sit with them, for I am a vile man. 159 Afterwards Govinda will give me *prasāda* outside." Knowing his mind, Prabhu did not ask him again. 160 Svarūpa Gosvāmī, Jagadānanda, and Dāmodara, Kāśīśvara, Gopīnātha, Vāṇīnātha and Śaṅkara— 161 these seven served him. From time to time the *bhaktas* made the sound of Hari. 162 As Kṛṣṇa had formerly feasted on the riverbank, Mahāprabhu remembered that *līlā*. 163 Even though overcome with *prema*, Prabhu was anxious, understanding the proper time, he made his mind calm. 164 Prabhu said, "Give me *lāpharā*-curry, and give to the *bhaktas piṭhā* and *pānā* and nectarous sweets." 165 Understanding all, Prabhu knew exactly what each one liked, so he had Svarūpa serve him that. 166 Jagadānanda moved among them to serve them; he suddenly put good things on Prabhu's [banana] leaf. 167 When he had given him these things, Prabhu was angry with him; he said, "He has given me this by trickery, but when he gives it he is happy." 168 And again he came, [to see if] he had eaten those things; for fear of him, Prabhu ate a little bit. 169 For if he did not eat, Jagadānanda would fast, so he ate a little

147. In fact, it does not appear in any of the *CBh* editions we have consulted. The commentary to the *GM* edition confirms this.

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of what was in front of him, with this fear in his mind. 170 Svarūpa Gosvāmī took some fine sweet-*prasāda*, and bowing before him he requested Prabhu [to eat it]. 171 "Taste a little of this *mahāprasāda*; see, Jagannātha has eaten from it." 172 With gentle cajoling he placed a little in front of him. Prabhu would then eat a little out of his love of him. 173 In this way the two came again and again; wonderful was the manner of the love of these two.

174 Prabhu had seated Sārvabhauma by his own side, and seeing the affection of the two *bhaktas*, Sārvabhauma smiled. 175 And Prabhu fed the best *prasāda* to Sārvabhauma again and again, for he loved him. 176 Gopīnāthācārya brought the finest *mahāprasāda*, and giving it to Sārvabhauma he said in most beautiful words, 177 "Where is the former meaningless way of the Bhaṭṭācārya; and where is this highest joy? Please explain." 178 Sārvabhauma responded, "I was a deluded philosopher; but by your grace [I have] attained this my goal. 179 Except for Mahāprabhu there is none other full of grace, for who is there who can thus make a crow into Garuḍa? 180 With that mouth which used to bay with the pack of the jackals of sophistry, I now say always the name of 'Kṛṣṇa Hari.' 181 Where [previously] was the companionship of the pupils of philosophy who argue with faces averted [from Kṛṣṇa], now are the waves of the sea of nectar of your company." 182 Prabhu said, "Your love for Kṛṣṇa was already attained, and your companionship has become the way to Kṛṣṇa for all of us." 183 Thus to cause the greatness of the *bhaktas* to increase, and to give them pleasure, there was none like Mahāprabhu in the three worlds.

184 Then Prabhu called each *bhakta* by name, and causing them to be given *piṭhā* and *pānā* he distributed *prasāda*. 185 Advaita and Nityānanda sat in one place, and a mock dispute broke out between them. 186 Advaita said, "I eat together in the same row with an *avadhūta*; who knows what my fate will be? 187 Prabhu is a *saṃnyāsin* and for him there is no loss; there is no *doṣa* for a *saṃnyāsin* in the food-*doṣa*. 188 'No fault attaches [to a *saṃnyāsin*] because of

177. "Where are these two things in relation to one another?"

179. Garuḍa: the divine bird, vehicle of Viṣṇu.

186. Nityānanda was a *haṃsāvadhūta*, who, according to the *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra* 8.283, among other things wear signs neither of caste nor *āśrama* (e.g., *saṃnyāsa*). Advaita, as a *brāhmaṇa*, is wondering (sarcastically?) what fault will accrue to him.

187. For a person of high caste to eat with an untouchable is a fault (*doṣa*) with respect to food (*annadoṣa*). But a casteless *saṃnyāsin* can take food with anyone at any time and in any place, and no *doṣa* attaches to him.

188. Nānnadoṣena maskarī: no *doṣa* attaches to a *saṃnyāsin* because of food; *Saṃnyāsa Upaniṣad* 72.

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food'—this is proven in the *śāstras*. But I am a householder *brāhmaṇa*, and this is a *doṣa* for me. 189 Whose family and birth, whose nature and conduct I do not know—[being] with him in the same row is highly improper." 190 Nityānanda said, "You are Advaita Ācārya; the performance of pure *bhakti* is hindered by the *advaita*-doctrine. 191 Whoever is associated with your doctrine, except for a single component, knows no second. 192 I am eating together in the same place with such as you; I do not know of what sort is [my] fate for associating with you." 193 In this way the two argued, and they railed ironically against each other. 194 Then Prabhu called all the Vaiṣṇavas by name, and caused them to be given *prasāda*, distributing the nectar of his grace. 195 And all began to eat, singing the name of Hari, and the sound of Hari rose, filling the earth and the sky. 196 Then Mahāprabhu put garlands and sandalwood on all his own *bhaktas* with his holy hands. 197 Then Svarūpa and the others—those who were distributing the food—sat within the house and ate *prasāda*. 198 Govinda kept carefully the remains of Prabhu's food, and took it and gave it to Haridāsa. 199 The *bhaktas* begged for a little of this food from Govinda, but Govinda kept it to himself.

200 Prabhu, the self-dependent Īśvara, thus played many games; this *līlā* is called "the washing and cleaning." 201 On another day was the festival of Jagannātha called "*netrotsava*." It was a great festival, like life itself for the *bhaktas*. 202 The people were saddened, for they had no sight of Prabhu for a fortnight; on [the festival day] they were overjoyed, for they had a sight of Jagannātha. 203 Mahāprabhu in happiness took all his *bhaktas*, and went for

190. Siddhānta: doctrine, conclusions.

191. Eka-vastu: single component, essence, matter. Nityānanda is saying that Advaita is a teacher of the *advaita* philosophy, monism, and that belief in monism is an obstacle to *bhakti*; for if one believes in the unity of *atmān* and *brahman* (n), there can be no *bhakti*. *Bhakti* implies a difference between the two; if there were no difference, worship could not take place. Rādhāgovinda Nātha is constrained to find double meanings in all of this. Here, for example, he says that Nityānanda is praising Advaita, saying that Advaita and his followers know only Kṛṣṇa and no other. Rādhāgovinda Nātha, himself a good *bhakta*, cannot bear the thought that there were differences of opinion between Advaita and Nityānanda, despite the fact that this seems to be historically undeniable (*PHM*, 88-89).

199. Govinda would not part with the *prasāda* since it was set aside especially for Haridāsa.

201. Netrotsava: for a few days after the bath or Bathing Festival (*snāna-yātrā*), no one can have *darśana* of Jagannātha; during this time the image is being clothed and decorated. On the day before the *ratha-yātrā*, the image is given eyes (*netra*), and the time is called the "*netrotsava*," "the festival of the eyes." From this time on, the image can be seen again.

202. Prabhu: Lord Jagannātha.

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darśana of Jagannātha. 204 Kāśīśvara went before him and dispersed the people, and behind him Govinda went, bearing a pot of water. 205 Purī and Bhāratī went before Prabhu, and Svarūpa and Advaita walked at his sides. 206 And beside him and behind him came the other *bhaktas*; impatiently they went to the house of Jagannātha. 207 In their anxiety for *darśana* they transgressed respect, and went to the eating room to have a sight of the sacred face. 208 The eyes of Prabhu were like thirsty bees [alighting] on the glittering cheeks, drinking deep and strong at the lotus-face of Kṛṣṇa. 209 His eyes conquered the blooming lotus, his cheeks glittered like beauty mirrored in blue jewels. 210 The beautiful color of his lips conquered that of the flower of the *bāndhulī*; the glory of his slight smile was a wave of nectar. 211 The honey of the beauty of this holy face grew moment after moment, and the bees which were the eyes of crores and crores of *bhaktas* drank there. 212 As much as they drank, still their thirst grew endlessly; their eyes could not leave the lotus of his face for an instant. 213 In this way Mahāprabhu with his *bhaktas* had *darśana* of the holy face until noon, 214 and sweat and trembling and streams of tears flowed constantly. Despite his lust for *darśana*, Prabhu restrained himself. 215 From time to time he ate and from time to time had *darśana*, and at the time of eating Prabhu performed *saṃkīrtana*. 216 In the joy of *darśana*, Prabhu forgot everything, and at midday the *bhaktas* took Prabhu with them. 217 Knowing that 'in the morning will be the Car Festival,' they all fed him twice [the usual] amount of food. 218 Thus I have briefly related the *līlā* of the cleaning of the Guṇḍicā temple, hearing and seeing which sinners became Kṛṣṇa-*bhaktas*.

219 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lies at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

204. The water was for Caitanya to wash his feet before entering the temple.

207. Having *darśana* from the eating room, the *bhoga-maṇḍapa*, is the right of no one.

210. [*Bāndhulī*: *Ixora bandhuca*, a crimson flower which blooms year round, but especially in the monsoon season; it is also popularly called "*dupahariyā*" because of its tendency to open its blossoms about two watches (*prahara*) per day, i.e., about six hours. *TKS*]

214. I.e., he restrained himself from going there all the time. "Lust": *lobha*.

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Madhya Līlā
Chapter 13

Śloka 1.

Who danced before the most beautiful chariot [of Jagannātha], and at whose dance all the inhabitants of the world and Śrī Jagannātha himself were astonished, he is Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, unto whom be victory.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*. 2 And glory to you who listen, and listen single-mindedly, for Prabhu's dance at the Car Festival is most enchanting.

3 The next day Mahāprabhu, being diligent, rose up while it was still night, and with his followers performed the morning ablutions. 4 He then went to see the *pāṇḍu-vijaya*; for Jagannātha had left his throne and started on his journey. 5 Pratāparudra himself, with his ministers, was among the followers of Mahāprabhu to see the *vijaya*. 6 With Advaita, Nityānanda and the rest, in happiness Mahāprabhu saw the coming forth of Īśvara. 7 There were the powerful personal attendants [of Jagannātha], strong as mad elephants, who with their hands brought Jagannātha out for the *vijaya*. 8 Some personal attendants supported him by his shoulders, and some held his holy lotus feet. 9 A thick strong silken rope was tied to his waist, and holding this, the attendants lifted him up from two sides. 10 There were high, thick cotton cushions spread all around in various places, and they moved him from one cushion to another

4. Pāṇḍu, Apabhraṃśa for Oriya *pahānti*, teaching a child to walk by holding it by the hand and around the waist. *Pāṇḍu-vijaya*: bringing the huge image of Jagannātha out of the temple and putting on the car. The path from the throne to the car is covered with cushions filled with cotton, and Jagannātha's attendants take him, down and move him from cushion to cushion.

7. Dayitā: "beloved ones," the intimate personal attendants of Jagannātha.

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one. 11 By a blow from the foot of Prabhu a cotton cushion was broken; the cotton all blew away, and the sound was deafening. 12 Who has the strength to cause Viśvambhara Jagannātha to move? By his own desire he went on his pleasure-trip. 13 Mahāprabhu cried out "*Maṇimā*" in a loud voice, and there was the tumultuous noise of many instruments, and nothing else could be heard. 14 Then Pratāparudra performed his personal service: with a golden broom he swept the path. 15 He moistened the path with water and sandalwood; he performed these menial tasks, [even though] he sat on the royal lion-throne. 16 Though he is elevated, the king performs menial services, and thus is a receptacle for the grace of Jagannātha. 17 Seeing these services, Mahāprabhu was delighted, and because of those services [the king] gained the grace of Mahāprabhu. 18 Seeing the decorations of the car, the people were astonished, for the new car, covered with gold, was like Sumeru. 19 There were hundreds and hundreds of white fly-whisks, and shining mirrors, and on top, hundreds of flags and stainless canopies. 20 Gongs reverberated, tiny bells tinkled, and even larger bells were struck; the car was decorated with many wonderful silken cloths.

21 In *līlā*, Īśvara mounted his car, and in two other cars Subhadrā and Haladhara rode. 22 For fifteen days, Īśvara had been with Mahālakṣmī, and had had sport with her in private. 23 With her consent, to give the *bhaktas* pleasure, he came outside, and mounted on his car to take the journey. 24 The path of fine white sand was like a beach, and on both sides were gardens, and it was all like Vṛndāvana. 25 Jagannātha mounted his chariot and came forth, and looked with joyful mind to both sides as he moved. 26 All the people of Gauḍa pulled the car, in joy, and sometimes it moved swiftly, and sometimes slowly, 27 and sometimes it remained stationary—although pulled it would not move.

11. The movement of the image from one cushion to the next makes it seem as if it is walking. Prabhu: Jagannātha.

13. Maṇimā: an Oriya word meaning "lord of the world" (Jagannātha).

14. It is traditional, and remains so today, for the *mahārājā* of Puri to sweep the path in front of the image, a gesture of homage and devotion.

19. Cāmara: fly-whisks, here emblems of royalty or divinity.

20. Ghāgara: a kind of gong; *kiṅkiṇī*: a small tinkling bell, usually tied around the waist; *ghaṇṭā*: large bells.

21. Haladhara: the plow holder, Balarāma the brother of Jagannātha (Kṛṣṇa); Subhadrā: Jagannātha's sister.

22. It is said that during the fortnight when Jagannātha is in isolation, after his bath, he is making love with Mahālakṣmī.

24. Clean white sand is spread along the route which the car is to take.

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For the car moved by the will of Īśvara, and the strength of no [man] could move it.

28 Then Mahāprabhu, taking all his own people, with his own hands decked them all with garlands and sandalwood paste. 29 Paramānanda Purī and Brahmānanda Bhāratī, receiving the sandalwood from the holy hands, swelled with joy. 30 Advaita Ācārya and Prabhu Nityānanda, both, at the touch of the holy hands, were filled with joy. 31 He gave garlands and sandalwood to the *kīrtanīyā*s, of whom Svarūpa and Śrīvāsa, these two, were chief. 32 There were twenty-four singers in four groups, and two *mṛdaṅga* drum players with each—making eight individuals in each group. 33 When Mahāprabhu made up his mind, he divided the singers into the four groups. 34 Nityānanda, Advaita, Haridāsa, and Vakreśvara—he commanded these four to begin the dance. 35 In the first group he made Svarūpa the head, and he gave him five people for his songs of praise: 36 Dāmodara, Nārāyaṇa, Govinda Datta, Rāghava Paṇḍita, and Śrī Govindānanda. 37 Then he instructed Advaita Ācārya to dance. He assigned Śrīvāsa to another group as chief, 38 [with] Gaṅgādāsa, Haridāsa, Śrīmān, Subhānanda, and Śrīrāma Paṇḍita; and Nityānanda danced with them. 39 Where Vāsudeva, Gopīnātha, and Murāri sang, he made Mukunda the chief of this group; 40 Śrīkānta and Vallabha Sena were the other two, and Haridāsa Ṭhākura danced there. 41 He made Govinda Ghoṣa the chief of another group, in which Haridāsa, Viṣṇudāsa, and Rāghava sang. 42 [The group] in which the two brothers, Rāghava and Vāsudeva, were, Vakreśvara Paṇḍita danced there. 43 There was a [fifth] group of *kīrtanīyā*s, from Kulīnagrama, and Rāmānanda and Satyarāja danced with them. 44 A [sixth] group was formed of the Ācārya's people from Śāntipura; Acyutānanda danced among them while they all sang. 45 Elsewhere, a [seventh] group from Khaṇḍa sang *kīrtana*; Narahari danced there, and Śrī Raghunandana. 46 Before Jagannātha the four groups sang, then one on each side of the car, and one behind it. 47 And in seven groups fourteen drums played, at the sound of which the Vaiṣṇavas became like madmen. 48 The splendor of the holy Vaiṣṇavas was like storm clouds in the rainy season, and the water of their eyes rained down with the nectar of *saṃkīrtana*. 49 The sound of *saṃkīrtana* rose up and filled the three worlds, and the sound of no other instruments, nothing else, could be heard. 50 And wandering among the seven groups Prabhu said 'Hari Hari,' and raising his hands cried '*Jaya jaya Jagannātha!*' 51 And Prabhu manifested another power, for at one time he

47. Pāgala: mad.

51-52. Reminiscent of Kṛṣṇa multiplying himself with the *gopī*s in the *rāsa* dance.

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sported with seven groups. 52 Everyone said, 'Prabhu is with this group; he does not go to another because of his mercy to me.' 53 No one was able to notice this, for the power of Prabhu is incomprehensible. The *antaraṅga-bhakta* knows it, for he has pure *bhakti*. 54 Seeing the *kīrtana* Jagannātha was delighted; he stopped the car to watch it.

55 And Pratāparudra was greatly amazed; and as he watched the king became paralyzed, filled with *prema*. 56 The king spoke to Kāśī Miśra of the greatness of Prabhu, and Kāśī Miśra said, "Your good fortune is boundless." 57 The king and Sārvabhauma made gestures to one another; no one else knew the subtlety of Caitanya. 58 On whom is his grace, he is able to know. Except for his grace, Brahmā and the rest cannot know. 59 Seeing the menial service of the king, Prabhu's mind was delighted; and because of that grace [the king] gained this secret *darśana*. 60 He did not show him in an obvious way, for his grace is invisible; who is able to understand this *māyā* of Caitanya? 61 Sārvabhauma and Kāśī Miśra, these two, when they saw this grace granted to the king, were astonished. 62 Prabhu carried on this kind of *līlā* for some time, and he himself sang while his *bhakta*s danced. 63 Now he was a single form, and now he was many forms; according to the occasion Prabhu manifested his *śakti*. 64 Because of his absorption in the *līlā*, Prabhu did not search himself; but knowing his desire, he acted according to his *līlā-śakti*. 65 As formerly he performed the *rāsa* and other *līlā*s in Vṛndāvana, so Gaura from time to time performed unworldly *līlā*s. 66 The *bhakta*s experienced it, but no one else, and the proof of that is the holy *Bhāgavata śāstra*.

67 In this way Mahāprabhu danced in delight, and caused all the worlds to float on a wave of *prema*. 68 And in this way went Kṛṣṇa's ascent to his chariot, before which Prabhu caused all his followers to dance. 69 You heard previously of the Guṇḍicā procession of Jagannātha, and how Prabhu danced before him. 70 In this same way Prabhu performed *kīrtana* for some time, and because of his own zeal he caused the *bhakta*s to dance. 71 When Prabhu made up his mind

53. *Antaraṅga*: "intrinsic," here a *bhakta* who has been perfected, who has gained the *svarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa.

57. *Curi*: "subtlety," literally "thievery," and Rādhāgovinda Nātha remarks: Caitanya could be with all seven groups at the same time, and hiding this incomprehensible power from everyone, is his *curi*. As in v. 59 below, he did not hide this from the king, nor from Sārvabhuama or Kāśī Miśra.

60. *Sākṣāt*: obvious, immediate, in the flesh, right before one's eyes.

64. I.e., Caitanya himself was not aware of doing this, of being one form and many forms in many places at the same time; the desire to do this was in him, and so it was done, as it had been done before in Vṛndāvana, in the *rāsa* and other *līlā*s. See 2.11.216 and commentary.

66. *BhP* 10.33.3.

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to dance, he brought together all seven groups into one place. 72 Śrīvāsa, Rāmāi, Raghu, Govinda, Mukunda, Haridāsa, Govindānanda, Mādhava, and Govinda— 73 when Prabhu thought to do the *uddaṇḍa* dance, he gave these nine to Svarūpa, 74 and the ten of them ran and sang with Prabhu, while the other groups stood on all four sides and sang. 75 Making obeisance, Prabhu put his two hands together, and with uplifted face he looked at Jagannātha and praised him.

Śloka 2. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 1.19.65:
Obeisance to Kṛṣṇa, Govinda, the Brahmaṇya-deva, beneficent to cows and *brāhmaṇa*s, benefactor of the world.

Śloka 3. *Mukundamālā* 3:
Glory, glory to the god, son of Devakī; glory, glory to Kṛṣṇa, the light of the lineage of Viṣṇu; glory, glory to him, color of the dark cloud, of delicate limbs; glory, glory to him, Mukunda, the hope of the laden earth.

Śloka 4. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.90.48:
Glory to him, who is the refuge of creatures, who took birth from Devakī, whose followers were the Yādavas, and who with his arms drove out the unrighteous, who takes away the sorrow of all things moveable and immoveable, who with his beautiful smiling face awakens the desires of the women of Vraja.

Śloka 5. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 74 [anonymous]:
I am neither a *brāhmaṇa* nor a king of men, neither a *vaiśya* nor a *śūdra*, neither a *brahmācārya* nor a *gṛhastha*, neither a *vanaprastha* nor a *saṃnyāsin*, but I am a lowly servant of a servant of a servant of the lotus feet of the lord of the *gopī*s, who is a sea of nectar filled with the pure and highest joy made manifest.

76 Reciting these verses, he again made obeisance, and with palms together the *bhaktas* also bowed to Bhagavān. 77 In his *uddaṇḍa* dance Prabhu let out great shouts; spinning like a wheel he danced in a circle, he seemed like burning coal.

73. Uddaṇḍa: the distinctive dance with arms upraised and body stiff.
Śloka 2. Also found in *Mahābhārata, śānti-parvan* 47.94.
Śloka 5. Brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya (= *narapati*, king of men), *vaiśya, śūdra* are the four *varṇa*s, social divisions. *Brahmācārya* (religious student), *gṛhastha* (householder), *vanaprastha* (forest dweller), and *saṃnyāsin* (ascetic renouncer) are the *āśramas* or stages of life.

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78 In the dance, whenever Prabhu's footsteps fell, the earth with its mountains and its oceans trembled. 79 Paralysis, sweat, gooseflesh, tears, trembling, pallor—and in various *bhāvas* he was proud and humble, joyful and sad. 80 He fell violently to the earth, and writhed there like a golden mountain. 81 Nityānanda Prabhu extended his two hands, and others came running from all sides to hold Prabhu. 82 Behind Prabhu, the Ācārya shouted out, and Haridāsa said 'Hari *bol*!' over and over again.

83 There were three circles to restrain the people; in the first circle was Nityānanda, a very strong man. 84 Kāśīśvara and Govinda and many other *bhaktas*—with linked hands they formed the second screen. 85 The outermost one was Pratāparudra and his subjects; forming a circle they screened out the people. 86 With his hand resting on the shoulder of Haricandana, the king in amazement watched the dance of Prabhu. 87 At the same time Śrīnivāsa, with his mind overcome with *prema*, stood in front of the king watching the dance of Prabhu. 88 Haricandana saw Śrīnivāsa in front of the king, and with his hand he touched him and said, "Move to one side." 89 Absorbed in watching the dance, Śrīvāsa knew nothing else. Again and again he pushed him, and anger came into [Śrīvāsa's] mind. 90 He stopped him, giving him a slap with his open hand. And receiving that slap, Haricandana became angry. 91 Becoming angry, he wanted to say something to him, but Pratāparudra himself prevented him, 92 "You are most fortunate, having received the touch of his hand. My fortune is not so great. You have been crowned with success."

93 Seeing the dance of Prabhu, the people were astonished. Others aside, the joy of Jagannātha was boundless. 94 He made his car stop; it did not move forward, and with steadfast gaze he watched the dance. 95 There was delight in the hearts of Subhadrā and Balarāma, and seeing the dance there were smiles on the holy faces of them both. 96 In the *uddaṇḍa* dance Prabhu was wonder-

79. For the signs of *prema*, see text and commentary to 2.2.62; 2.8.135; 2.19.154-55; 2.23.31-32. A nice description can be found below in vv. 96-105.

83-86. [The concentric rings are consistent with the architectonics of the *maṇḍala*, especially the meditational *yogapīṭha*, in the Gauḍīya tradition, for Caitanya and Nityānanda are in the center as the object of worship or meditation (Gaura-Nitāi), their more intimate companions (those in the *sakhya-bhāva*) surround them, with those less intimate and who must watch from the distance, (those in the *dāsya bhāva*, such as the king) forming the distant outer ring. *TKS*]

86. Haricandana was presumably one of the attendants of the king.

88-89. The names Śrīvāsa and Śrīnivāsa are here, and elsewhere in the text, interchangeable.

96. See v. 79 commentary above.

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fully transformed; there arose the eight *sāttvika bhāvas* at the same time. 97 His body hair stood on end, with gooseflesh, he was like a *śimulī* tree covered with thorns. 98 And seeing the trembling of each of his teeth, the people were afraid that all his teeth would loosen and fall out. 99 All over his body sweat flowed, and with it blood came forth; and in a choked voice he uttered "*jaja gaga jaja gaga*." 100 His tears flowed like a stream of water from a fountain, and drenched the people standing all around him. 101 The lustre of his body seemed sometimes pale golden, and sometimes like the color of the dawn, and sometimes like the color of the jasmine. 102 Sometimes Prabhu was motionless, and sometimes he fell to the earth; his hands and feet were like dried sticks, and would not move. 103 Sometimes, fallen to the earth, he was devoid of breath, and when they saw this the hearts of the *bhaktas* withered. 104 Sometimes the tears of his eyes flowed and the mucus of his nose ran, and there was froth on his mouth, like streams of nectar falling from the moon. 105 Śubhānanda took that froth and drank it, maddened with *prema* for Kṛṣṇa; he was a fortunate man.

106 In this way he performed the *tāṇḍava*-dance for some time, and then a special *bhāva* entered into the heart of Prabhu. 107 Leaving his *tāṇḍava*-dance he gave instructions to Svarūpa; and Svarūpa, knowing what was in his heart, began to sing.

108 "I have gained him who is the lord of my heart,
for whom I have been seared by the fire of *kāma*."

109 Dāmodara sang this refrain in a loud voice, and in joy Īśvara began the graceful dance. 110 Slowly Jagannātha moved forward, and before him moved dancing the son of Śacī. 111 With their eyes on Jagannātha, everyone danced and sang; with the *kīrtanīyas* Prabhu walked backwards. 112 The heart and the eyes of Prabhu were absorbed in Jagannātha, and with his hands he acted out the song. 113 If Gaura did not go forward, Śyāma was motionless. When Gaura went forward, Śyāma too moved slowly forward. 114 In this way Gaura and

97. Śimulī: the silk cotton tree, which when it blooms produces whispy strands of a silky fiber that can be carded and used for pillow stuffings for those willing to brave its thorny collection.

99. He was stuttering out the first two syllables of Jagannātha's name.

101. The *mallikā*, often called Arabian jasmine in the West (*Jasminum zambac*), is pure white; some MSS here read "pallid" (*vaivarṇya*).

106. Tāṇḍava: the frenzied dance of Śiva.

113. Śyāma: Jagannātha. The play between the two is also the play between Kṛṣṇa (Śyāma, "the dark one," Jagannātha) and Rādhā ("the golden one," Gaura, Caitanya).

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Śyāma drew one another mutually; Gaura was very powerful, and stopped Śyāma in his car.

115 While he was dancing, Prabhu entered into another *bhāva*, and raising his hands he recited a *śloka* at the top of his voice.

Śloka 6 Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 382 [anonymous]:
He who stole my virginity on the banks of the Revanadi is now my husband. The nights of [the month of] Caitra are fragrant with the scent of blooming jasmine, and the wind like honey is blowing from the *kadamba* grove. And I, the same *nāyikā*, absorbed, in that joy, am here. Even so, my heart is not at ease; it longs constantly for the foot of the Vetasī tree on the banks of the Reva.

116 Mahāprabhu recited this *śloka* again and again, and except for Svarūpa no one understood the meaning of it. 117 I have expanded previously on the meaning of it; let me give a brief explanation of the *bhāva* and its meaning. 118 As formerly all the *gopīs* in Kurukṣetra, gaining sight of Kṛṣṇa, were gladdened, 119 so that same *bhāva* arose in Prabhu when he saw Jagannātha, and immersed in that *bhāva* he caused the refrain to be sung. 120 And finally Rādhā made this petition to Kṛṣṇa, "You are as you were, I am as I was, at that first meeting, 121 and so Vṛndāvana steals my heart. So cause your feet to appear there. 122 Here there are vast crowds of people, and elephants, and horses, and the sound of chariots; there, in the forest of flowers, we listen to the sound of nightingales and bees. 123 Here you are in the dress of a king, and all companions *kṣatriyas*; there you are Kṛṣṇa with the flute to his mouth, with the *gopas*. 124 That happiness which I taste with you in Vraja, there is not a drop of that sea of happiness here. 125 Have *līlā* again with me in Vṛndāvana, and then the desire of my heart will be fulfilled!" 126 This speech of Rādhikā is in the *Bhāgavata*. I have described it formerly in a *sūtra*.

127 So under the control of that *bhāva*, Prabhu recited the *śloka*, and no one knew what the meaning of the *śloka* was. 128 Svarūpa Gosvāmī knew, but he told no one else. Śrī Rūpa Gosvāmin explained it in another way. 129 With

115. From the *śloka*, it was the Rādhā-*bhāva* into which he entered.

Śloka 6. See 2.1.*śl.*6; 3.1.*śl.*7. This *śloka* is also found in *Kāvyaprakāśa* 1.4 and Viśvanātha's *Sāhityadarpaṇa* 1.10.

117. See ante, 2.1.70-73.

126. *BhP* 10.82.48. See ante 2.1.70-73.

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Svarūpa he tasted the meaning of it; and in the midst of the dance he recited this *śloka*.

Śloka 7. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.82.48:
O lotus-naveled one, your lotus feet are the sole support for people fallen into the pit of the world, and always the object of meditation in the hearts of deeply concentrating *yogeśvaras*; may you be always in the hearts of your serving-maids.

130 "Of others the heart is *hṛdaya*,
of me the heart is Vṛndāvana;
I know my heart and the forest as one.
There if you make
your feet appear
then I acknowledge the fullness of your mercy.

131 O Lord of my heart! Hear my true prayer!
Vraja is my residence,
there is my union with you,
if I do not find you, my life will not remain. [refrain]

132 Formerly, by means of Uddhava,
and now, face to face, to me
you explain the means of *yoga* and *jñāna*.
You are clever and learned and full of grace,
you know my heart.
These things should not be told to me.

Śloka 7. See 2.1.*śl*.8.

130. This is the start of a *tripadi* section; the rhyme scheme is aab ccb. *Hṛdaya* means "heart"; here the line means "the hearts of others are within their breasts." "The forest" (*vana*) is Vṛndāvana. Kṛṣṇa has gone away, leaving the *gopīs* in a state of longing.

132. *BhP* 10.82.46: Kṛṣṇa is the five material elements, the essence of which can be known (*jñāna*) by a *gopī* who is disciplined; therefore she knows that Kṛṣṇa is always with her, in these elements which are also her makeup. But it is not of Kṛṣṇa as the cause of all things, the refuge of all things, that Rādhā wants to hear. Uddhava was the unwitting messenger sent by Kṛṣṇa to the *gopīs* to try to persuade them that even though he had gone, they were not really apart, to which the *gopīs* scoffed and heaped abuse on the head of Uddhava and Kṛṣṇa in their famous *bhramara gītā* or song of the bee in *BhP* 10.47.

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133 Having snatched my mind from you,
I try to attach it to worldly things;
no matter how hard I try I cannot snatch it.
Teach meditation to such a one
and you make people laugh;
you make no distinction between proper and improper places.

134 A *gopī* is not an adept at *yoga*,
[who] at your lotus feet
would meditate and so gain joy.
The dexterity of your speech
and its clever fraudulence—
hearing it the anger of the *gopīs* grows still more.

135 For one who does not remember his body,
where is the pit of the world?
He does not want liberation from it.
[We are] in the waters of the ocean of *viraha*
in the maw of the *timiṅgila* of desire—
take the *gopīs* to its other shore.

136 Vṛndāvana and Govarddhana
and the groves on the banks of the Yamunā,
in those bowers of the *rāsa* and other *līlās*,
the people of Vraja in Vraja,
mother and father and friends,
how could you forget those wonderful pictures?

137 You are charming and sweet and true,
principled, affectionate, gentle,
there is no hint of a fault in you.
Though such is your heart
you do not remember the people of Vraja;
that is our unhappy fate.

133. Meditation is the primary ingredient of *yoga*; she tries to wrench her mind away from meditation on him. Because she has no control over her mind she cannot be taught *yoga* properly; she is therefore an improper "place" or vessel to receive such teaching.

135. Kṛṣṇa has said: meditation on my lotus feet will save those who are fallen into the pit of the world. But it is the desire for the satisfaction of the self that drags one down into this pit. The *gopīs* do not consider their own bodies, but long only for the satisfaction of Kṛṣṇa; therefore they are not fallen into the pit and need no such salvation. The *gopīs* have not fallen into the pit of *saṃsāra*, but are drowning in the ocean of the pain of separation from Kṛṣṇa, and are being eaten by the sea-monster (*timiṅgala*) of passionate longing for him. From this they need to be saved.

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138 We do not count our own sorrow,
[but] seeing the face of Vrajeśvarī,
breaks the hearts of the people of Vraja.
You neither kill the women of Vraja,
nor make them live [by] coming to Vraja;
why do you keep us alive to bear this sorrow?

139 That you are in other dress,
or in another country, with other friends,
could never be borne by the people of Vraja.
They cannot leave the earth of Vraja,
and if they do not see you they die.
What other way is there for the people of Vraja?

140 You are the life of Vraja,
you are the wealth of the heart of Vraja,
you are all the wealth of Vraja.
Your heart is tender and merciful,
come and save your people of Vraja;
put your feet on the way to Vraja."

141 Hearing these words of Rādhikā
there came to his heart love for Vraja,
and his heart brimmed with emotion.
Hearing of the *prema* of the people of Vraja,
he acknowledged his own debt,
and consoled her and gave her hope.

142 Dear to my heart, hear these true words of mine:
In the memory of all of you
I am dissolved day and night;
nobody knows my sadness. [refrain]

143 "All the women who dwell in Vraja,
and my mother, father, and friends,
all are like my own heart.

138. Vrajeśvarī: Kṛṣṇa's foster-mother Yaśodā.

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Among these the *gopīs*
are my very life;
and you are the life of that life.

144 The *prema-rasa* of all of you
has conquered me,
and I am only your servant.
Making me abandon you,
and taking me to a far land
and keeping me there is a powerful and adverse fate.

145 A beloved without her lover,
a lover without his beloved,
cannot live—this truth is proven.
When she hears of my condition,
she will also be in that condition,
and in this fear both continue to live.

146 Such is the pure woman who truly loves,
and such is the lover of her who truly loves;
those who long in separation are in a condition of pure love.
They do not count their own sorrows,
but long for the happiness of the beloved;
the two will be united soon.

147 To preserve your lives
I pray to Nārāyaṇa;
It is by his power that I always come.
And having played with you,
I go each day to Yadupurī;
but you consider it an apparition of me.

148 By my good fortune, for me
your *prema* is such;
that *prema* is very strong.
It brings me secretly to you,
it causes me to be with you,
and soon will bring me openly.

145. One cannot live without the other; but both think, "If I die, the other will hear of it, and will want also to die." So because of the fear of paining the other, each continues to live.

147. Kṛṣṇa says that he really comes each day to be with the *gopīs*, and each day departs; but the *gopīs* consider it only a dream. It is the *prema* of Rādhā which brings him there.

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149 Enemies of the Yādavas,
evil associates of Kaṃsa,
I have destroyed them all.
There are a few more,
and having killed them, to Vṛndāvana
I shall return; know that for certain.

150 From those enemies
to preserve the people of Vraja,
I remain, indifferent to my kingdom.
Wife and sons and wealth—
I keep this external screen
to make the Yadus happy.

151 By the qualities of your *prema*
I am drawn,
and within a few days it will bring me here.
When again I come to Vṛndāvana,
with you and the dear ones of Vraja
I shall sport day and night."

152 So to her spoke Kṛṣṇa,
thirsting to go to Vraja,
and he recited a *śloka* to her.
Hearing this *śloka* Rādhā,
all doubts dispelled,
was confident of gaining Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 8. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.82.44:
Bhakti alone to me leads to immortality for all beings. It is most fortunate that love toward me has been born in you, gaining myself.

153 Sitting in his room with Svarūpa, Prabhu used to taste all these meanings day and night. 154 And at the time of the dance, engrossed in this *bhāva*, reciting a *śloka*, he would dance while gazing at the feet of Jagannātha. 155 The good fortune of Svarūpa Gosvāmī cannot be described, for his mind and speech

150. The role of Kṛṣṇa as great king, as destroyer of enemies and protector of the Yādava people, is not the one which satisfies him. He longs always for the love of Rādhā and the *gopīs* in Vraja, and it is ultimately for their benefit that he carries on this royal role.

Śloka 8. See 1.4.*śl.*3; 2.8.*śl.*20.

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and body were absorbed in Prabhu. 156 The senses of Prabhu were [identical] with the senses of Svarūpa, and in this absorption he tasted the songs. 157 Controlled by *bhāva*, Prabhu sometimes sat upon the ground, and with his forefinger he wrote on the ground, his face cast down. 158 'His finger will be cut'—thinking this Dāmodara in fear held Prabhu's hand with his own. 159 The songs of Svarūpa were matched to the *bhāva* of Prabhu; whatever *rasa* arose, he gave it form. 160 Seeing the holy lotus face of Śrī Jagannātha, and in it his two beautiful eyes, 161 the face glittering in the rays of the sun, his garlands and clothing and ornaments pure and fragrant, 162 there rose up in the heart of Prabhu a sea of joy, and there rose up at that same time a windstorm of madness. 163 In the madness of joy there rose up waves of *bhāva*; an army of many *bhāvas* swelled the battlefield. 164 The surging up of *bhāvas* and the calming down of *bhāvas; sandhi, śāvalya, sañcārī, sāttvika, sthāyī*—there was a surging up of all of these. 165 The body of Prabhu was like a mountain of pure gold; it was like a tree of the flowers of *bhāva*, on which all the flowers were in bloom. 166 Seeing this, the hearts and minds of the people were attracted, and with a rain of the nectar of *prema*, Prabhu nourished all of them. 167 Servants of Jagannātha, and ministers of the king, and pilgrims, and those who lived in Nīlācala 168 were astonished when they witnessed the *prema* of the dance of Prabhu. And Kṛṣṇa-*prema* arose in the hearts of all of them. 169 In *prema* the people sang and danced and raised an uproar, and all were sunk in bliss when they saw the dance of Prabhu. 170 Why speak of others—Jagannātha and Haladhara, when they saw the dance of Prabhu, moved slowly forward in delight. 171 And sometimes in delight, they stopped the cars, to see the beauty of the dance; those who saw this delightful thing are witnesses to it.

172 In this way Prabhu went on dancing, and suddenly began to fall before Pratāparudra. 173 With reverence Pratāparudra caught Prabhu. When Prabhu

156. Indriya: the senses, i.e., sight, touch, and the rest. Svarūpa felt exactly the same sensations that Caitanya felt, and thus could understand and appreciate the *bhāvas* in which Caitanya found himself.

159. Being able to understand and appreciate Caitanya's *bhāvas*, Svarūpa knew what songs to sing at what time, to please and soothe Caitanya.

162. Unmāda-jhañjhāvāyu: "windstorm of madness."

164. Bhāvaśānti: calming down; Rūpa's *BhRS* [*dakṣina-vibhāga, sthāyibhāva-laharī*] 2.5.1-2. For *sañcārī-bhāva*, see 2.8.135 commentary; for *sāttvika-bhāva*, see 2.2.62 commentary; for *sandhi śāvalya*, see 2.2.64 commentary. *Sthāyī-bhāva* is that "permanent" condition in which all the *bhāvas* which are opposed are brought under control and those which are not opposed are enhanced: as ruling is to the condition of kingship. Also see commentary to v. 79 above.

173. Bāhyajñāna: external consciousness.

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saw him he regained his external consciousness. 174 When he saw the king Mahāprabhu reproached him, "Alas, one concerned with worldly things has touched me." 175 Nityānanda, overcome, was not paying heed, and Kāśīśvara and Govinda were in another place. 176 When he saw the king doing the work of lower people, he was delighted and wanted to meet him. 177 But to caution his own people, Bhagavān displayed externally a semblance of anger. 178 At the words of Prabhu fear arose in the heart of the king. Sārvabhauma said, "Do not be uncertain. 179 For Prabhu is pleased with you in his heart. He is teaching his own people, using you as an example. 180 When the opportunity arises I shall intercede with him. Go and meet him at that time."

181 Then Mahāprabhu circumambulated the car, and from behind he put his head against it. 182 And when he put his head against it that car moved creaking. From the people all around the sound "Hari, Hari!" arose. 183 Then Prabhu took his own *bhaktas* and began to dance in joy before Baladeva and Subhadrā. 184 Having danced there they came before Jagannātha, and gazing at Jagannātha began to dance. 185 The car moved and came to Balagaṇḍi, where Jagannātha stopped the car and looked to the right and to the left. 186 On the left there was *vipraśāsana*, the grove of coconut trees, and on the right a garden of flowers like Vṛndāvana. 187 Before him danced Gaura with his *bhaktas*, and keeping the car stopped, Jagannātha watched them. 188 It was a custom that he enjoy food in that place, and there Jagannātha tasted a crore of sweetmeats. 189 As many servants great or small as there were of Jagannātha, each presented his favorite food. 190 The king, and the women of his house, and his ministers and friends, and residents of Nīlācala, great or small, 191 and residents of that country and pilgrims from other lands, each offered his own food. 192 Before and behind and on both sides, in the grove and flower-garden, those who were there made offerings, in no special order. 193 At the time of the feeding there was a great crowd of people. Leaving his dancing, Mahāprabhu went into the grove. 194 Under the control of *prema*, Prabhu went to the grove, and in the garden of flowers, in the yard of the house, he fell to the ground. 195 He was exhausted from his dancing, and his body was sweating heavily, and the cool, scented wind refreshed him. 196 Many *bhaktas* and *kīrtanīyās* came to the garden and rested, at the foot of each of the trees.

197 In this way the great *saṃkīrtana* of Prabhu has been described, and how there was dancing before Jagannātha. 198 The description of the dance of Mahāprabhu before the car is also in the "*Caitanyāṣṭaka*" of Rūpa Gosvāmin.

192. I.e., in no order of caste ranking or social status.

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Śloka 9. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Stavamālā, caitanyāṣṭaka* 1.7:
Shall I see that Caitanya again, surrounded by all the singing Vaiṣṇavas, dancing transported in waves of *prema*, on the path in front of the Lord of Nīlācala in his car?

199 Whoever hears this gains Gauracandra; he gains *prema-bhakti*, with profound faith.

200 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

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Madhya Līlā
Chapter 14

Śloka 1.
That Gaura, watching with his own people the Śrī Lakṣmī-*vijaya* festival, and listening to the happiness of the *gopī-rasa*, overjoyed with *prema*, danced.

1 Glory, glory to Gauracandra Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, glory, glory to Nityānanda, and glory to the great Advaita. 2 Glory, glory to Śrīvāsa and the other Gaura-*bhaktas*, and glory to those who listen, the wealth of whose hearts is Gaura.

3 In this way Prabhu was overcome with love; at that time Pratāparudra entered. 4 At the suggestion of Sārvabhauma he had put aside his royal dress; he came alone to that place in the dress of a Vaiṣṇava. 5 With palms together he asked leave of all the *bhaktas*, and boldly fell and held the feet of Prabhu. 6 With his eyes closed, Prabhu lay on the earth in *prema*; the king quickly clasped his feet. 7 He praised him, reciting a *śloka* of the *rāsa-līlā*, and reciting the section which begins "*jayati te'dhikaṃ*." 8 When he heard this, the delight of Prabhu was boundless, and in a loud voice he said "speak, speak" again and again. 9 The king then recited the "*tava kathāmṛtam*" *śloka*, and Prabhu raised him up and embraced him, overcome with *prema*. 10 "You have given me a priceless jewel; I have nothing to give but an embrace." 11 So saying, he repeated the *śloka* again and again, and the limbs of them both trembled, and their eyes filled with tears.

3. While the car was waiting at Balagaṇḍi, Caitanya and his followers entered a nearby garden to rest. It was to that garden that the king came. *Āveśa*: overcome, possessed.

7. BhP 10.31.19, the *śloka* which describes that section of the *rāsa-līlā* when Kṛṣṇa had disappeared from the *gopīs* and they, searching for him, find him again on the banks of the Yamunā.

9. Śloka 2, below.

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Śloka 2. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.31.9:

Those are the givers of great wealth, who celebrate the glorious nectar of your story, pervading everything, a blessing to the ears, destroying evil, giving life to the afflicted, and celebrated by poets.

12 Saying "*bhūridā bhūridā*," he embraced him; but he did not wonder who he was. 13 He had seen his service before, and so gave his mercy to him; without inquiring, he gave the blessing of his mercy. 14 For see: the grace of Caitanya is very powerful. Without inquiring of him, he made him fulfilled. 15 Then Prabhu said, "Who are you, who did such good to me? You suddenly came and gave me the nectar of Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* to drink." 16 The king said, "I am a servant of your servant. Make me a slave of your slave—this is my hope." 17 Then Mahāprabhu showed to him his glory, and forbade him to speak of it to anyone. 18 Prabhu knew that he was the king, but did not reveal it. In his heart he knew everything, though externally he feigned indifference. 19 The *bhaktas* saw the good fortune of Pratāparudra, and all praised the king, with gladdened hearts. 20 Bowing, the king went outside, having paid his respect to the *bhaktas* with palms pressed together.

21 Prabhu with his *bhaktas* performed the midday rituals, and Vāṇīnātha came, bringing *prasāda*. 22 The king had sent great quantities of *prasāda* through Sārvabhauma, Rāmānanda, and Vāṇīnātha. 23 The *prasāda* of the food-offerings in Balagaṇḍi was of finest quality and endless; and *niskaḍi prasāda* came, and there was no end of it. 24 There were curds and sherbet, *peḍa*, mangoes, coconuts and jackfruit, many kinds of bananas, and palm-seeds; 25 and sweet limes, tangerines, lemons, oranges, and *bījapūra* fruits, and nuts and dried dates,

12. Bhūridā: "givers of great wealth."

13. I.e., the humility of the king in sweeping the path before the image.

17. Aiśvarya: glory, divine sovereignty. Murāri Gupta's account (*KCC* 4.16.13-15) differs somewhat; he has the revelation made only after the king has had three dreams, after which he goes to Caitanya and sees his six-armed divine form, in two arms of which are bow and arrows, in two others the flute, and the other two holding a dancing posture. Murāri also does not say that the revelation took place in the garden. Kavikarṇapūra's *CCN* 8.70-72 perfectly concurs with this account by Kṛṣṇadāsa. [It is not insignificant that Caitanya chooses to reveal his *aiśvarya* or sovereign divinity rather than his *mādhurya* or loving sweetness to the king. Divine revelation adapts itself to the individual's personal needs, so sovereign majesty is most appropriate. All prior and subsequent passages regarding Caitanya's displays to the king always use the term *aiśvarya*. TKS]

23. Niskaḍi: fruits, etc.—food which does not include dal, rice, bread, and vegetables; many of these are listed below. They are identified where possible.

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grapes, and bunches of preserved dates, 26 and sugarplum sweets and the rest—[sweets of] a hundred kinds, *amṛtaguṭikā* and other [sweets], of unequalled sweetness. 27 There was *amṛtamaṇḍā*, *chānā-baḍā*, and *karpūrakuli*, *sarāmṛta*, *sarabhājā*, and *sarapuli*, 28 *harivallabha*, *sevatī*, *karpūra*, and *mālatī*, *ḍālimā*, *maricālāḍu*, *nabāta*, and *amṛti*, 29 *padmacini*, *candrakānti*, *khājā*, and *khaṇḍa-sāra*, *biyaḍī*, *kadamā*, and *tilā*—these varieties of *khājā*. 30 There was raw sugar molded as leaved trees with flowers and fruits—orange and sweet lime and mango tree shapes. 31 There was milk and curd and *dadhitakra*, and *rasālā* and *śikharinī*, *salabaṇa-mudgāṅkura*, ginger of various kinds, 32 *nebukoli* and various other preparations of the kind—I cannot describe how many kinds of *prasāda* there were. 33 Half the grove was filled with *prasāda*, and when he saw it the heart of Mahāprabhu was gladdened. 34 'Jagannātha eats in this way'—by the happiness of this the eyes of Mahāprabhu were refreshed. 35 Several *donās* of *keyā* leaves were brought, and ten *donās* were given to each person, and one [large] leaf. 36 Gaura Rāya knew the fatigue of the *kīrtanīyās*, and his mind ran to feeding them all. 37 He seated all the *bhaktas* in rows, and he himself began to serve them. 38 But if Prabhu did not eat, no one would eat, so Svarūpa Gosvāmī entreated him, 39 "Seat yourself, Prabhu. Eat. If you do not eat, no one can eat." 40 So Mahāprabhu sat with his people, and caused them all to eat until they were full to the throat. 41 When he had eaten, Prabhu rinsed his mouth. There was *prasāda* remaining, and a thousand people ate. 42 At the order of Prabhu, Govinda brought poor people and fed them. 43 And seeing the delight of the poor people with the food, Gaurahari commanded them to say 'Hari *bol*.' 44 Saying 'Hari, Hari,' the poor people floated in *prema*; such was the wonderful *līlā* of Gaura Rāya.

45 Now was the time for the moving of the car of Jagannātha. All the people from Gauḍa pulled it, but it did not move forward. 46 Not being able to draw it, all the people from Gauḍa abandoned it. And the king with his ministers and friends came there eagerly. 47 He himself, with great wrestlers, tried to move the car, but they could not pull it. 48 The anxious king then brought rut elephants, and attached them to the car to move it. 49 The rut elephants pulled

26-29. These various kinds of sweets do not seem to have any equivalents in English.

31. Rasālā: milk thickened with the addition of sugar, camphor, and other substances. *Salabaṇa-mudgāṅkura*: the shoots of a particular pulse, with citrus added.

35. A *donā* is a kind of cylinder made out of leaves, in which food is put to be carried; ten of these *donās* were given to each person, and one large leaf from which to eat.

45. Jagannātha had been resting at Balagaṇḍi; the time had come to move him forward to the Guṇḍicā.

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with all their strength—the car did not budge one foot; it remained motionless. 50 Hearing of this, Mahāprabhu came with his own people, and saw the rut elephants pulling the car being beaten. 51 The elephants were screaming at the goads in their bodies, but the car did not move, and the people were astonished. 52 Then Mahāprabhu ordered all the elephants to be freed, and with his own people he began to pull on the rope by which the car was drawn. 53 He himself got behind the car and put his head against it, and the car began to move creaking forward. 54 The *bhaktas*, with their hands on the rope, merely ran forward; he himself made the car move, they did not draw it. 55 In great delight the people made the "*jaya jaya*" sound; "*Jaya* Jagannātha" filled the air, and nothing else could be heard. 56 In an instant the car moved to the gate of the Guṇḍicā; seeing the power of Caitanya the people were amazed. 57 "*Jaya* Gauracandra, *Jaya* Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya"—the people raised a great tumult. 58 Seeing this, was Pratāparudra with his ministers and friends; witnessing the greatness of Prabhu, *prema* blossomed forth in their bodies.

59 Then all the people performed the *paṇḍū-vijaya*, and Jagannātha came and sat on this own throne. 60 Subhadrā and Baladeva came to their thrones, and Jagannātha bathed and began to eat. 61 Mahāprabhu with his followers [came] into the courtyard, and in joy Prabhu began the dancing and the *kīrtana*. 62 The *prema* of Mahāprabhu began to swell in joy, and seeing it all the people floated in an ocean of *prema*. 63 After dancing, in the evening they watched the *ārati*, and Prahbu came to the Āiṭoṭā [garden] to rest.

64 Advaita and other *bhaktas* gave him invitations; nine of them won his presence for nine days. 65 The rest of the *bhaktas* for the four months of the monsoon apportioned out the time one day each. 66 The chief *bhaktas* divided up all the days of the four months, and the rest of the *bhaktas* got no opportunity. 67 On one day two or three together would give him an invitation, and in this way went the invitation-play of Mahāprabhu. 68 In the morning, having bathed, he would go to see Jagannātha, and with his *bhaktas* he would perform *saṃkīrtana* and dance. 69 Sometimes Advaita, sometimes Nityānanda, sometimes Haridāsa danced, and sometimes Acyutānanda. 70 Sometimes Vakreśvara, sometimes other *bhaktas*, and in the evening they had *kīrtana* in the courtyard of the Guṇḍicā.

59. They moved Jagannātha from the car into the Guṇḍicā temple; see 2.13.4.
63. *Ārati*: waving of lights in front of the image.

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71 Prabhu realized that "Kṛṣṇa has come to Vṛndāvana"; and the manifestation of his *viraha* from Kṛṣṇa was dispelled. 72 His Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* with Rādhā was in his consciousness, and Prabhu was himself immersed in the *rasa* of this. 73 And with his *bhaktas* in various gardens, in his Vṛndāvana-*līlā*, in the lotus ponds of the Indrayumna he played in the water. 74 He splashed water at all the *bhaktas*, and the *bhaktas* spashed water all around. 75 Sometimes in one group and sometimes in many, they all played clapping their hands and slapping them flat on the water. 76 In twos they began a water-battle, and Prabhu watched [to see] who won and who lost. 77 Advaita and Nityānanda threw water at each other, and the Ācārya, being beaten, then abused [him]. 78 Vidyānidhi had a water-fight with Svarūpa, and the pair, Gupta and Datta, had a water-battle. 79 Gadādhara played in the water with Śrīvāsa, and Rāghava Paṇḍita with Vakreśvara. 80 Rāmānanda Rāya played with Sārvabhauma—the dignity and solemnity of both disappeared, and they became like children. 81 Mahāprabhu, seeing the giddiness of both of them, laughing a little said to Gopīnāthācārya, 82 "Both of them are proved in wisdom and gravity, yet they are acting as silly as children; tell them to give it up." 83 Gopīnātha said, "Your mercy is a great sea; when you make it swell up, one drop of it 84 drowns the mountains of Meru and Mandara. They become as tiny foothills, what more is there to say of them? 85 Those whose lives have been passed with the dry fodder of philosophical argument, you have caused to drink the nectar of *līlā*, this is your mercy." 86 Smiling then Mahāprabhu summoned Advaita, and made him lie down on the water, as the couch Śeṣa. 87 And he laid himself upon him; Prabhu manifested the *līlā* of the reclining on Śeṣa. 88 And Śrī Advaita, manifesting his own power, floated away on the water with Mahāprabhu. 89 In this way they played in the water for some time, and came back to Āiṭoṭa, Prabhu with his *bhaktas*.

71. The Guṇḍicā temple, with its gardens, seemed to Caitanya like Vṛndāvana; the coming of Jagannātha to that place seemed to him like the coming of Kṛṣṇa from Mathurā to the gardens of Vṛndāvana.

73. Kṛṣṇadāsa expresses his own view of the identity of the Vṛndāvana and the Puri-*līlās*: one is never entirely sure whether Caitanya is Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana or himself in Puri. He is, of course, both at once. The water-play with his *bhaktas* is the water-play of the *gopīs* in Vṛndāvana.

75. "Play" here is "to make sound," as a musical instrument. *Jala-maṇḍuka-bādya* is making noise by the slapping of the hands on the surface of the water.

86-87. Śeṣa, the great serpent, formed the couch for Nārāyaṇa as he lay upon the cosmic waters. [This is one of the few places Kṛṣṇadāsa is inconsistent in portraying individuals in a theological light, for Nityānanda as Ananta Śeṣa would routinely be cast in this role. TKS]

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90 Purī and Bhāratī and others of the chief *bhaktas*, went to eat at the invitation of the Ācārya. 91 As much *prasāda* as Vāṇīnātha brought, these followers of Mahāprabhu ate. 92 They came in the afternoon and had *darśana* and danced, and in the evening came again to the garden to rest. 93 The next day they came and had *darśana* of Īśvara, and danced and sang for some time in the courtyard. 94 Prabhu came to the garden with his *bhaktas*, and with his *bhaktas* enacted the play of Vṛndāvana. 95 At the *darśana* of Prabhu the trees and creepers blossomed, the bees and the cuckoos sang, and the cool breeze blew. 96 Prabhu danced at the foot of each tree; Vāsudeva Datta alone was singing. 97 At the foot of each tree a single person sang, and in extreme absorption, Gaura Rāya alone danced. 98 Then Prabhu told Vakreśvara to dance, and Vakreśvara danced, while Prabhu began to sing. 99 With Prabhu, Svarūpa and the rest of the *kīrtanīyās* sang, and in the flood of *prema* they were not conscious of this direction or that. 100 In this way they manifested the forest-*līlā* for some time, and went to play in the water of the Narendra lotus-pond. 101 Having played in the water, they again came to the garden, and he enacted the great feast then with his *bhaktas*. 102 Jagannātha remained in the Guṇḍicā for nine days, and Mahāprabhu manifested *līlā* there with his *bhaktas*. 103 There was a great flower-garden called "Jagannātha-vallabha," and Prabhu rested there for nine days.

104 Realizing that the *horā-pañcamī* day had come, the king said carefully to Kāśī Miśra, 105 "Tomorrow is *horā-pañcamī*. It is the emergence of Śrī Lakṣmī. Prepare a festival such as has never been before. 106 Prepare a great festival with such special things that seeing them Mahāprabhu will be astonished. 107 In the storehouse of the Ṭhākura, and in my storehouse, are colored garments, umbrellas, waist-bells, and fly-whisks. 108 Prepare flags and banners, bells and mirrors, and swings; bring various instruments and prepare also for the dance. 109 Double all the offerings; let it be more wonderful than the Car Festival itself. 110 Let it be done so, that Prabhu, having come of his own will with his followers, may see it."

101. Presumably they ate again.

103. "Beloved of Jagannātha": this seems to be another name for the garden previously called Āiṭoṭa.

104. *Horā-pañcamī*: on the fifth (*pañcamī*) day of the Car Festival (*ratha-yātra*), the servants of Lakṣmī come out (*horā*) and go through the interesting rituals about to be described.

105. *Vijaya*: the coming outside of the goddess Lakṣmī.

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111 In the morning Mahāprabhu with his own followers went to Sundarācala to have *darśana* of Jagannātha. 112 Again with his *bhaktas* he came to Nīlācala, anxious to see the delights of *horā-pañcamī*. 113 Kāśī Miśra took great care of Prabhu; he took and seated him, with his followers, in a good place. 114 Prabhu wanted to hear a special *rasa*; smiling a little he asked Svarūpa, 115 "Although Jagannātha has *līlā* at Dvārakā, and naturally manifests his highest generosity, 116 still, once in the middle of each year he is undeniably anxious to see Vṛndāvana. 117 These groves are like Vṛndāvana, and he is very anxious to see them. 118 So, under the pretext of the Car Festival Prabhu comes outside, and, leaving Nīlācala, goes to Sundarācala. 119 In the various gardens of flowers he plays there day and night; why does he not take Lakṣmīdevī with him?" 120 Svarūpa said, "Hear, Prabhu, the cause of this. Lakṣmī has no right to the Vṛndāvana-play. 121 The *gopīs* are the companions of the Vṛndāvana-play; except for the *gopīs* there are none to steal the mind of Kṛṣṇa." 122 Prabhu said, "Kṛṣṇa goes forth under the pretext of the journey and Subhadrā and Baladeva, these two, are with him. 123 He has many *līlās* with the *gopīs* in the groves; no one knows the profound *bhāva* of Kṛṣṇa. 124 Though no fault at all attaches to Kṛṣṇa, why does Lakṣmīdevī exhibit such anger?" 125 Svarūpa replied, "This is the nature of those who have *prema*. The *bhāva* of anger arises because of the indifference of a beloved one." 126 At the same time, having mounted the four swings of gold, with many jewels, 127 with umbrellas and fly whisks and flags and banners, and many instruments and *devadāsīs* dancing before, 128 and with boxes of *tāmbūla* and watering jars and waving fly whisks in their hands, and hundreds of *dāsīs*, wearing heavenly clothes and ornaments, 129 this great retinue [went forth] with unworldly majesty, and, angry, Lakṣmīdevī came to the lion-gate. 130 The *dāsīs* of Lakṣmī bound all the chief servants of Jagannātha who were there. 131 And having bound them they brought them and threw them at the feet of Lakṣmī. And they beat them as if they had caught so many thieves. 132 They thrashed the senseless car also, and abused it in various ways with insulting words.

111. Sundarācala: the name of a pavilion within the Guṇḍicā temple compound.

114. I.e., he wanted to hear the interpretation of the *horā-pañcamī* from the point of view of his Rādhā-*bhāva*, he wanted to taste the *rasa* of Vraja, and not that of the worshipers of Lakṣmī.

118. Caitanya is comparing the yearly visit of Jagannātha to the Guṇḍicā temple with the coming of Kṛṣṇa from his kingly throne at Dvārakā to visit Vṛndāvana.

130. Whether these were *devadāsīs*, temple dancers, or whether they were all kinds of attendants of Lakṣmī, is not clear.

130-132. The sequence of events is not at all clear here. The lion-gate in which the goddess and her followers appeared is at the temple of Jagannātha in Puri. Did they follow the car to

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133 Seeing this impertinence of the *dāsīs* who were the companions of Lakṣmī, Prabhu with his followers began to laugh. 134 Dāmodara said, "Such is the manifestation of the heart; never in the three worlds have such things been seen or heard. 135 In her discouragement the woman in *māna* throws off her ornaments, and sitting on the ground in soiled clothes she writes [in the dust] with her nails. 136 We hear of this kind of *māna* of Satyabhāmā in former times, and the *māna* of the *gopīs* in Vraja, which was the storehouse of *rasa*. 137 So this one manifests herself in all her grandeur, and having prepared her army goes against her beloved one." 138 Prabhu said, "Tell me of the manifestation of the *māna* in Vraja." Svarūpa said, "The river of the *māna* of the *gopīs* has a hundred streams. 139 And the natural *prema* of the *nāyikā* is also of many kinds. And each of those kinds has many manifestations of *māna*. 140 The *māna* of the *gopīs* cannot be fully described, so let me describe one or two of the varieties. 141 In *māna* some are patient and some impatient, and some are both patient and impatient—there are these three kinds. 142 The patient woman rises up to greet her beloved when she sees him at a distance, and when he comes near she offers him a seat. 143 With anger in her heart, with her mouth she speaks sweet words; in the embrace of her lover, she embraces him. 144 In a simple way she nourishes the *māna*, or with ironic words she rejects her lover. 145 The impatient woman rebukes him with harsh words, and strikes him with her lotus earrings, and ties him up with a necklace. 146 The one who is both patient and impatient ridicules her lover with crooked words, sometimes prais-

Sundarācala, and carry these activities out there, or did this take place after the return to Puri? The text seems to imply that it was after the return to Puri (see above, v. 112); but the festival takes place on the *pañcamī* day. In modern times, Rādhāgovinda Nātha says, it is the custom for the followers of Lakṣmī to follow the car and while it is at Sundarācala to abuse it as described here.

136. "In former times": in the Dvāpara age, in the Dvārakā-*līlā*. In the *Harivaṃśa* this is the story told of the *māna* of Satyabhāmā: One time Nārada brought back a flower from heaven and gave it to Kṛṣṇa in Dvāraka. Kṛṣṇa gave it to Rukmiṇī. Satyabhāmā was deeply attached to Kṛṣṇa, and when he gave the flower to Rukmiṇī she became furiously jealous. She became sunk in *māna*. Kṛṣṇa was also fond of Satyabhāmā, and entered her house with great trepidation. This kind of *māna*, of which an ingredient is an anger which arouses fear, was also characteristic of Lakṣmī. Rādhāgovinda Nātha comments on the difference between this and the *māna* felt by Rādhā: when Kṛṣṇa went to be with Candrāvalī, Rādhā also felt *māna*, anger and irritation born from love. But in her case it was not selfish; she knew that Candrāvalī did not know Kṛṣṇa's desires, and that Candrāvalī would act for her own satisfaction and not that of Kṛṣṇa. She was therefore sorrowful that Kṛṣṇa had not come to her, not out of jealousy for Candrāvalī, but because Kṛṣṇa would not be entirely happy.

141. Dhīrā and *adhīrā*: patient and impatient.

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ing him, sometimes abusing him, and sometimes being indifferent. 147 There are three kinds of *nāyikā*: *mugdhā*, *madhyā*, and *pragalbhā*. The *mugdhā* does not know the varieties of intensity of *māna*. 148 Covering her face, she only weeps, and is defeated by the humble words of her lover. 149 The *mugdhā* and *pragalbhā* are divided into patient, etc., and in each there are three natural divisions. 150 Some are *prakharā*, some are *mṛdu*, and some are *samā*. Each according to her nature expands to the limits the *rasa* of Kṛṣṇa. 151 Keen, gentle, and balanced are their stainless natures, and each according to her own nature gives Kṛṣṇa pleasure."

152 Hearing these things, Prabhu's joy was boundless, and he said again and again, "Speak on, Dāmodara." 153 Dāmodara continued, "Kṛṣṇa is the highest of *rasikas*; he is the taster of *rasa*, and his body is full of *rasa*. 154 Kṛṣṇa, his body full of *prema*, is subject to the *prema* of his *bhaktas*, and the *gopikās* are preeminent in the qualities of pure *prema-rasa*. 155 In the *prema* of the *gopikās* there is no fault or want of *rasa*, and thus it gives highest satisfaction to Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 3. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.33.25:

He who is Satyakāma, to whom women are devoted, who keeps confined in his own heart love play, thus enjoyed all his nights illumined by the rays of the moon and in the *rasa* of the poetry of autumn.

156 '*Vāmā*' is one class of *gopī*, and '*dakṣiṇā*' is another, and in various ways they cause Kṛṣṇa to taste *rasa*. 157 Among the *gopīs*, the best is Rādhā Ṭhākurāṇī,

147. Mugdhā: Rūpa's *UNM* [*nāyikābheda-prakaraṇa*] 5.13: she is of new youth, possessing some passion, devious in the ways of love, subservient to her friends, modest in things having to do with passionate love, casting shamed glances at her beloved who has offended her, weak in words of both love and unlove, and always with her face averted in matters of *māna*.

Madhyā: ibid., 5.27: she whose passion and modesty are equal, who is of new youth, a little bold in speech, able to experience passion up to the stage of *moha* or infatuation, and who is in *māna* sometimes tender and sometimes harsh.

Pragalbhā: ibid., 5.43: who has the full bloom of youth, is blinded by passion, is desirous of infinite enjoyment, is skillful in the arousing of violent passion, is able to control her lover by the *rasa* which she makes him taste, whose words and deeds are expert, and who is very harsh in *māna*.

150. Prakharā: one who is proud and vain in speech, and whose opinions cannot be refuted; *mṛdu*: "gentle, sweet"; *samā*: "evenness."

156. Rūpa's *UNM* [*sakhī-prakaraṇa*] 8.32: *Vāmā*: lit., "left"; one who is easy to take offence and quick to take on *māna*, who is wrathful and slow to relax her *māna*, whose *māna* the *nāyaka* is unsuccessful in propitiating, and who seems cruel toward the *nāyaka*. The *vāmā-nāyikā* has possessive love for Kṛṣṇa; in her other qualities she is excessively sweet and gentle. Ibid., 8.38: *dakṣiṇā*: lit., "right"; she who never quite succeeds in fully taking on *māna*, who uses appropriate words to the *nāyaka* and is quick to praise him. Rather than "he is mine," she thinks "I am his."

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who is a mine of the jewels of *prema* and pure bright *rasa*. 158 She is youthful in age, and *samā* by nature, and in the deep *bhāva* of her *prema* she is eternally '*vāmā*.' 159 Because of her *vāmā* nature, *māna* is always arising; and because of her *vāmā*-ness, a sea of joy rises up in Kṛṣṇa."

Śloka 4. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* [*śṛṅgārabheda-prakaraṇa*] 15.102:
Like a snake are the ways of love, by nature crooked; thus *māna* is produced both with and without reason, in young men and women.

160 When he heard this, a sea of *ānanda* swelled up in Prabhu; he said, "Speak on, speak on," and Dāmodara continued, 161 "The *prema* of Rādhā is *adhiruḍha-mahābhāva*; it is pure and stainless, like gold melted in ten fires. 162 If she suddenly gains the sight of Kṛṣṇa, she becomes embellished with the ornaments of many *bhāvas*. 163 The eight *sāttvika* [*bhāvas*], and *harṣa* and the other *vyabhicārī* [*bhāvas*]: natural *prema* has twenty *bhāvas* as ornaments. 164 There are *kilakiñcita*, *kuṭṭamita*, *vilāsa*, *lalita*, *vibboka*, *moṭṭāyita*, *mugdha*, and *cakita*. 165 The limbs of Rādhā are ornamented with these *bhāva*-ornaments, and when he sees them a wave of delight rises up in Kṛṣṇa.

166 Now hear a description of the *kilakiñcita-bhāva* ornament; for Rādhā, dressed in this ornament, steals the heart of Kṛṣṇa. 167 When seeing Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa wants to touch her: When he blocks her path at the toll station; 168 when coming, he forbids her to pick the flowers; and when in front of her companions he wants to put his hand on her body. 169 In all these situations the *kilakiñcita* arises, and from the very first the *sañcārī-bhāva* called *harṣa* is its basic cause.

158. Madhyamā: youthful, neither childish nor entirely adult. *Samā*: having a balance of *prakharā* and *mṛdu* (see v. 150 above).

Śloka 4. See 2.8.*śl*.28.

161. See commentary on 1.4.139, and on 2.23.37.

163. Sāttvika-bhāvas: tears, trembling, etc.; see commentary on 2.2.62. *Vyabhicārī-bhāvas*: the thirty-three *sañcārī-bhāvas*: see commentary on 2.8.135. The twenty ornaments as *bhāvas*: commentary on 2.8.136. See also 2.19.154-55; and 2.23.31-32.

164. The first six of these are among the ten *bhāvas* which are natural; 2.8.136. Rūpa's *UNM* [*anubhāva-prakaraṇa*] 11.65 describes *mugdha* as asking the beloved about things which are well known; the term means "stupified." The same text describes *cakita* as showing fear before the beloved, when there is no need for showing fear. These are all detailed below in vv. 175-89.

167. Dānaghāṭa: where tolls are collected. The story is that Rādhā was one day taking some *ghi* to Govarddhana in preparation for a sacrifice; when Kṛṣṇa heard of this he and his friends ran and set up a toll station on the road which she was taking, and blocking her way, playfully demanded payment from her.

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Śloka 5. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* [*anubhāva-prakaraṇa*] 11.44:
When, born of delight, pride, desire, tears, smiling, ill-will, fearlessness, and rage, appear all at the same time, this is called *kilakiñcita*.

170 The other seven *bhāvas* come and blend together naturally, and the blending of all eight is *mahābhāva*. 171 Pride, desire, fear, insincere anger, and slight smiling are joined with rage and ill-will; 172 and when the various characteristics of the eight *bhāvas* are joined together, the heart of Kṛṣṇa is satisfied with the taste of it. 173 It is like the sweet *rasālā*, made by blending curd, sugar, *ghi*, honey, pepper, camphor, and cardamom-flavored plum. 174 Seeing the joining of these *bhāvas* in the eyes of Rādhā, he gains a happiness a crore of times greater than union."

Śloka 6. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* [*anubhāva-prakaraṇa*] 11.46 [quoting Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Dānakelikaumudī* 1]:
Stopped by Mādhava on the path, Rādhā glowed with an inward smile, her sprout-like eyelashes glistened with tears in the corners of her eyes, the borders of them red, sprinkled with delight, shrinking a little before him, her eyes like stars looking up softly from beneath their lids; may you be blessed with that sight of her in the *kilakiñcita-bhāva*.

Śloka 7. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Govindalīlāmṛta* 9.18:
Rādhā's eyes, the corners of them the color of dawn, were restless and full of tears, blazing up in *rasa*; her lips were trembling in emotion revealing her feeling, and because of this [*bhāva*] her eyebrows raised archly; she smiled a little; seeing her face thus ornamented with the *kilakiñcita-bhāva*, he gained a delight a crore of times better than union, a delight beyond the power of words to describe.

175 Hearing these things, the heart of Prabhu was delighted, and overcome with happiness he embraced Svarūpa. 176 "Speak now of the signs of the ornaments of the *vilāsa* and other *bhāvas*, by which *bhāvas* Rādhā stole the heart of Govinda." 177 So Svarūpa Gosvāmī began to speak, and listening Prabhu and the *bhaktas* gained much delight. 178 "Rādhā is sitting, or is on her way to Vṛndāvana, when

173. Elāci: a kind of plum with cardamom seeds.
176. Cf. v. 164.

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suddenly she catches sight of Kṛṣṇa. 179 When she sees him, different *bhāvas* arise, and the name of this array of *bhāvas* is the *vilāsa*-ornament.

Śloka 8. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* [*anubhāva-prakaraṇa*] 11.31:
Her gait, her posture, her way of sitting, etc., the movements of her eyes and face, etc., born from association with her beloved—these various things of that time are called *vilāsa*.

180 Modesty, delight, desire, reverence, deviousness, fear—the mingling of so many *bhāvas* makes Rādhā restless.

Śloka 9. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Govindalīlāmṛta* 9.11:
Seeing Kṛṣṇa before her, her gait became faltering and unsteady, and her face, though somewhat covered by her black sari, became distorted, and her star-like eyes widened and dilated and were unsteady; thus possessed of the ornaments of her own *vilāsa*, did she give joy to her beloved.

181 Thus when Rādhā was standing before Kṛṣṇa, his body bent in *tribhaṅga* pose, her eyebrows danced. 182 And in her face and in her eyes arose many *bhāvas*, this *bhāva* of the beloved is called the *lalita*-ornament.

Śloka 10. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* [*anubhāva-prakaraṇa*] 11.56:
When the posture of her body and gestures with her brows are graceful, then she is said to be in the *lalita-bhāva*.

183 When Kṛṣṇa sees Rādhā adorned with *lalita*, each longs for union with the other.

Śloka 11. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Govindalīlāmṛta* 9.14:
Her neck bent in modesty, her graceful feet and hips slightly moving, the arch of her restless brows conquering the beauty of the bow of Kandarpa, nurturing in her body the delightful *lalita-bhāva* of *prema* for her beloved, she, because of her love for her beloved, is decorated with the manifestations of *lalita*.

184 Kṛṣṇa, in desire, comes and seizes her by the bodice over her breast, but Rādhā, although inwardly delighted, prevents him from doing so. 185 Outwardly

182. *Lalita*: languidly graceful.

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there is feigned anger, but inwardly she is delighted; *kuṭṭamita* is the name of this *bhāva*-ornament.

Śloka 12. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* [*anubhāva-prakaraṇa*] 11.49:
Though, when he touches the breasts or lips of his beloved, she is delighted, yet from coquetry, she is outwardly angry as though hurt; she is called *kuṭṭamita* by the wise.

186 She stops his hands, so the desire of Kṛṣṇa is not fulfilled. Inwardly Rādhā is delighted; outwardly she feigns anger. 187 She is as if pained, and obstructs him abruptly; smiling a little she rebukes Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 13.
She whose thighs were like the trunks of elephants, not opposed to the lust of Kṛṣṇa, made the pretense of preventing his hands [from touching her], and with her mouth, though enchanted, she abused him with scoldings filled with a sweet smile.

188 Such are all the other *bhāva*-ornaments with which Rādhā is decorated, and steal the heart of Kṛṣṇa. 189 The *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa is eternal and cannot be described, [even] by Ananta himself, with his thousand mouths."

190 Śrīnivāsa laughing said, "Hear, Dāmodara: see the vast wealth of my Lakṣmī. 191 The wealth of Vṛndāvana is only flowers and sprouts, hills of earth and peacocks and creepers full of fruits. 192 Jagannātha went to see Vṛndāvana, and when she heard of it the heart of Lakṣmī was saddened. 193 Abandoning all this wealth, why did he go to Vṛndāvana? Lakṣmī has manifested her glory to mock him. 194 Look at your Ṭhākura, he has abandoned all this wealth and gone to the house of flowers in purusit of leaves and flowers and fruits. 195 Having done this thing, people [still] call him the 'crest jewel of lovers.' Bring and put your own Prabhu before Lakṣmī." 196 So saying, all the *dāsīs* of Mahālakṣmī tied the followers of Prabhu with their waist-cloths and brought them out. 197 They brought them and made them bow at the feet of Lakṣmī; they took fines of money from them, and humiliated them. 198 They beat the car

190. Svarūpa, in describing the characteristics of the *māna* of Rādhā and the *gopīs*, has faulted the *māna* of Lakṣmī. Śrīvāsa mocks him.

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with sticks, and treated the servants of Jagannātha like thieves. 199 All the servants said, palms pressed together in supplication, "Tomorrow we shall put Jagannātha before you." 200 Then Lakṣmī was satisfied and went to her own house. "The wealth of my Lakṣmī cannot be described in words. 201 Your *gopīs* heat milk and make curd; my Ṭhākurāṇī sits on a jeweled throne." 202 So Śrīvāsa, with his Nārada-nature, joked, and hearing him all the intimate followers of Mahāprabhu laughed.

203 Prabhu said, "Śrīvāsa, you have the nature of Nārada. You like majesty because your Īśvara has glory. 204 Svarūpa Dāmodara here is a pure dweller in Vraja; he knows nothing of pomp, but floats in pure *prema*." 205 Svarūpa said, "Śrīvāsa, listen carefully. You don't consider the [true] wealth of Vṛndāvana. 206 The wealth of Dvārakā or Vaikuṇṭha is not [equal to] one drop of that ocean of wealth which is natural to Vṛndāvana. 207 For Paramapuruṣottama Svayaṃ Bhagavān is that Kṛṣṇa who is the holder of wealth, and Vṛndāvana is his place. 208 The earth there is full of touchstones, it is a place of jewels; and the ornaments for the feet of the female servants are touchstones. 209 Here the forests are naturally filled with wishing trees and creepers, and no one desires any wealth other than fruits and flowers. 210 And there are infinite numbers of wishing-cows wandering from grove to grove, and they give only milk, and no one desires anything else. 211 Here the words of people are naturally like heavenly songs, and their natural gait is as graceful as the dance. 212 Everywhere the water there is like nectar; and there the taste of the glory of *cit* and *ānanda* takes physical form. 213 There are many *lakṣmīs*, conquering in qualities Lakṣmī herself; and there the flute of Kṛṣṇa is friend and lover."

Śloka 14. *Brahma Saṃhitā* 5.56:

Paramapuruṣa is the lover, and the Śrīs are his beloveds; the trees are wishing trees, and the earth is made up of piles of touchstones; the water is nectar, and speech is song; walking is a dance, the flute is the beloved female companion, *cit* and *ānanda* the highest glory—and that is to be tasted.

199. If taken literally, this is a false promise; if Jagannātha is still at Sundarācala, the next day would be the sixth, and he will not return to Puri until the ninth day, so "tomorrow" must be interpreted as "soon."

202. Nārada, the sage, was a bit of a gad-fly, with something of a fondness for stirring up trouble.

203. His Īśvara was Lakṣmī, a goddess full of wealth and power. *Aiśvarya*: majesty.

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Śloka 15. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*dakṣiṇa-vibhāga, vibhāva-laharī*] 2.1.173:

In Vṛndāvana, the foot-ornaments on the limbs of the women are touchstones, the flowers and trees of love are the trees of gods, and the wealth of Vraja is herds of wishing-cows: its wonderful greatness is a sea of delight.

214 When he heard this Śrīnivāsa, overwhelmed with *prema*, danced; he clapped his sides, and roared with laughter. 215 Prabhu, also overcome, listened to the pure *rasa* of Rādhā, and overcome with that *rasa*, he began to dance. 216 Overcome by *rasa*, Prabhu danced, and Svarūpa sang; Prabhu said "*bol, bol!*" and cocked his ear. 217 Listening to the song of Vraja-*rasa*, *prema* rose up; Prabhu flooded the village of Puruṣottama with *prema*.

218 At the proper time, Lakṣmīdevī went to her own house, and Prabhu danced; it was the third watch. 219 The four groups sang until they were tired, and Mahāprabhu became doubly overcome with *prema*. 220 Overcome with the *prema* of Rādhā, Prabhu became her very image, and Nityānanda, seeing this from a distance, sang praise. 221 Nityānanda, knowing that Prabhu was absorbed in *bhāva*, did not come near, but remained at a little distance. 222 Except for Nityānanda, who [could] restrain Prabhu? The absorption was not dispelled, [though] the *kīrtana* did not continue. 223 By a sign, Svarūpa made known the fatigue of everyone; and seeing the fatigue of his *bhaktas*, Prabhu became externally conscious. 224 With all his *bhaktas*, Prabhu went to the flower-garden, and resting there he took his midday bath.

225 Many offerings of the *prasāda* of Jagannātha came, and many kinds of the *prasāda* of Lakṣmī. 226 In great delight he ate with his followers, and having taken his evening bath, he went to have *darśana* of Jagannātha. 227 Seeing Jagannātha, they danced and sang; and at Narendra he played in the water with his *bhaktas*. 228 He went to the garden and feasted in the grove, and in this way Prabhu played for eight days. 229 On the next day was the *bhitara-vijaya*

Śloka 15. [Both Rādhāgovinda Nātha and the Haridāsa Dāsa edition of Rūpa's *BhRS* attribute this verse to Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala's *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta;* for the source, see Wilson, *The Love of Krishna*, 8-9. *TKS*]

216. The formulaic injunction "Speak, speak" [the name of Kṛṣṇa].

217. Village: *grāma.*

220. Āveśa: overcome, possessed; *mūrti*: image.

223. Bāhya: external consciousness.

229. Bhitara-vijaya, victorious re-entry, i.e., when Jagannātha is taken back within (*bhitara*) his own temple in Puri.

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of Jagannātha, so mounting on his car, Jagannātha went to his own house. 230 Before it, Prabhu with his *bhaktas* danced and sang in highest joy. 231 And again there was the *pāṇḍu-vijaya* of Jagannātha, and there the single-strand ropes of silk were torn. 232 The cushions of the *pāṇḍu-vijaya* were burst; under the weight of Jagannātha the cotton burst out and blew away. 233 Rāmānanda and Satyarāja Khān were from Kulīnagrama and Prabhu respectfully commanded them, 234 "You undertake to be suppliers of these silken ropes; prepare and bring the ropes here every year." 235 So saying he gave to them the torn ropes, and showing them [he said], "Make them much heavier [than these]. 236 Śeṣa, who serves Bhagavān in his ten ways, takes up residence in these silken ropes." 237 Satyarāja and Rāmānanda Basu, most fortunate, received this command for service with highest joy. 238 And every year with all the *bhaktas* they came to Guṇḍicā, bringing silken ropes, with greatest pleasure. 239 Then Jagannātha went and sat on his throne, and Mahāprabhu returned to his house with his *bhaktas*. 240 In this way he showed the [Car] Festival to the *bhaktas*, and with his *bhaktas* he played as in Vṛndāvana. 241 The *līlās* of Caitanya Prabhu are infinite and without parallel; one could not describe their limit if one had a thousand mouths.

242 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

231. Pāṇḍu-vijaya, the leading of the image out of or into the temple is described in the previous chapter, 2.13.3-20.

236. I.e., the ropes support Jagannātha as the great serpant Śeṣa supported Nārāyaṇa.

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Madhya Līlā
Chapter 15

Śloka 1.

Gaura ate at the house of Sārvabhauma, and propitiating Amogha, who had abused him, revealed clearly his submission to his own *bhaktas*.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*. 2 And glory to the *bhaktas* who listen to the holy actions of Caitanya, for the wealth of their lives is the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

3 In this way Mahāprabhu with his *bhaktas* remained at Nīlācala, dancing and singing in great delight. 4 At the first opportunity of the day was the *darśana* of Jagannātha, with dancing and song, and obeisance and prostration, and praise. 5 When the *upala* began he went outside; and meeting with Haridāsa, he went to his own house. 6 After coming to his house, he made *nāma-saṃkīrtana* for a time, and Advaita came and performed *pūjā* to Prabhu. 7 With sweet-smelling water he bathed his feet and with scented sandalwood he anointed the body of Prabhu. 8 He put a garland on his neck, and on his head a sprig of *tulasī*, and with palms together he praised him, bowing at this feet. 9 And finally with the objects for *pūjā*—flowers and *tulasī*—Prabhu did *pūjā* to Advaita. 10 Reciting this *mantra*—"Whoever you are I bow to you"—and making noises with his mouth, he laughed at the Ācārya. 11 In this way they made obeisance to one another, and again and again

Śloka 1. [*Vaśya*: submission, control; see 1.4.216; 1.7.138; 1.17.71, *śl.*5; and 2.23.26. TKS]

5. Upala: the morning food-offering to Jagannātha. The word literally means "stone" or "jewel"; the food was offered in a jewel-inlaid vessel.

10. Yohasi sohasi namohastu te. The noise with the mouth was possibly tapping the cheek with the fingers, as worshipers of Śiva do.

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the Ācārya invited Prabhu. 12 The wonderful story of the invitation of the Ācārya has been described in detail by Vṛndāvana Dāsa. 13 So in fear of repetition that has not been described [here]. Other *bhaktas* also invited Prabhu. 14 On different days different *bhaktas* had great festivals in their houses, and all the *bhaktas* ate there with Prabhu. 15 Some cooked food in their own houses, and some brought *prasāda*, and in this way the Vaiṣṇavas invited him. 16 They all remained with Prabhu for four months, and witnessed with great delight various festivals of Jagannātha.

17 In this way, in various pleasant ways, the four month period passed. And Prabhu, dressed as a *gopa*, celebrated the Kṛṣṇa-*janma* Festival. 18 On the day of the Kṛṣṇa-*janma* Festival was the Great Festival of Nanda, and Prabhu and all the *bhaktas* were dressed as *gopas*. 19 They all carried loads of milk and curd on their shoulders, and came to the place of the Great Festival calling out 'Hari, Hari!' 20 Kānāi Khuṭiyā was dressed as Nanda, and Jagannātha Māhitī was Vrajeśvarī. 21 Pratāparudra himself and Kāśī Miśra, and Sārvabhauma and the temple servant Tulasī, 22 with all these, Prabhu danced in delight, and the bodies of all of them were covered with milk and curd and turmeric water. 23 Advaita said, "Let me speak the truth; do not be angry. If you can twirl the staff, then we shall know that you are a *gopa*." 24 Then taking a staff, Prabhu began to twirl it, again and again he threw it into the air and caught it. 25 Above his head, behind his back, in front of him and on both sides, between his legs he twirled the staff, and the people watching laughed. 26 He twirled it like a wheel of fire, and when they saw it the people were astonished. 27 Nityānanda twirled a staff in the same way, that people would know the depth of the *gopa-bhāva* of them both. 28 At the order of Pratāparudra, the temple servant Tulasī

12. CBh 3.10.12-79 [= 3.9 GM ed.]: One day Advaita invited Caitanya to eat. Going home, he himself began to cook the meal, while his wife laid out the utensils and ingredients. In eager anticipation, they were preparing all the things that Caitanya liked best. While he was cooking, Advaita was thinking that Caitanya would probably bring with him all those *saṃnyāsins* who were closest to him, and that if he did that Caitanya would not eat well. He was thinking that it would be good if Caitanya were to come alone. When the time for the midday meal came, Caitanya and the *saṃnyāsins* went to bathe before they ate, and as they were doing so a frightening rain-storm arose, a storm such as no one had ever seen before. In the meantime, Advaita was meditating on Caitanya, and by the power of his meditation Caitanya was drawn to his house. The *saṃnyāsins* who had been with him had scattered in the storm, looking for shelter, and Advaita got his wish and in great delight served Caitanya alone.

17. Kṛṣṇa's birthday, which is celebrated on the eighth day of the dark fortnight of the month Bhadra.

18. The Nandotsava is usually celebrated on the day after the *janmāṣṭami*.

20. Vrajeśvarī: Yaśodā, Kṛṣṇa's foster-mother.

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brought a piece of the *prasāda*-clothing of Jagannātha. 29 He tied this priceless cloth on the head of Prabhu, and put it also on Advaita and the rest of the *bhaktas*. 30 Kānāi Khuṭiyā and Jagannātha, these two, absorbed, distributed as much wealth as there was in the house. 31 And seeing this, Mahāprabhu was most delighted, and he made obeisance to them as to his mother and father. 32 So in the deepest absorption Prabhu came to his own house. In this way did Gaurāṅga-sundara act.

33 The day of the conquest of Laṅkā is *vijayā-daśamī*; Prabhu with his *bhaktas* became the army of apes. 34 Prabhu, in the guise of Hanumān, took a branch of a tree and climbed up on the fort of Laṅkā [as if] to break it down. 35 "Where are you, Rāvaṇa?" Prabhu cried in a rage, "the evil one has stolen away the Mother of the World! I shall kill him with all his kin!" 36 Seeing the absorption of Gosvāmī, the people were astonished. And all the people said again and again, "*Jaya jaya*!"

37 In this way all witnessed the Rāsa Festival, the Dīpāvalī, and the Utthāna-dvādaśī Festival.

38 One day Mahāprabhu was with Nityānanda, the two brothers were sitting together at rest. 39 What the two were speaking of, no one knew; the *bhaktas* guessed it later, [when they saw] the result of it. 40 Then Mahāprabhu had all the *bhaktas* summoned, and he bade them farewell, "All of you go to Gauḍa." 41 Prabhu said to them all, "Return each year and see the Guṇḍicā and meet with me." 42 He gave this order, with respect, to the Ācārya, "Give the gift of Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti* to everyone starting with the *caṇḍālas*." 43 And to Nityānanda he gave this command, "Go to Gauḍa and there manifest *prema-bhakti* plentifully. 44 Rāmadāsa, Gadādhara and others will go with you as your helpers. 45 From time to time I shall go to you; remaining unseen, I shall watch your dance."

46 Prabhu embraced Śrīvāsa Paṇḍita; holding him around the neck he said

31. They were playing the parts of Nanda and Yaśodā, Kṛṣṇa's foster parents in the Vraja-*līlā*.

33. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* story, Hanumān and the apes assisted Rāma in storming the demon Rāvaṇa's fort on the island of Laṅkā. Hanumān was a leader of the ape-army and a *bhakta* of Rāma. The tenth day of the light fortnight of Āśvina (Sept.-Oct) in Bengal is the last day of the great festival of Durgā *pūjā*, on which the goddess destroys the demon Mahiṣāsura.

36. Āveśa: absorption, possession; *vātula*: madman.

37. Dīpāvalī: the festival of lights, celebrated on the day of the new moon in the month of Kārttika; *Utthānadvādaśī-yātrā*: the festival of the twelfth day of the light fortnight of Kārttika, the day when Viṣṇu awakes from sleep.

42. Caṇḍālādi: everyone starting with the *caṇḍālas*, generally non-caste or low-caste people. It is interesting that he should give this charge to the staunch *brāhmaṇa* Advaita.

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sweet words to him, 47 "Every day I shall dance in *kīrtana* at your house. You will see me, but no one else will. 48 Give the cloth to my mother, and all this *prasāda*, and beg her forgiveness for my offences. 49 I left her service and became a *saṃnyāsin*; this is not *dharma*, I have destroyed my own *dharma*. 50 I am controlled by her *prema*, and my *dharma* is her service; yet, acting like a madman, I have abandoned her. 51 The mother of a mad child is not to be blamed; if she knows this, she will think of me happily. 52 What is the purpose in *saṃnyāsa*? My own wealth is *prema*. When I took *saṃnyāsa*, my mind was mad. 53 I am at Nīlācala because of her command, and sometimes I will come to see her feet. 54 I go every day, that I might see her feet; but she does not respect it as real, and considers it imagination. 55 One day [she prepared] *śāli* rice with five or six curries, and leafy *śāka*, *mocāghaṇṭa*, fried *paṭola*, and *nimbapāta*, 56 and lime, *ādākhaṇḍa*, milk, curd, and sweet *khaṇḍasāra*, and presented these many offerings to the Śālagrāma. 57 Taking *prasāda* into her lap she wept, 'All these foods are dear to my Nimāi; 58 but Nimāi is not in the house. Who is there to enjoy them? At this thought, my eyes swim with tears.' 59 I went quickly and ate all the food; and when she wiped away her tears, she saw the plate empty. 60 'Who ate this rice and curry? How can the plate be empty? Perhaps it is Bālagopāla who has eaten all the rice. 61 Or can my mind have been deceived? Did some animal come and eat the food? 62 Or perhaps I was mistaken, and did not fill the plate with food.' And so thinking, she went to look at the cooking vessel. 63 She saw that all the vessels were full of rice and curry, and seeing this her mind was struck with wonder and doubt. 64 Again she had the place cleansed by Īśāna, and again she offered food to Gopāla. 65 In this way, when she cooked her best, she fed me, anxious and weeping. 66 By her *prema* she brought me and fed

48. The cloth is that which was the cloth of Jagannātha, given him on the *janmāṣṭami* (ante, v. 28).

50. *Vaśa*: see commentary, *śloka* 1 above.

52. Rādhāgovinda Nātha reads two meanings into this verse. The first of course is that *prema-bhakti*, which is Caitanya's end, can be accomplished apart from *saṃnyāsa*. The second is that since Kṛṣṇa's purpose in being Caitanya is to taste the love of Rādhā for him, this could as easily have been accomplished in Navadvīpa, as a householder. The suggestion is that he did not at that time realize fully his Rādhā-*bhāva*; that was revealed to him by Rāmānanda, well after he had taken *saṃnyāsa*.

56. Śalagrāma: the black stone which is the symbol of Viṣṇu.

60. Bālagopāla: we have seen (1.14.7) that there was an image of Bālagopāla, the child Kṛṣṇa, in Śacī's house. The child Kṛṣṇa was a mischievous sort, prone to stealing food.

64. Īśāna was the house servant of Śacī.

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me; in her heart she was very happy, though outwardly it did not appear so. 67 This took place on *vijayā-daśamī*; ask her of it, and make this known to her."

68 While speaking in this way, Prabhu was very upset; but he was outwardly calm, in order to bid farewell to the people. 69 He said to Rāghava Paṇḍita with sweet words, "Because of your pure *prema*, I am bound to you. 70 Hear, everyone, the story of this man's service to Kṛṣṇa; his service is most pure and is of the highest kind. 71 Other offerings aside, hear of his coconut [offerings]. For five *gaṇḍā*s, a coconut can be bought anywhere. 72 At his house he has many hundreds of trees, and lakhs and lakhs of fruits. Still, if he hears of a place where there are sweeter coconuts, 73 he gives a price of four *paṇa*s each for the fruits and brings them with great care from ten *krośa*s distance. 74 Each day he has five or six of the fruits shelled, and immerses them in water to make them cool. 75 At the time of the food offering he would again shell them to look like conch-shells, and having made a hole in the end, he would offer them to Kṛṣṇa. 76 Kṛṣṇa would drink the water of those coconuts; sometimes the fruits were empty, and sometimes filled with water. 77 When he saw that the fruits were empty of water, the *paṇḍita* was delighted, and he would break the fruit and fill a pure vessel with the coconut meat. 78 Having offered the meat, he would meditate outside and Kṛṣṇa would eat the coconut meat and leave the vessel empty. 79 Sometimes he ate the meat, and again would fill the vessel with meat; and the faith of the *paṇḍita* grew, as he floated in a sea of *prema*. 80 One day, having prepared ten fruits, his servants brought them to begin the offering. 81 It was not the proper time, and there was a delay, so the servant remained in the door, with the vessel and fruits in his hands. 82 He put his hand on the lintel above the door, and with that hand he touched the fruit, and the *paṇḍita* saw it. 83 The *paṇḍita* said, 'People come and go through that door. And the dust of their feet rises up to the lintel. 84 You put your hand on the lintel and touched the fruit, and the fruit has become unclean, and not fit for Kṛṣṇa.' 85 And so saying he threw the fruit against the wall, and thus with pure service in *prema* he conquered the world. 86 Then he had other coconuts prepared, and caused them, highly purified, to be offered. 87 In this way bananas and mangos and oranges and jack-fruit, when he heard that they were good in a village

67. Vijayā-daśamī: the tenth day of the light fortnight of the month of Āśvina, the last day of the Durgā-*pūjā*, when the immersion of the image of the goddess takes place. See commentary on v. 33 above.

69. Vaśa: see commentary, *śloka* 1 above.

71. A *gaṇḍā* is four cowries, a unit of monetary measurement.

73. Paṇa: twenty *gaṇḍā*s. One *kroṣa* is about two miles.

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however distant, 88 he would buy them at a high price and bring them carefully, and having purified them, would give them as offering. 89 And so too with vegetable curries and roots and fruits, and with *ciḍā* and *huḍuma*, and *sandeśa* sweets—all these things. 90 And so with *piṭhā* and *pānā* and cream and cooked rice, of the highest quality and well purified. 91 And he would prepare *kāsandī* and other things of the kind, and perfumes and clothing and ornaments, the best of all these goods. 92 In this way, in *prema*, he offered unequalled service, and the eyes of all the people were refreshed when they saw it."

93 So saying, he embraced Rāghava, and in similar ways honored all the *bhaktas*. 94 He said respectfully to Śivānanda Sena, "Take good care of Vāsudeva Datta. 95 Such is his great generosity that on whatever day anyone comes he spends lavishly, and there is no end to it. 96 He is a householder and needs an accumulation of goods, for if he has no wealth he cannot support his relatives. 97 The debts and earnings of his house are all in your hands; you be the manager of his house and take care of it. 98 And every year with all my *bhaktas*, you will come, protecting all of them, to the Guṇḍicā."

99 And he said respectfully to those who dwelt in Kulīnagrāma, "Every year you will come to the [Car] Festival, and bring the silken ropes. 100 Guṇarāja Khān wrote the *Śrī Kṛṣṇa Vijaya*, and in it there is a speech of his full of *prema*— 101 'Kṛṣṇa the son of Nanda is the lord of my heart'—and because of this one speech I have sold [myself] into the hands of his family. 102 To say nothing of your speech, [even] the dogs of your village, are dear to me; others are far away [in comparison]." 103 Then Rāmānanda and Satyarāja Khān made petition at the feet of Prabhu, 104 "We are householders, attached to worldly objects; what should be our *sādhana*? Give us a command from your holy mouth, Prabhu. We pray at your feet." 105 Prabhu replied, "Service of Kṛṣṇa and service of Vaiṣṇavas, and eternally make *saṃkīrtana* with the name of Kṛṣṇa." 106 Satyarāja said, "How shall we recognize Vaiṣṇavas? Tell us, who is a Vaiṣṇava, and who an ordinary man." 107 Prabhu said, "In whose mouth you hear once the name of Kṛṣṇa, he is to be worshiped as the best of all. 108 For by one name of Kṛṣṇa all *pāpa* is

89. Ciḍā: a kind of parched rice; *huḍuma*: unhusked paddy similar to *ciḍā*; *sandeśa* is a sweet made with milk.

100. Guṇarāja Khān's name was Maladhāra Basu; Guṇarāja Khān was the title given him by the ruler of Gauḍa. He had a son named Lakṣmīnātha Basu, whose title was Satyarāja Khān, and Satyarāja had a son named Rāmānanda Basu; these two are mentioned below (v. 103) as followers of Caitanya. Rāmānanda was in fact a *pada*-writer of considerable skill, and his songs on Caitanya are among the best of their kind. The *Śrī Kṛṣṇa Vijaya* is a Bengali verse version of *BhP* 10 and 11. It was written between 1359 and 1402 AD, well before Caitanya's time.

108. Pāpa: evil, sin, i.e., anything that turns one away from Kṛṣṇa.

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destroyed, and the nine kinds of *bhakti* are filled by the name. 109 It is not dependent on *dīkṣā*, or *puraścaryā*, or on the injunctions of the scriptures; at a touch of the tongue, everyone down to *caṇḍāla*s is saved. 110 The result of it is the destruction of *saṃsāra*, and the mind being attracted by it, *prema* for Kṛṣṇa is aroused.

Śloka 2. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 29 [quoting Lakṣmīdhara]:

Attracting those who are pure of heart, driving away all *pāpa*, easy to attain by anyone down to *caṇḍāla*s, endowed with the power of *mukti*, this *mantra* of the name of Kṛṣṇa, not by *dīkṣā* and nor by meritorious conduct nor by *puraścaryā*, but by the merest touch of it on the tongue, fulfills.

111 Thus in whose mouth there is one Kṛṣṇa-name, he is a Vaiṣṇava; offer him greatest reverence."

112 And from Khaṇḍa, Mukunda Dāsa, Śrī Raghunandana, and Śrī Narahari—these three leaders were there. 113 Śrī Śacīnandana asked Mukunda Dāsa, "You are the father, and Śrī Raghunandana is your son. 114 Or is Raghunandana the father and you his son? Tell me now certainly that all doubt may be dispelled." 115 Mukunda said, "Raghunandana is my father, and I am his son, of this I am certain. 116 The Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti* of all of us is from Raghunandana; thus Raghu is the father, and I am certain of it." 117 When he heard this, Prabhu said delightedly, "You have spoken truly. He, from whom comes Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*, is the *guru*." 118 Prabhu then was happy in speaking of the greatness of the *bhaktas*, and he spoke of the greatness of the *bhaktas* as if with five mouths. 119 He said to the *bhaktas*, "Hear of the *prema* of Mukunda, a profound and stainless *prema* like melted gold. 120 Externally he is physician to the king, and serves the king, but who can know the Kṛṣṇa-*prema* in his heart? 121 One day he was on the raised platform of the foreign king, and was carrying on a discourse about medicine before him. 122 At that time there was a large fan made from the tail of a peacock, which a servant had brought and was holding over the head of the king. 123 Seeing the peacock

109. Dīkṣā: the *mantra* given by the *guru*. Caitanya says that the name of Kṛṣṇa is a *mantra* which needs no *guru* to give it: it is a *mantra* which can be taken by anyone. *Puraścaryā* is defined by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa in *HBhV* 17.7-9 as the thrice-daily worship of the deity, the daily uttering of the name, daily oblations to ancestors, daily feeding of *brāhmaṇa*s, as enjoined by the scriptures (*vidhi*).

117. BhP 5.5.18. *Guru* is not only teacher and seer, but "elder."

121. Mleccha: foreign; see the commentary to 2.1.158, 186.

123. The peacock's tail is an emblem of Kṛṣṇa, a reminder.

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tail, Mukunda was overcome with *prema*, and from the high platform he fell to the earth. 124 The king thought that the royal physician was dead; but himself getting down he brought him back to consciousness. 125 The king said, 'Where do you have pain?' Mukunda said, 'I do not have any great pain.' 126 The king asked, 'Mukunda, what caused you to fall?' Mukunda replied, 'I have the disease of epilepsy.' 127 The king was most wise, and knew all these things, and he knew that Mukunda was one who had knowledge of the great perfection."

128 Raghunandana served in the temple of Kṛṣṇa. At its door was a tank, and on the bank of the tank was a hewn ghat. 129 There was a *kadamba* tree which bloomed throughout the twelve months, and every day there were two flowers for ornaments for Kṛṣṇa. 130 And again he said to Mukunda in sweet words, "Your duty and your *dharma* is the earning of wealth. 131 And the duty of Raghunandana is the service of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, for he has no thought other than the worship of Kṛṣṇa. 132 Narahari, remain with my *bhaktas*; you three men always perform these three duties."

133 Sārvabhauma and Vidyāvācaspati were two brothers, and Gosvāmī said to them, out of his mercy, 134 "In these days, Kṛṣṇa reveals himself as wood and as water; in *darśana* and in bathing is the release of creatures. 135 Śrī Puruṣottama is manifest as Dāru-Brahma, and he who is like Jala-Brahma is manifest as Bhāgīrathī. 136 Sārvabhauma, worship Dāru-Brahma; Vācaspati, serve the Jala-Brahma."

137 Then Gaura embraced Murāri Gupta; he spoke of his firm *bhakti*, while the *bhaktas* listened. 138 "Once I tried to tempt him again and again, 'Most sweet, O Gupta, is Vrajendrakumāra, 139 Bhagavān himself, the container of all, the refuge of all, pure, stainless, full of all *prema-rasa*. 140 He is most clever, artful, steadfast, the chief among *rasikas*, a mine of the jewels among the jewels of all pure qualities; 141 his actions are sweet, the *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa is sweet, who performed the *rāsa-līlā* with such art and cleverness. 142 Worship that Kṛṣṇa, take refuge in that Kṛṣṇa; there is no worship in the heart apart from that of Kṛṣṇa.' 143 In this way again and again he listened to my words, and because of my praise his mind was turned a little. 144 He said to me. 'I am your slave.

126. [*Vyādhi . . . mṛgī*: lit., "the deer's disease," i.e., epilepsy. This is used later by Caitanya to describe his own condition; see 2.18.174. TKS]

134. Wood: the image of Jagannātha; water: the river Gaṅgā.

135. Dāru-Brahma: another name for Jagannātha, signifying the wooden (*dāru*) image of him. Bhāgīrathī: the river (*jala* or water in which to bathe) in Bengal considered by some to be a branch of the Gaṅgā, but by Bengalis to be itself the holy and venerated main stream. See *Mahārāshṭa purāṇa*, 32.

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I am here to carry out your command, I am not independent.' 145 So saying, he went to his home, and he reflected, into the night, and he thought anxiously about his abandonment of Raghunātha. 146 'How shall I abandon the feet of Raghunātha? Kill me, O Rāma, tonight!' 147 Thus he wept the whole night; he had no peace of mind, and he was awake all the night. 148 In the morning he came and held my feet, and weeping he pleaded with me thus, 149 'I have laid my head at the feet of Raghunātha. I cannot take my head away, there is pain in my heart. 150 If I do not abandon the feet of Śrī Raghunātha, your command is disobeyed, Tell me what I should do. 151 In this situation, give mercy to me, O you who are full of mercy; let me die before you, let this indecision be over.' 152 When I heard this, I was very happy in my mind, and I raised him up and embraced him. 153 'O most perfect Gupta, your faith is very deep; your heart has not been shaken by my words. 154 In just such a way should the love of his servants long for the feet of Prabhu, that even if Prabhu abandons them, they should not leave his feet. 155 To know the firmness of your *bhāva* I have tempted you again and again. 156 You are a servant of Śrī Rāma like the incarnate Hanumān; how could you abandon his lotus feet?' 157 That Murāri Gupta is like my own heart; when I hear of his humility, my heart bursts."

158 Then Prabhu embraced Vāsudeva, and recited his qualities as if he had a thousand mouths. 159 When he heard his own qualities, Datta was very embarrassed in his heart, and he held the feet of Prabhu and begged, 160 "Your *avatāra*, Prabhu, is to save the world. Promise me one boon. 161 Prabhu, you are full of mercy and able to do it with ease, if you want to. 162 I see the unhappiness of creatures, and my heart is torn. Prabhu, place the sin of all creatures on my head. 163 Taking the sins of creatures, make me suffer hell; Prabhu, dispel the illness of the world of all creatures." 164 Hearing this, the heart of Mahāprabhu melted, and with tears in his eyes, and trembling, he began to speak in a broken voice, 165 "For you this is not a wonder, for you are Prahlāda, and upon you is the full grace of Kṛṣṇa. 166 Kṛṣṇa in truth does that which his servants ask, and he does nothing other than fulfill the desires of his servants. 167 If you desire the salvation of the creatures of the Brahmā-world, all will be saved without suffering for sin. 168 Kṛṣṇa is not unable to do it; he possesses all strength. Why should he cause you to suffer the fruits of sin? 169 He for whom

145. Murāri was a worshiper of Rāma (Raghunātha).
156. [Murāri's identity in the eternal *līlās* is Hanumān in Kavikarṇapūra's *GGUD*, v. 91. TKS]
165. Prahlāda also prayed to Nṛsiṃha to save all creatures; *BhP* 7.9.41.

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you desire welfare becomes a Vaiṣṇava, and Kṛṣṇa puts all the sins of Vaiṣṇavas far away.

Śloka 3. *Brahma Saṃhitā* 5.54:
He who makes [all things, from] Indragopa to Indra, suffer the results of their own *karma*, but who destroys the results of the *karma* of *bhaktas*, I worship him, that *ādipuruṣa* Govinda.

170 Merely because of your wish, the Brahmā-world will be released; it is no labor at all for Kṛṣṇa to save all things. 171 On a single *uḍūmbara* fig tree there are crores of fruits, and on the waters of Virajā float a crore of Brahmā-worlds. 172 If one fruit of it falls and is spoiled, the tree does not consider it its own loss. 173 And so if one Brahmā-egg is released, there is no harm at all to the heart of Kṛṣṇa. 174 Vaikuṇṭha and the other places of Kṛṣṇa are infinitely majestic, and they have a moat around them called the Ocean of Cause. 175 On this float the innumerable Brahmā-worlds, with *māyā*; they float on the moat as in a vessel full of mustard seeds. 176 And if a single mustard seed were lost, it would be no great calamity; so Kṛṣṇa would not mind the loss of a single world. 177 And if *māyā* were destroyed, together with all the Brahmā-worlds, still Kṛṣṇa would feel no loss. 178 It would be like the death of a she-goat to a man who was master of a crore of wishing-cows. What is *māyā* to Kṛṣṇa, who is lord with the six divine attributes?"

Śloka 4. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.87.14:
O unconquerable one, glory to you. Destroy the unborn, which is hiding [the *ānanda* and other] qualities [of living creatures both moving and unmoving] with sin; for which reason you are possessed of all majesty, in and by yourself. O manifester of the power of living beings, at that certain time, you were playing with *māyā*, although you were yourself. The *śrutis* prove this of you.

Śloka 3. Indragopa: the name of a tiny, red-colored worm.

171. Uḍūmbara: a kind of fig tree, Ficus Glomerata, also called *ḍumura-gācha*, notable for its profusion of fruit. Virajā: the name of the sea of creation.

174. Aiśvarya: majestic; *kāraṇābdhi*: Ocean of Cause.

175. Māyā: see 1.2.85 and commentary.

177. 1.5.49 says: "*māyā-śakti* remains within the sea of causation; but *māyā* cannot enter the sea of causation"; and in v. 175 above, we are told that *māyā* floats on this sea. Rādhāgovinda Nātha: on one shore of the sea of causation is Paravyoma, and on the other shore are the material Brahmā-worlds (lit., Brahmā-eggs). The sea between them is called Virajā. When one looks across the Virajā, it seems as if the Brahmā-worlds are floating on the sea.

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179 In this way he described each of the qualities of all the *bhaktas*, and embraced them and bade them all farewell. 180 At separation from Prabhu the *bhaktas* all wept; and the heart of Prabhu was downcast, in separation from the *bhaktas*. 181 Gadādhara Paṇḍita remained beside Prabhu, and Prabhu had him settled in Yameśvara. 182 Purī Gosvāmī, Jagadānanda, Svarūpa Dāmodara, Dāmodara Paṇḍita, Govinda, and Kāśīśvara— 183 with all of these Prabhu remained at Nīlācala. And every day in the morning they had *darśana* of Jagannātha.

184 One day Sārvabhauma came to Prabhu, and with palms pressed together made this request, 185 "All the Vaiṣṇavas have returned to Gauḍa, and it is an opportune time to extend an invitation to Prabhu. 186 Now come and dine at my house for a full month." Prabhu replied, "It is not proper; I cannot do it." 187 Sārvabhauma said, "Then eat there for twenty days." Prabhu replied, "This is not the sign of the *dharma* of an ascetic." 188 Sārvabhauma said, "Then come for fifteen days." Prabhu replied, "I shall dine with you one day." 189 Then Sārvabhauma held the feet of Prabhu, and humbly entreated, "Ten days." 190 Prabhu gradually caused this to shrink to five days, and he agreed to dine with him on five days. 191 Then Sārvabhauma implored him, "With you there are ten *saṃnyāsins*. 192 Let Purī Gosvāmī eat at my house five days also. I brought this to your attention long ago. 193 Svarūpa Dāmodara is a friend of mine; sometimes he will come with you, and sometimes alone. 194 The other eight *saṃnyāsins* will come two days each. Thus there will be one person on each day, and the month will be filled up. 195 If many *saṃnyāsins* were to come together, I could not show them proper honor, and I would commit an offence. 196 You will come to my house with your own shadow, and sometimes you will bring Svarūpa Dāmodara with you." 197 Getting a sign of assent from Mahāprabhu, his heart was overjoyed, and he invited Mahāprabhu that very day.

198 The wife of the Bhaṭṭācārya was called "Ṣāṭhī's Mother," and she was a great *bhakta* of Prabhu, as affectionate as a mother towards him. 199 Coming home, Bhaṭṭācārya gave her instructions, and in delight Sāṭhī's Mother began to cook. 200 The house of the Bhaṭṭācārya was full of all kinds of materials; and those fruits and vegetables which [were not there] he had collected and brought. 201 The Bhaṭṭācārya himself did all the preparations for cooking; Sāṭhī's Mother was learned and skilled in the art of cooking. 202 To the south

186. It is not proper for a *saṃnyāsin* to take food at the house of any one person for an extended period of time.

196. "With your shadow": alone.

198. It is not uncommon to find a woman identified by the name of her child, though that child is more usually a son. [Some MSS read *ṣaṭhī* or *ṣaṣṭhī*, which are variants. TKS]

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of the kitchen were two eating rooms. One room was for service and food-offerings to the Śālagrāma. 203 The other room was for feeding Mahāprabhu. [The Bhaṭṭācārya] had built it anew, by himself. 204 There was an outside door through which Prabhu could enter, and there was another door through which to bring the food from the kitchen. 205 There was a round leaf of the thirty-two-cluster-banana, which could hold one hundred ninety-two *tolās* of rice. 206 The rice was soaked with yellow, sweet-smelling *ghi*, and the *ghi* flowed on all four sides of the leaf. 207 There were rows on rows of containers of banana leaves and of *kheyā* leaves; these filled with various kinds of curry and placed all around. 208 There were ten kinds of leafy green vegetables, and a liquid preparation of *nimba-sukutā*. There were curries of pepper, and *chānābaḍā*, and *baḍī-ghola*. 209 There were *dugdhatumbī*, *dugdhakuṣmāṇḍa*, *besāri*, *lāpharā*, *mocāghaṇṭa*, *mocābhājā*, and various vegetable dishes. 210 There was an unparalleled curry of *bṛddhakuṣmāṇḍabaḍī*, and *phulbaḍī* and fruits and roots of various kinds. 211 There was brinjal fried with new *nimba*-leaves, and *paṭolbhājā* with *phulbaḍī*, pumpkin, and *mānacākī*. 212 There was *bhṛṣṭamāṣa*, *mudgasūpa*, which put nectar to shame, and *madhurāmla*, and five or six sour dishes like *baḍāmla*. 213 There were very sweet *mudgabaḍā*, *māṣabaḍā*, and banana, and many cakes such as cream-*pulī* and coconut-*pulī*. 214 There were *kāñjibaḍā* and *dugdhaciḍā* and *dugdhalakalakī*, and so many other kinds of cakes that I cannot count them all. 215 There were earthen pots filled with the best rice soaked in *ghi*, and [others] containing *cāmpākalā* and boiled milk and mango. 216 There was *rasālā*, and churned curd, and unequalled *sandeśa* sweets; as many kinds of food as there were in Gauḍa or in Utkala were there. 217 With great reverence the Bhaṭṭācārya had had all this prepared, and on a new wooden seat he spread a glistening cloth. 218 On both sides he put jars of sweet-smelling, cool water, and he put a sprig of *tulasī* over the rice and curries. 219 And he had brought *amṛtaguṭikā* and other cakes and things to drink, and he kept separate all the *prasāda* of Jagannātha.

205. See ante, 2.3.39-40 and commentary.

205-19. [For similar lists and explanations of some of the foods being prepared, see 2.14.21-32; 3.6.passim; 3.10.14-38; 3.18.100-103. TKS]

209. Dugdhatumbī: a kind of gourd cooked in milk. *Dugdhakuṣmāṇḍa*: pumpkin cooked in milk.

216. Utkala: modern day Orissa.

218. One jar with water for washing the feet, the other with water for rinsing the mouth after eating.

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220 At that time Mahāprabhu had performed his midday ritual, and knowing his heart he came alone. 221 The Bhaṭṭācārya then washed his feet, and brought Prabhu inside the house to feed him. 222 When he saw the rice and other things, Prabhu was astonished, and he said jokingly to Bhaṭṭācārya, 223 "All this rice and curry is out of this world; how did you cook it all within two watches? 224 For if a hundred people cooked on a hundred fireplaces, still they would not be able to prepare so much curry so quickly. 225 And I see that you have offered food to Kṛṣṇa, for on it I see a sprig of *tulasī*. 226 You are blessed, and your efforts are fruitful, that you have made such food-offerings to Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. 227 The fragrance and the color of the rice is most charming, and Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa have eaten of it. 228 You are most blessed, and I praise you greatly. And I too am blessed, for I shall eat the remainder of it. 229 So take this wooden seat of Kṛṣṇa and keep it aside, and give me *prasāda* on a separate leaf." 230 The Bhaṭṭācārya said, "Prabhu, do not be surprised; the food has been prepared by the power of him who will eat. 231 It is not by my effort, nor by the cooking of my wife. By whose power the food has been prepared, he knows that. 232 Sit upon this seat and eat." And Prabhu replied, "This seat of Kṛṣṇa is to be revered." 233 Bhaṭṭa said, "The food and the seat are equally *prasāda*. You will eat the food; where is the offence if you sit upon the seat?" 234 Prabhu said, "You speak well, for this is the command of the *śāstra*s, that the *bhakta* taste all that is left by Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 5. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.6.64:

We, your servants, who eat the food left by you, and are adorned with the clothing, ornaments, scents and garlands used by you, thus conquer *māyā*.

235 Still, so much rice cannot be consumed." Bhaṭṭa said, "I know what a capacity for food you have. 236 At Nīlācala you eat fifty-two times, and the rice of each offering is hundreds and hundreds of loads. 237 At Dvārakā at the homes of your sixteen thousand queens, and in the houses of the eighteen mothers and of the Yādavas, 238 and in Vraja in the homes of the *sakhī*s, and the *gopa*s and your maternal and paternal uncles you would eat morning and evening. 239 And at the sacrifice of Govarddhana you ate heaps and heaps of food, and compared to that this rice is not a handful. 240 For you are Īśvara, and I am a miserable worthless creature; accept this handful of alms from me." 241 Hearing

236. There are fifty-two daily food-offerings to Jagannātha.
239. *BhP* 10.24.35; see also above, 2.4.85 and commentary.

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this, Prabhu laughed and sat down to eat, and Bhaṭṭa delightedly gave him the *prasāda* of Jagannātha.

242 At that time the son-in-law of Bhaṭṭa, named Amogha, the husband of his daughter Ṣāṭhī, and one who abused high-born persons, 243 wanted to see him [Caitanya] eat, but was unable to come in. For Bhaṭṭācārya was in the door, with a stick in his hand. 244 But when he was bending over to give *prasāda*, Amogha came in and, seeing the food, began to insult him. 245 "With this food ten or twelve people could be fed, and this single *saṃnyāsin* eats all of it." 246 When Bhaṭṭācārya heard this he looked up, and seeing that he had been noticed, Amogha fled. 247 Bhaṭṭācārya took his stick and ran to beat him, but he could not catch him, for Amogha fled. 248 The Bhaṭṭācārya returned, cursing and abusing him, and hearing this abuse, Mahāprabhu began to laugh. 249 When she heard of it, Ṣāṭhī's mother struck herself in the breast and head with her hand, and said again and again, "May Ṣāṭhī be a widow." 250 Seeing the sorrow of them both, Prabhu consoled them, and at their wish he ate the food with pleasure. 251 Bhaṭṭa gave him water to rinse his mouth and wash his face, and a sprig of *tulasī*, and cloves and cardamom and sweet things. 252 And he put on the whole body of Prabhu garlands and sandalwood, and bowing before him he said humbly, 253 "I have brought you to my own house only to have you insulted. O Prabhu, what an offence. Forgive me." 254 Prabhu said, "It is not an insult. He spoke naturally. What is your offence in this?" 255 So saying, Mahāprabhu went to his own house, and the Bhaṭṭācārya went with him there. 256 Falling at the feet of Prabhu, he blamed himself greatly; but Prabhu put him at ease and sent him home.

249. The Sahajiyā text *Vivarta Vilāsa* of Akiñcana Dāsa has an interesting remark on p. 107: "Blessed be the girl Ṣāṭhī throughout the world, with whom Mahāprabhu performed his secret *sādhana*." Ṣāṭhī mentioned in this passage, the daughter of Sārvabhauma, seems to be the only Ṣāṭhī mentioned anywhere in Vaiṣṇava literature. [In the manuscript collection of the Bengali Department at Calcutta University is a MS titled *Caitanya Rasa Kārika* by Yugala Kiśora Dāsa (MS 580; n.d.; 9 folios, complete). The text, which has a decidedly Sahajiyā style, discusses the various kinds of love and the discovery of these within each man and woman. It addresses the issue of Caitanya's androgynous dual-incarnation and speaks of the impenetrable and secret nature of Caitanya's activities, often using expressions found in the *CC* itself and favored by many Sahajiyā texts (e.g., *aprakṛta navīna madana*, etc.). In folio 7.A-B it tells of Ṣāṭhī preparing a meal for Caitanya, who is immersed in the Rādhā-*bhāva*. With the upwelling of emotion, Caitanya and Ṣāṭhī follow their hearts and break Caitanya's vows of celibacy. Upon regaining full external consciousness, the remorseful Caitanya is much distressed, but Ṣāṭhī reminds him that he is Īśvara and such play (*raṅga*) is most appropriate if it be his wish. The author comments on Caitanya's *saṃnyāsa* at the end of the story: *sarvabhauma gṛhe yabe seibhāva avirbhāve bāṅge prabhura kapaṭa sanyāsī* (sic); "When in Sarvabhauma's house he manifested this particular *bhāva*, Prabhu's deceptive (*kapaṭa*) asceticism was destroyed." The text closes with more reflection on the dual incarnation. TKS]

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257 Coming home, the Bhaṭṭācārya, with Ṣāṭhī's mother, blamed himself and said, 258 "If he from whom the abuse of Caitanya Gosvāmī was heard were killed, it would be atonement for the sin. 259 Or if I were to take my own life. But neither is proper, for both are bodies of *brāhmaṇas*. 260 But I shall never look upon the face of that reviler again; he is separated from me, and I shall never take his name. 261 Tell Ṣāṭhī that she should abandon this fallen one, for when a husband is fallen it is necessary to leave him."

Śloka 6. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 7.11.28:
She who is contented, without desire for material things, industrious, knowledgeable about *dharma*, whose speech is pleasant and truthful, attentive to all things, pure and pleasant, should worship her husband if he be not fallen.

262 That very night Amogha fled away somewhere, and in the morning was very ill with cholera. 263 Hearing that Amogha was dying, the Bhaṭṭācārya said, "The gods are favorable, and have done my work. 264 Such is the result of an offence to Īśvara." And so saying he recited two sayings of the *śāstras*:

Śloka 7. *Mahābhārata, vana parvan* 241.15:
That which we could have done with great effort with elephants, horses, chariots, and foot-soldiers, has been done by the *gandharvas*.

Śloka 8. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.4.46:
A great offence destroys a man's good fortune, the things which he desires, the rewards of *dharma*, his good name, his beauty, and the length of his life.

265 Gopīnāthācārya went to have *darśana* of Prabhu, and Prabhu asked him for news of the Bhaṭṭācārya. 266 The *ācārya* said, "They are both fasting, and Amogha is giving up his life, ill from cholera." 267 Hearing this, Prabhu, full of mercy, ran to him and said to Amogha, putting his hand on his chest, 268 "This is the heart of a *brāhmaṇa*, stainless by its nature, a proper place for Kṛṣṇa to dwell. 269 Why have you placed in it the *caṇḍāla* of envy? Why have you made a place of highest purity impure? 270 Because of your association with Sārvabhauma, the impurity has been decreased. If they would wipe away impurity, creatures take the name of Kṛṣṇa. 271 Rise up, Amogha. Speak the name

Śloka 8. See 2.25.śl.15.

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of Kṛṣṇa, and soon Bhagavān will shed his grace on you." 272 When he heard this, Amogha got up, saying "Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa!" and drunken with the madness of *prema* he began to dance. 273 He was weeping and trembling, and had goose-flesh, and was sweating and in a stupor, and was breathing brokenly; seeing his wave of *prema*, Prabhu smiled. 274 Holding the feet of Prabhu he entreated him, "Forgive my offence, O Prabhu full of mercy. 275 With this foul mouth I vilified you." And so saying he began to slap himself on the cheeks. 276 Slapping them, his cheeks became reddened, and Gopīnāthācārya held his hand and restrained him. 277 Prabhu also consoled him, touching his body, "Because of your relationship with Sārvabhauma, you are a vessel for my love. 278 The men and women servants in the house of Sārvabhauma, the dogs in it, are far more dear to me than are other people. 279 The offence is no more; always take the name of Kṛṣṇa." And so saying, Prabhu went to the place of Sārvabhauma.

280 When Sārvabhauma saw Prabhu, he held his feet, and Prabhu embraced him and sat upon a seat. 281 Prabhu said, "Amogha is a child. What can be his fault? Why do you fast? Why are you angry at him? 282 Rise up, and bathe, and look upon the face of Jagannātha. Quickly come and eat, and then I will be happy. 283 I shall stay sitting here till then, when you have brought and eaten *prasāda* here." 284 Holding the feet of Prabhu, Bhaṭṭa began to say, "Amogha should have died. Why did you give him life?" 285 Prabhu replied, "Amogha is your son. A father does not mind the faults of his son, but is his protector. 286 Now he has become a Vaiṣṇava, and his offence has disappeared. Now be gracious to him." 287 Bhaṭṭa said, "Prabhu, let us go to have *darśana* of Īśvara. I shall come when I have bathed." 288 Prabhu said, "Gopīnātha will remain here. When he has taken the *prasāda*, give me the news." 289 So saying, Prabhu went to have *darśana* of Īśvara, and Bhaṭṭa bathed, and had *darśana*, and ate. 290 Amogha became a singular *bhakta* of Prabhu; he danced in *prema*, and took the name of Kṛṣṇa, and was greatly at peace.

291 Such was the wonderful *līlā* of the son of Śacī, and the minds of those who saw and heard it were struck with wonder. 292 And such was his "food episode" in the house of Bhaṭṭa, and in the course of it he manifested many wonderful deeds. 293 This "food episode" took place in the house of Sārvabhauma, and his *prema* for Sārvabhauma became famous, 294 and so too the *prema* of Ṣāṭhī's Mother, and the grace of Prabhu, and his relations with his *bhaktas*, by which offences are forgiven. 295 Those who hear this *līlā* with faith, in a brief time gain the feet of Caitanya.

296 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

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Madhya Līlā
Chapter 16

Śloka 1.

The Gaura-cloud, sprinkling the gardens of Gauḍa with the nectar of his own brilliance, revived those creepers—all people who were withered in the fire of *saṃsāra*.

1 Glory, glory to Gauracandra, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra, glory to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 Prabhu had a desire to go to Vṛndāvana, and when he heard it, Pratāparudra was disturbed. 3 So bringing Sārvabhauma and Rāmānanda, these two, the king spoke to them in humble words, 4 "Prabhu has a mind to leave Nīlādri and go elsewhere; turn your attention to keeping him here. 5 Without him, this kingdom would be nothing to me; try in every way to keep Gosvāmī here." 6 When Prabhu consulted these two, Rāmānanda and Sārvabhauma, about going to Vṛndāvana, 7 both said, "Have *darśana* of the Car Festival; when Kārttika comes, then go." 8 When Kārttika came they said, "This month is cold. When you have seen the Swing Festival, then go; this would be the proper way." 9 In various ways "today, tomorrow" arguments arose, and they did not give their consent, for fear of separation. 10 And even though Prabhu was free from any restraint, and nothing could stop him, he could not leave against the wishes of his *bhaktas*.

11 In the third year, all the *bhaktas* of Gauḍa thought to go together to Nīlācala. 12 They gathered together and went to Advaita Ācārya, and with the Ācārya went in delight to see Prabhu. 13 Even though it was the command of Prabhu to stay at Gauḍa, Nityānanda, to manifest his *prema-bhakti* to Prabhu, 14 also went to see Mahāprabhu; who can understand the working of the *prema*

7. Kārttika: the Bengali month that falls in October-November.

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of Nityānanda? 15 Ācāryaratna, Vidyānidhi, Śrīvāsa, and Rāmāi, and Vāsudeva, Murāri, and Govinda, these three brothers, 16 and Rāghava Paṇḍita, having prepared his own baskets, and the people of Kulīnagrāma, with the silken rope, went. 17 And those who lived at Khaṇḍa, Narahari and Śrī Raghunandana, all the *bhaktas* went, and who could count them? 18 Śivānanda Sena made arrangements for the road tolls, and taking care of everyone, he transported them in peace and happiness. 19 He made all arrangements for everyone, and found them places to stay, for Śivānanda knew well the road to Orissa. 20 That year all the women went to see Prabhu, and the mother of Acyūta went with the Ācārya. 21 Mālinī went with Śrīvāsa Paṇḍita, and Śivānanda took his wife. 22 Śivānanda had a son, named Caitanya Dāsa, and he went joyfully to see Prabhu. 23 Ācāryaratna's wife went with Ācārya; I am unable to describe her *prema*. 24 All these women, to give alms to Mahāprabhu, took various beloved articles from their own houses for him. 25 Śivānanda Sena made the arrangements for them all; as steward of the pilgrims, he cared for them, and arranged places for them all to stay. 26 He provided food for them all and in every way cared for them, and in greatest joy they went to have *darśana* of Prabhu.

27 Coming to Remuṇā they had *darśana* of Gopīnātha, and there Ācārya danced and sang. 28 Nityānanda was acquainted with all the servants [of Gopīnātha]; and these servants coming there showed his great esteem. 29 All the *mahāntas* remained there for that night, and the servants brought twelve [pots of] creamy *kṣīra* to them. 30 Prabhu Nityānanda distributed the *kṣīra* to everyone, and the joy of all grew as they received the *kṣīra-prasāda*. 31 The story of Mādhava Purī and the establishment of Gopāla [was told]—how Gopāla begged sandalwood of him, 32 and how for him Gopīnātha stole *kṣīra*—this he heard previously from the mouth of Mahāprabhu. 33 This story Nityānanda told to them, and when he heard it the joy grew in the mind of the Ācārya. 34 In this way they moved on, and came to Kaṭaka; they remained there that day and saw Sākṣigopāla. 35 And Nityānanda told the story of Sākṣigopāla, and when they heard it, joy grew in the minds of the Vaiṣṇavas. 36 In their hearts they were all anxious to meet Prabhu, so quickly they came to Śrī Nīlācala. 37 The

16. See 2.14.234.

20. Women: *ṭhākurāṇī*. "The mother of Acyūta" is Advaita's wife, Sītā.

25. *Ghāṭiyāla*: steward, one who paid the tolls at the ghats.

28-32. See ante, 2.4 for the story of the *kṣīra*.

33. Mādhavendra Purī was the *dīkṣā-guru* of Advaita; hearing a story which glorified his *guru* pleased him.

34-35. See ante, 2.5 for the story of Sākṣigopāla.

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Gosvāmī having heard that they had come to Āṭhāranālā, sent two garlands in the hands of Govinda. 38 The two garlands Govinda placed on two men, and Advaita and the Avadhūta Gosvāmī were very happy. 39 There they began the Kṛṣṇa-*saṃkīrtana*, and they moved forward, the two men dancing. 40 Again Śacīnandana dispatched Svarūpa and others of his own people with garlands, sending them ahead. 41 Coming to Narendra, they met them there, and then put the garlands sent by Mahāprabhu on them all. 42 Gaura Rāya, hearing that they approached the lion gate, came himself and met them. 43 He took them to have *darśana* of Jagannātha, and again came with them to his own place. 44 Vāṇīnātha and Kāśī Miśra brought *prasāda*, and Prabhu fed the *prasāda* to them all with his own hands. 45 And he sent them to rest in the houses in which they had dwelt the previous year. 46 In this way the *bhaktas* remained for four months, having joy in *kīrtana* with Prabhu.

47 As before, when the time of the Car Festival came, with all [the *bhaktas*] he washed the Guṇḍicā temple. 48 The dwellers in Kulīnagrāma presented their rope of silk to Jagannātha, and as before danced and sang before the car. 49 And after much dancing again they went to the garden, and rested there on the banks of the pool. 50 There was a Rāḍhī *brāhmaṇa* there, a servant of Nityānanda, a most fortunate man, whose name was Kṛṣṇadāsa. 51 He filled pots with water and bathed Prabhu; and with this washing Prabhu was greatly pleased. 52 Much *prasāda* of the *balagaṇḍi-bhoga* was brought, and Mahāprabhu ate the *prasāda* with them. 53 As they had the year before, they had *darśana* of the Car Festival; and he watched the Horā-pañcamī Festival with his *bhaktas*. 54 How Ācārya Gosvāmī sent an invitation to Prabhu, and how the rain-storm came in the course of it 55 has been detailed in full by Vṛndāvana Dāsa. Śrīvāsa also sent an invitation to Prabhu. 56 And Mālinī cooked all the curries of which he was fond. She was a servant profound in her *bhakti*, and in her affection [toward him] like a mother. 57 Ācāryaratna and the rest of the chief *bhaktas*, from time to time sent invitations to Prabhu.

58 At the end of the four months of the rainy season again he consulted with Nityānanda, sitting always apart [from the others]. 59 Prabhu spoke to the

38. Avadhūta Gosvāmī: Nityānanda.

51. *Abhiṣeka kaila*: bathed, the term used when bathing the image of a deity in preparation for *pūjā*.

52. See ante, 2.14.23-33.

54. See ante, 2.15.12 commentary.

58. And no one knows what they talked about. Rādhāgovinda Nātha speculates that Caitanya was speaking with Nityānanda about his marriage; he had not yet taken that drastic step; see *PHM*, 49.

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Ācārya Gosvāmī with signs; the Ācārya recited riddles, and no one could understand. 60 Looking at his face, the son of Śacī laughed; and knowing his acquiescence, the Ācārya danced. 61 What was the request, or what the command, no one knew. Embracing him, Prabhu bade him farewell. 62 Prabhu said to Nityānanda, "Hear me, Śrīpāda, this I ask of you. Be gracious. 63 Do not come to Nīlācala each rainy season. But remain at Gauḍa and fulfill my desires. 64 I see no one else who can complete my work there. It is difficult, but by you it will come to pass." 65 Nityānanda replied, "I am the body and you are the breath; the body and its breath are not separate, and this is proof of that. 66 By unknowable power you cause things to occur; what you would have me do, I do, and there is no restriction." 67 Prabhu embraced him and bade him farewell, and in this way he bade farewell to all the *bhaktas*. 68 And as before the men of Kulīnagrāma made supplication, "Prabhu, tell me what my *sādhana* and duty should be." 69 Prabhu replied, "Service of Vaiṣṇavas and *nāma-saṃkīrtana*: do these things, and you will quickly gain the feet of Śrī Kṛṣṇa." 70 They replied, "Who are Vaiṣṇavas, what are the signs of them?" And Prabhu knew what was in their minds, and smiled and said, 71 "In whose mouth is always the name of Kṛṣṇa, he is the best of Vaiṣṇavas; worship at his feet." 72 They asked the same question again and again at the end of each rainy season, and Prabhu taught them the distinctions among Vaiṣṇavas, 73 "At the sight of whom the name of Kṛṣṇa comes into the mouth, know him to be best among Vaiṣṇavas." 74 And gradually Prabhu explained the signs of Vaiṣṇavas, "There are Vaiṣṇavas, and better Vaiṣṇavas, and superior Vaiṣṇavas." 75 And so all the Vaiṣṇavas returned to Gauḍa, and that year Vidyānidhi remained at Nīlādri. 76 He was a beloved friend of Svarūpa, and the two of them stayed in one place and talked together of Kṛṣṇa. 77 And there he again gave a *mantra* to Gadādhara Paṇḍita, and watched the festival on the day of *oḍani-ṣaṣṭhī*. 78 At that time Jagannātha wore a stained cloth, and when he saw it the heart of Vidyānidhi was filled with

68. Ante 2.15.104.

74. Rādhāgovinda Nātha: one in whose mouth the name of Kṛṣṇa is heard once is a Vaiṣṇava; one who takes the name of Kṛṣṇa incessantly is a better Vaiṣṇava; and at the sight of whom the name of Kṛṣṇa comes into one's own mouth, he is a superior Vaiṣṇava.

75. Puṇḍarīka Vidyānidhi, the *dīkṣā-guru* of Gadādhara Paṇḍita.

77. *CBh* 3.10.23 [= 3.11 GM ed.] tells us that because Gadādhara had revealed his *iṣṭa-mantra* to someone, his *iṣṭa-devatā* no longer appeared to him. Therefore he asked Vidyānidhi to give him another *iṣṭa-mantra*. *Oḍani-ṣaṣṭhī*: the sixth day of the bright fortnight of Agrahāyaṇa (November-December), at which time Jagannātha is given cool new clothes.

78. The new clothing which was given to Jagannātha was soiled.

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disgust. 79 That night Jagannātha and Balāi came; and the two brothers slapped him, laughing and laughing. 80 His cheeks swelled up, but the Ācārya was happy in his heart, as Vṛndāvana Dāsa has told in detail.

81 In this way the *bhaktas* of Gauḍa came every year, and stayed with Prabhu and had *darśana* of the festival. 82 In some years the rainy season was special; later on I shall tell of those incidents in detail. 83 In this way Mahāprabhu passed four years, and it took two years to come and go on his journey to the south. 84 He wanted to go for two years to Vṛndāvana, but was not able to go, stayed by the hand of Rāmānanda. 85 In the fifth year the *bhaktas* of Gauḍa came, but having seen the car they did not stay, but returned to Gauḍa. 86 Then Prabhu, in the place of Sārvabhauma and Rāmānanda, embraced them and said in sweet words, 87 "I am very anxious to go to Vṛndāvana, but did not go these two years because you forbade me. 88 But I certainly must go, and both of you must agree, for apart from you both I have no other recourse. 89 In Gauḍa I have two objects of reverence: my mother and the Jāhvanī—these two, full of mercy. 90 So I shall go through the Gauḍa country, to see them. Both of you be gracious, and give me your consent." 91 When they heard, both considered the words of Prabhu, and thought that it was not good to put obstructions in his way. 92 And they both said, "Now it is the rainy season, and you will not be able to travel. When *vijayā-daśamī* comes, then certainly you shall go."

93 So Mahāprabhu passed the rainy season in delight, and on the day of *vijayā-daśamī* he started on his journey. 94 As much of the *prasāda* of Jagannātha as he had gotten, sandalwood which had been offered as *prasāda*, and silken rope—all these Prabhu took with him. 95 Requesting permission of Jagannātha, he left in the morning. The Oḍiyā *bhaktas* followed behind him; 96 but gently Prabhu dissuaded them; and he came with his own *bhaktas* to Bhavānīpura. 97 Rāmānanda came behind him, riding in a palanquin and Vāṇīnātha sent him much *prasāda*. 98 He remained there and ate the *prasāda*, and in the morning Prabhu journeyed on to Bhuvaneśvara. 99 He came to Kaṭaka and there had *darśana* of Gopāla, and the *brāhmaṇa* Svapneśvara invited Prabhu.

79. CBh 3.11.126-130 [= 3.10 GM ed.]. In the night, Jagannātha and Balarāma came to Vidyānidhi in a dream, and angry because the clothing was stained, began to slap the face of Vidyānidhi, Jagannātha one cheek and Balarāma the other. The cheeks swelled up, and even the next morning the swelling and marks of the fingers remained. Svarūpa Dāmodara himself, says Vṛndāvana Dāsa, was witness to this.

89. Jāhnavī is another name for the Gaṅgā.

92. See ante 2.15.33 commentary and 2.15.67.

96. Bhavānīpura is a place about twelve miles from Purī.

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100 Rāmānanda Rāya invited all his followers, and Prabhu came and stayed in an outside garden. 101 When he had eaten, he rested under a *vakula* tree; and Rāya made a trip to see Pratāparudra. 102 When he heard, the king was overjoyed, and quickly came, and when he saw Prabhu he fell to the ground in obeisance. 103 Again he rose, and again fell, overcome with love; he praised him, his body filled with gooseflesh, and tears flowed from his eyes. 104 When he saw his devotion, the heart of Prabhu was delighted, and Mahāprabhu raised him and embraced him. 105 The king bowed again and praised him, and his body was bathed with the tears of the mercy of Prabhu. 106 When he was again calm, Rāmānanda seated the king, and Prabhu granted him grace with speech and mind and body. 107 Thus Gauradhāma manifested his mercy to him, and because of this he has the name "Savior of Pratāparudra." 108 The ministers of the king made obeisance to Prabhu, and the son of Śacī bade the king farewell. 109 Going outside, the king caused letters to be written, and he sent them to all the wealthy people in his own kingdom, 110 "You will make new houses in each of your own villages, and you will fill five or seven new houses with goods. 111 You yourselves will take Prabhu there; day and night you will remain at his service, with staffs in your hands." 112 There were two chief ministers, Harichandana and Marddarāja, and the king commanded them, "Do all these things. 113 Bring a new boat and moor it on the bank of the river. After he has bathed Prabhu will cross the river in it. 114 Erect a pillar there, making it a great pilgrimage place. I shall bathe there every day. And [I hope] that I may die there. 115 Build the best of new houses at Caturdvāra. Rāmānanda, go be with Mahāprabhu." 116 The king heard that Prabhu would depart in the evening. He told the women to climb into tents on the backs of elephants. 117 And they stood in rows along the path that Prabhu would take. And in the evening Prabhu departed, taking his own people.

118 Coming to the Citrotpalā River, he bathed at the ghat; and when they saw him, all the queens bowed in respect. 119 At the sight of Prabhu, all were filled with *prema*, and they said "Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa," with tears flowing from their eyes. 120 "I have never heard of such a merciful one in all the three worlds; at

101. Kaṭaka (Cuttack) was Pratāparudra's capital.

106. By speaking soothing words to him, calming his mind, and touching or embracing his body.

107. Gauradhāma: see commentary to 1.17.85.

116. The women of the king's family could not of course be seen, so the king had them placed in howdahs, screened with cloth tents, on the backs of his elephants.

120. Cf. BhP 10.40.

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the sight of him from the distance one becomes a woman in love with Kṛṣṇa." 121 Boarding the boat, Prabhu crossed the river; and as the night was filled with stars, he moved on to Caturdvāra. 122 He stayed there the night, and in the morning he bathed and performed morning ritual, and at that time *mahāprasāda* came from Jagannātha. 123 By order of the king the temple servants sent it every day—much *prasāda* was brought by many people. 124 Prabhu ate the *prasāda* with his own people, and getting up Prabhu started off, saying "Hari, Hari!"

125 Rāmānanda, Marddarāja, and Śrī Haricandana, these three went with him and served him. 126 And with Prabhu were Purī Gosvāmī and Svarūpa Dāmodara, Jagadānanda, Mukunda, Govinda and Kāśīśvara. 127 And Haridāsa Ṭhākura was there, and Vakreśvara Paṇḍita, and Gopīnāthācārya, and Dāmodara Paṇḍita. 128 And Rāmāi and Nandāi and many *bhaktas*; the chief among them have been mentioned; who could count them all?

129 When Gadādhara Paṇḍita went with him, Prabhu forbade him, "Do not abandon your Kṣetra-*saṃnyāsa*." 130 The Paṇḍita replied, "Where you are, there is Nīlācala. Let my Kṣetra-*saṃnyāsa* go to hell." 131 Prabhu said, "Stay here and serve Gopīnātha." And Paṇḍita replied, "A crore of services is the sight of your feet." 132 Prabhu said, "If you abandon your service, the fault will accrue to me; stay on here and keep on with your service, and I will be happy." 133 Paṇḍita replied, "All faults are on me; and if I do not go with you, I shall go alone. 134 I shall go to see the Mother, I shall not go for your sake. And the fault of abandoning service and vows—I am responsible for it." 135 So saying, the Paṇḍita went separately; and when he arrived at Kaṭaka, Prabhu brought him along with him. 136 The *prema* which the Paṇḍita had for Caitanya cannot be understood. For he broke his promise of service to Śrī Kṛṣṇa like a blade of grass. 137 Prabhu was delighted in his heart at his actions, and taking him by the hand he said with false anger, 138. "To leave your vows and service—that was your intention, and you have brought it about; you have abandoned them and come to a distant country. 139 You want to remain with me: you desire your own satisfaction. But your two *dharmas* are destroyed, and this is

129. Gadādhara had evidently taken a vow to live at Purī for the rest of his life.

130. The translation is literal: *paṇḍita kahe yāhā tumi sei nīlācala / kṣetrasannyāsa mora yāuka vasātala //.*

134. Āi: the Mother, Śacī.

137. [Gadādhara's unpredictable and contrary actions are consistent with those of the headstrong and utterly devoted Rādhā, or one of the *gopīs*, with whom he is identified in the prior *līlā*; see Kavikarṇapūra's *GGUD* 10-11, 146-55. TKS]

139. His vow to live at Puri and his vow to serve Gopinātha.

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sorrow to me. 140 If you want my happiness, go to Nīlācala. This is my oath—say nothing more." 141 So saying, Mahāprabhu boarded the boat; Paṇḍita fainted and fell down there. 142 He gave instructions to Sārvabhauma to take the Paṇḍita and go, and Bhaṭṭācārya said, "Rise up; such is the *līlā* of Prabhu. 143 You know that Kṛṣṇa himself broke his word, and controlled by grace to his *bhakta*, kept the word of Bhīṣma.

Śloka 2. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.9.37:
He who was standing in the chariot, abandoning his own determination, in order to execute his promise to me, descended [from the chariot] with the discus in hand, and like a lion toward an elephant dashed toward me; the earth trembled at his steps and the upper cloth was loosened [from his body].

144 In this way Prabhu is enduring separation from you, and has taken care to preserve your vow." 145 Speaking in this way he consoled him, and the two in grief and sorrow returned to Nīlācala. 146 *Bhaktas* abandon *dharma* and *karma* for the sake of Prabhu; Prabhu cannot endure *bhaktas* bereft of *dharma*. 147 Those who hear this variety of *prema* are soon joined to the feet of Caitanya.

148 When they reached Yājapura, Prabhu bade farewell to the two royal ministers who were with him. 149 Prabhu bade farewell to Rāya also, but he went with him, and Prabhu spent days and nights with Rāmānanda in speaking of Kṛṣṇa. 150 In each village, because of the order of the king, the servants of the king served him with various goods in new houses. 151 And in this way Prabhu came to Remuṇā, and at that place he took his leave of Rāmānanda Rāya. 152 Rāya fell on the earth unconscious, and Prabhu took Rāya into his lap and wept. 153 The story of the parting with Rāya cannot be told; I cannot describe it fully.

154 So Prabhu came to the border of Odradeśa, and there the *adhikārī* of the king met him. 155 For two or four days he served him there; and before

143. Kṛṣṇa had taken a vow that he would not take up arms in the war at Kurukṣetra. And Bhīṣma had vowed that he would make Kṛṣṇa take arms. Arjuna was wounded by Bhīṣma's arrows, and Kṛṣṇa ran toward Bhīṣma, the discus in his hand; Kṛṣṇa had broken his promise, and Bhīṣma kept his. Bhīṣma was a *bhakta* of Kṛṣṇa, it is said, and in order that the word of a *bhakta* might be made good, Kṛṣṇa broke his own. *Vaśa*: control; see 1.4.216; 1.7.138; 1.17.71, *śl.*5; 2.23.26.

147. *Vivarta*: variety. The term can also mean "reverse," in this sense: that true *prema* would seek only the satisfaction of Caitanya; Gadādhara's did not.

154. Odradeśa: Orissa. The *adhikārī* would be the king's administrator in that region.

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[Prabhu] went further, he advised him in this way, 156 "The lands ahead are those of a drunken Yavana king, and for fear of him no one goes along the path. 157 He controls all the lands up to Pichaladā, and for fear of him no one can cross the river. 158 Stay here a few days, let me make an agreement with him; then I will arrange that you proceed by boat in peace." 159 At that time there was a spy of that Yavana; disguised as an Oḍiyā he had come to Kaṭaka. 160 When he saw the wonderful actions of Prabhu, that Hindu spy went to the Yavana and said, 161 "A *saṃnyāsin* has come from Jagannātha, and many perfected men are with him. 162 All of them are constantly singing Kṛṣṇa-*saṃkīrtana*, and they all laugh and dance and sing and weep. 163 Lakhs and lakhs of people go to see him, and when they see him they are not able to go home again. 164 All those people are as if mad; saying 'Kṛṣṇa' they dance and weep and roll around on the ground. 165 It cannot be described, but if you saw it you would know; in his own true nature I revere him as Īśvara." 166 So saying, that spy sang "Hari Kṛṣṇa," and laughed and wept and danced and sang as if mad.

167 When he heard this the heart of the Yavana was turned, and he sent his own faithful man to Prabhu. 168 The faithful servant came and bowed to the feet of Prabhu, and overcome with *prema* said "Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa." 169 When he had recovered himself, he bowed and said to the Oḍiyā, "The *mleccha* lord has sent me to you. 170 If you give permission, the Yavana lord will come here to meet Prabhu. 171 He is very anxious, and entreats you humbly. This is his treaty with you; have no fear of war." 172 When he heard this, the minister was astonished. Who could bring the mind of a drunken Yavana to this? 173 Mahāprabhu himself caused his mind to change, who saves the world by his *darśana* and the sound of his voice. 174 So saying, he said to the faithful servant, "He is most fortunate; let him come and have *darśana* of Prabhu. 175 We will trust him if he comes unarmed; so let him come, bringing five or seven

156. Yavana: foreign, foreigner, often a synonym for Muslim; see the commentary to 2.1.158.

157. The river referred to is the Mantreśvara River.

159. Or "in disguise, he came to Kaṭaka in Orissa."

160. This is an early and rare use of the term "Hindu" in Bengali and in this passage at least may mean "non-Muslim" rather than to designate a follower of a definable doctrine, as there is no further specification. The text is: *hindu cara kahe sei yavana pāśa giyā* //. See also vv. 179-80 below.

164-66. Bāulera prāya: as if mad.

169. The Oḍiyā: the *adhikārī* mentioned above; *mleccha*: foreigner, barbarian; see commentary to 2.15.186 above.

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servants with him." 176 So the faithful servant went and told him all, and the Yavana donned the dress of a Hindu and came. 177 Seeing Prabhu from a distance he fell to the earth; falling prostrate he wept, with gooseflesh on his body. 178 The minister brought him forward respectfully, and with palms pressed together he took the name of Kṛṣṇa before Prabhu. 179 "Why was my birth in a low Yavana family? Why did not fate cause me to be born in a Hindu family? 180 If I were a Hindu I could gain the wealth of the proximity of your feet. This body of mine is useless; let my life go." 181 When he heard this the minister was overcome, and holding the feet of Prabhu he praised him, 182 "At the hearing of whose holy name a *caṇḍāla* is purified, this *jīva* has gained the sight of such as you. 183 What is there astonishing in what has happened to this man, for such is the power of the sight of you."

Śloka 3. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.33.6:
O Bhagavān, when at any time by singing and hearing sung your name,
or meditating on it even dog-eaters can be worthy [to offer] sacrifice,
how much more [is gained] by seeing you?

184 Then Mahāprabhu looked with mercy on him, and encouraging him he said, "Say Kṛṣṇa-Hari." 185 And he said, "If you agree, give me the command that I serve you. 186 I have harmed innumerable cows and *brāhmaṇa*s and Vaiṣṇavas; let me be released from that sin." 187 Then Mukunda Datta said, "Listen, sir, Mahāprabhu wants to go to the bank of the Gaṅgā. 188 Give him your help in going there. This is an important command, and that will be a great service." 189 Then he bowed to the feet of Mahāprabhu, and bowed to the feet of all of them and went in delight. 190 He and the minister then embraced each other; exchanging many gifts they became friends.

191 In the morning he prepared many boats, and he sent his faithful servant to bring Prabhu. 192 The minister went there with Mahāprabhu, and the *mleccha* came and made obeisance to Prabhu's feet. 193 There was a new boat with a cabin in the middle, and Prabhu with his own people boarded it. 194 Mahāprabhu bade farewell to the minister, who remained watching and weeping on the bank. 195 Because of fear of pirates the Yavana also went, and brought with him ten boats filled with soldiers. 196 They crossed the dangerous Mantreśvara River, and the Yavana went with them up to Pichaladā. 197 At that

176. Hindubeśa dhari sei yavana āila //.
Śloka 3. See 2.18.*śl.*10.

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village Prabhu bade him farewell, and I cannot describe his actions and *prema* at that time. 198 Such was the unworldly *līlā* of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, and he who hears it is blessed in body and in birth.

199 Again boarding the boat, Prabhu came to Pānīhāṭī; and he gave the boatman the blessing of his own clothing to wear. 200 There was a great tumult of people saying "Prabhu has come," and people covered everything—water and land. 201 Rāghava Paṇḍita came to take Prabhu, and while they were going along the path there was a great crowd of people, and they proceeded with great difficulty. 202 For one day Prabhu made his dwelling there, and in the morning left for Kumārahaṭṭa, where Śrīnivāsa was. 203 From there he proceeded to the house of Śivānanda, and afterwards Īśvara came to the house of Vāsudeva. 204 In that way Prabhu stayed in the house of Vācaspati, and because of fear of the crowds of people he came to Kuliyā. 205 There the son of Śacī was in the house of Mādhava Dāsa, and a crore of lakhs of people had *darśana* of him there. 206 Staying there for seven days he saved people, and he saved all those who were somehow opposed to him. 207 In that way he came to the house of the Ācārya in Śāntipura, and in his reunion with his mother Śacī he caused her grief to be dispelled. 208 From there Prabhu proceeded to Gauḍa, and thence to Rāmakeligrāma. 209 There he met Rūpa and Sanātana, and Nṛsiṃhānanda decorated the path. 210 All these things I describe in *sūtras*: and how he went and 211 came back again from Nāṭaśālā. For fear of the crowds of people he did not go to Vṛndāvana. 212 Again he returned to Śāntipura and stayed there for ten days. Vṛndāvana Dāsa has described all this in detail. 213 Thus there is no need to expand on it, for if it is repeated again the book will grow too large.

199. Pānīhāṭī is a village in Twenty-Four Parganas district, near present-day Calcutta.

202. Śrīnivāsa is Śrīvāsa; whether he had a house in Kumārahaṭṭa as well as in Navadvīpa is not stated.

204. Vācaspati was the brother of Sārvabhauma.

207. He had to meet his mother in Advaita's house, as his vows as a *saṃnyāsin* would not allow him to go to her in what had formerly been his own home.

212. CBh 3.4.passim. There are in fact some discrepancies. For example, Vṛndāvana Dāsa says that Caitanya went from Kuliyā along the banks of the Gaṅgā and came to Rāmakeli; Kṛṣṇadāsa says that on the way to Rāmakeli he stopped off at Śāntipura. Vṛndāvana Dāsa does not mention that visit. Also Kṛṣṇadāsa says that from Rāmakeli Caitanya went to Kānāira Nāṭaśālā, and from there returned to Śāntipura. Vṛndāvana Dāsa says that he went from Rāmakeli to Śāntipura, and does not mention the trip to Kānāira Nāṭaśālā at all. Also, Vṛndāvana Dāsa does not mention Sanātana's telling Caitanya that it would be inappropriate to go to Vṛndāvana with so many people (below, vv. 264-267). In fact, according to *CBh* 3.10.233-74 [= 3.9 GM ed.], Caitanya first meets Sanātana in Purī, and there changed his name from Śākara Mallik to Sanātana (v. 268). He also

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214 When Prabhu returned to Śāntipura again, Raghunātha Dāsa came and met him there. 215 Hiraṇya and Govarddhana were the names of two brothers, and they were lords of twelve lakhs of rupees in Saptagrāma. 216 There were immensely wealthy, and charitable, and they revered *brāhmaṇa*s; their actions were good, they were of excellent family, followers of *dharma*, and first in qualities. 217 They were primary supports of the *brāhmaṇa*s who lived in Nadīyā, and they helped them with wealth and lands and villages. 218 Nīlāmbara Cakravartī was revered by them both, and Cakravartī treated them both as his own brothers. 219 Formerly they had served Purandara Miśra, and thus both knew Prabhu well. 220 Raghunātha was the son of Govarddhana; from boyhood he was indifferent to worldly things. 221 When Prabhu came to Śāntipura after taking *saṃnyāsa*, then Raghunātha came to meet Prabhu. 222 He fell at the feet of Prabhu, overcome with *prema*, and Prabhu showed him his mercy by the touch of his feet. 223 His father always served the Ācārya, and thus the Ācārya was favorable towards him. 224 And by the grace of the Ācārya he got the food that remained on the plate of Prabhu. And he gazed at the feet of Prabhu for five or seven days. 225 Then Prabhu bade him farewell and went to Nīlācala, and returning to his house he was mad with *prema*. 226 Again and again he fled to go to Nīlādri, but his father caught him and brought him back from the road. 227 Five foot-soldiers guarded him day and night, and four servants and two *brāhmaṇa*s remained with him. 228 These eleven people watched him constantly; he did not get to go to Nīlācala, and he was heartbroken. 229 Now, when Mahāprabhu came to Śāntipura, he heard of it, and Raghunātha beseeched his father, 230 "Give me your permission. Let me go and see the feet of Prabhu. Otherwise the life will not remain in my body." 231 When he heard this his father gave him many people and goods, and sent him off saying, "Come back

says that Rūpa and Sanātana met Caitanya together in Purī, but Kṛṣṇadāsa has all this happen in Rāmakeli. Kṛṣṇadāsa says that later, when Caitanya was on his way from Vṛndāvana to Prayāga, he met Rūpa and Anupama, and instructed them for ten days. He then went on to Kāśī, where he met Sanātana, and spent two months there instructing him. Then Caitanya returned to Purī and Sanātana went on to Vṛndāvana. In the meantime, Rūpa and Anupama were on their way to rejoin Caitanya in Purī, and Anupama died on the way. Rūpa was instructed at Purī to go to Vṛndāvana. Vṛndāvana Dāsa mentions none of this; Kṛṣṇadāsa is following the narrative of Kavikarṇapūra in it all.

218. Nīlāmbara Cakravartī was the maternal grandfather of Caitanya.

219. Purandara Miśra was Jagannātha Miśra, Caitanya's father.

230. [The expression of impending death should Raghunāth's desire not be met is more than just hyperbole, but a form of coercion, for the karmic responsibility for the death, were it to come about, would be placed firmly on the head of his father had he denied the request. TKS]

231. Presumably the people were for protection, and the goods both for sustenance on the journey, and gifts to the house of Advaita.

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quickly." 232 He remained with Prabhu in Śāntipura for seven days, and day and night he spoke of what was in his heart. 233 "How shall I escape from the hands of the watchmen? How shall I go with Prabhu to Nīlācala?" 234 The all-knowing Gaurāṅga Prabhu knew what was in his heart, and for teaching him he offered him words of hope, 235 "Go and stay peacefully at home, do not be mad; only gradually do people gain the shore of the sea of the world. 236 Do not show people outward renunciation, but as is appropriate enjoy worldly things, without attachment to them. 237 Be steadfast in your heart, and outwardly do the work of the world, and soon Kṛṣṇa will rescue you. 238 When I have seen Vṛndāvana and returned to Nīlācala, then by some pretext you will come to my side. 239 At that time Kṛṣṇa will reveal the pretext to you, and who can stay him who has the grace of Kṛṣṇa?" 240 So saying, Mahāprabhu bade farewell to him, and he returned home and acted as Prabhu had taught. 241 His external renunciation and his madness—all these he left, and he did appropriate work without attachment. 242 When they saw this, his father and mother were very happy, and his restraints were a little relaxed.

243 Now Prabhu summoned all his *bhaktas* to one place—Advaita and Nityānanda and the rest—all the *bhaktas* who were there. 244 Embracing them all Gosvāmī said, "All of you give me your leave, and I shall go to Nīlācala. 245 I have met you all here, so this rainy season no one should journey to Nīlādri. 246 From there I shall certainly go to Vṛndāvana; with your leave, I shall come [from there] without difficulty." 247 Holding the feet of his mother, with great humility he begged her permission to go to Vṛndāvana. 248 And then he sent her to Navadvīpa and went to Nīlādri, taking his *bhaktas* with him. 249 All the people served him on the path, and in happiness the son of Śacī returned to Nīlācala. 250 When Prabhu came he had *darśana* of Jagannātha, and there was a great commotion in the town: "Mahāprabhu has come."

251 In delight, the *bhaktas* came to meet him, and Prabhu embraced them all in *prema*. 252 Kāśī Miśra, Rāmānanda, Pradyumna, Sārvabhauma, Vāṇīnātha, Śikhi, and all the rest of the *bhaktas*. 253 Gadādhara Paṇḍita came to meet Prabhu, and before them all Prabhu began to speak, 254 "I intended to go to Vṛndāvana through the Gauḍa country, to see the feet of my mother and the Gaṅgā. 255 With this in mind I started off for Gauḍa. My own *bhaktas* were there in thousands. 256 And lakhs and lakhs of people came in curiosity to see, and because of the crush of people I was not able to walk along the path. 257 Wherever I stayed, the walls of the houses were pulverized, and wherever my

235. Vātula: mad.

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eyes fell, the place was full of people. 258 With great difficulty I went to Rāmakeligrāma, and there two people came to my place, Rūpa and Sanātana by name. 259 These two brothers are kings among *bhaktas* and vessels of the grace of Kṛṣṇa. By occupation they are officials of the king, his chief ministers. 260 In knowledge, in devotion, in wisdom and in strength they are preeminent, but they consider themselves less than straw. 261 Seeing and hearing their humility a stone would break; and I was pleased with them, and I said to them both, 262 'You consider yourselves the lowest of the low; soon Kṛṣṇa will rescue you.' 263 So saying, when I bade farewell to them, at the time of parting Sanātana spoke this enigmatic thing to me, 264 'One with whom are lakhs and crores of people is not ready for a journey to Vṛndāvana.' 265 But I only heard this, I paid no attention to it. And in the morning I came to the village of Kānāira Nāṭaśālā. 266 In the night I reflected on it in my mind; 'Was this a riddle that Sanātana spoke to me? 267 He has spoken the truth; there are so many people with me that when they see me people will say, 'This is an affectation.' 268 Vṛndāvana is difficult of access and lonely and hard to get to; I should go alone, or with one man. 269 Mādhava Purī went there alone, and in the guise of the giving of milk Kṛṣṇa appeared to him. 270 But I would go there like a magician performing his magic; one should not go to Vṛndāvana with many people. 271 I should go to Vṛndāvana all alone, yet I was going with an army beating drums. 272 Saying to myself 'Shame on you,' I became distraught; and I turned around and came back again to the banks of the Gaṅgā. 273 I came and sent the *bhaktas* each to his own place, and I came here with five or six people in all with me. 274 May I now go to Vṛndāvana without hindrance? Be gracious; all of you consult together and give me your advice. 275 I abandoned Gadādhara, and he was pained; for that reason I may not be able to go to Vṛndāvana."

276 Then Gadādhara Paṇḍita was overcome with *prema*, and holding the feet of Prabhu he entreated him, 277 "Wherever you stay, there Vṛndāvana is; there are the Yamunā and Gaṅgā and all the *tīrthas*. 278 Then go to Vṛndāvana to teach people; you will do whatever is in your mind. 279 But before us are the four months of the rainy season, Prabhu. Stay those four months at Nīlācala. 280 Afterwards do whatever is in your mind. Stay or go according to your own wish; who can prevent it?" 281 When they heard this all the *bhaktas* said at the feet of Prabhu, "What Paṇḍita has entreated you to do, is the wish of all." 282 So according to the wish of them all, Prabhu remained there four months, and

269. 2.4.23-42.

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when he heard of it Pratāparudra was overjoyed. 283 That day Gadādhara made him an invitation, and Prabhu took food there with his *bhaktas*. 284 The affection of Paṇḍita at that meal, and Prabhu's tasting of it, these two things are not within the power of man to describe. 285 In this way the *līlā*s of Gaura are unparalleled and infinite; I have spoken of them in brief; detailing them cannot be done. 286 Though Ananta himself speaks with a thousand mouths, still he could not reach the end of the *līlā* of a single day.

287 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

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Madhya Līlā
Chapter 17

Śloka 1.
Gaura, in the forest on his way to Vṛndāvana, made the tigers, elephants, deer, and birds crazed with *prema*, and they uttered the name of Kṛṣṇa and danced together.

1 Glory, glory to Gauracandra, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 In the autumn it came to Prabhu's mind to go, and in a secluded place he consulted with Svarūpa and Rāmānanda. 3 "If you two help me, I shall go and see Śrī Vṛndāvana. 4 I shall arise in the night and flee along the forest path; I shall go alone, and take no one with me at all. 5 Lest anyone wants to join me, and runs along the path after me, you keep them all here, that no one shall go. 6 Be gracious and give me your permission, and do not be sorrowful; for in the happiness of all of you I shall be happy on the way." 7 The two said, "You are the non-dependent Īśvara; you will do whatever you wish to do, not dependent on any other. 8 But listen to a request from the two of us. 'In your happiness is my happiness'—this you yourself have said. 9 So in the hearts of all of us there is great happiness. Our request is this: that you take a good man. 10 [Take] with you a *brāhmaṇa* of highest quality—this is what we desire. He will beg and give you food, and carry your waterpot. 11 As you go along the forest path, there are no *brāhmaṇas* to cook food. So agree, and take a *brāhmaṇa* with you." 12 Prabhu replied, "I shall take none of my own companions. If I took one, the hearts of the others would be heavy. 13 It will be a new companion,

2. [The sequence of events described in this and the next chapter follows closely Murāri Gupta's *KCC*. TKS]

7. *Svatantra*: non-dependent, self-willed.

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and one whose heart is absorbed in love. If I find such a one, I shall take him with me." 14 Svarūpa said, "There is Balabhadra Bhaṭṭācārya, who is greatly devoted to you, and who is learned and pure and simple. 15 He came with you first from Gauḍa, and he desires to visit all the *tīrthas*. 16 With him there is a *brāhmaṇa* servant, and he will serve you on the way, begging and doing other things. 17 If you would take him with you, everyone would be happy, for there would be no difficulty for you as you go along the forest path. 18 This *brāhmaṇa* will carry your clothes and water-pot, and Bhaṭṭācārya will beg for you, going from door to door." 19 Prabhu agreed to his words, and he took Balabhadra Bhaṭṭācārya with him.

20 In the deep of night he went to see Jagannātha and to take his permission, and toward the end of the night Prabhu arose and went secretly. 21 In the morning the *bhaktas* did not see Prabhu; they searched everywhere, very disturbed. 22 Svarūpa Gosvāmī explained it to them all, and dissuaded them [from following] and kept them there, knowing the mind of Prabhu. 23 Leaving the well-known roads, Prabhu went along side paths; keeping Kaṭaka on his right he entered the forest. 24 Prabhu went through the lonely forest, taking the name of Kṛṣṇa, and when they saw Prabhu the elephants and tigers left the path. 25 In packs were tigers and boars and rhinoceroses and herds of elephants, and absorbed, Prabhu moved among them. 26 When he saw them, great fear arose in the heart of Bhaṭṭācārya; but because of the power of Prabhu they remained to one side. 27 One day a tiger was lying on the path, and Prabhu, absorbed, stepped on its body. 28 Prabhu said "Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa" arousing the tiger; the tiger got up; and saying "Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa" the tiger began to dance. 29 Another day Prabhu was bathing in a river, when a herd of rut elephants came to drink water there. 30 As the elephants came before him, Prabhu splashed water on them, saying "Say the name of Kṛṣṇa." 31 Those whose bodies were touched with the tiniest drop of water said "Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa" and danced and sang in *prema*. 32 Some fell to the earth, and others trumpeted. And watching all this, the mind of Bhaṭṭācārya was astonished.

33 Prabhu was going along the path loudly singing *saṃkīrtana*; hearing the sound of his honeyed voice some does came. 34 Hearing the sound, they ac-

16. Rādhāgovinda Nātha: in some MSS there seems to be the implication that this should be read "a *brāhmaṇa* and a servant," for in 2.18.162 some MSS read "the three trembled." But the Asiatic Society MS has in that place "the two trembled," and so following this MS and Rādhāgovinda Nātha, "*brāhmaṇa* servant" is the reading which has been adopted here.

26. "Power" might also be "majesty": *pratāpa*.

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companied Prabhu on the left and right, and Prabhu stroked their bodies, and in delight recited a *śloka*:

Śloka 2. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.21.11:
Though they are dumb animals, all these does are blessed, for hearing the sound of the flute they worship, with this deer, with glances full of love, the son of Nanda adorned in various ways.

35 At that time five or seven tigers came to that place, and the tigers and deer together went with Mahāprabhu. 36 And when he saw that, Mahāprabhu remembered Vṛndāvana, and he recited a *śloka* describing the qualities of Vṛndāvana:

Śloka 3. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.13.60:
He drove out anger, thirst, etc., from the place of the unconquerable one, and in that place the natural enmity among men and among deer etc., [was dispelled], and men and beasts lived in friendship with one another.

37 When Prabhu said, "Say Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa!" the tigers and deer said "Kṛṣṇa" and began to dance. 38 The tigers danced and wept with the deer, and Balabhadra Bhaṭṭācārya was astonished when he saw it. 39 The tigers and the deer embraced each other, and mouth to mouth they kissed each other. 40 As he watched this play, Prabhu began to laugh, and leaving them all there he went on his way.

41 Peacocks and other birds, seeing Prabhu, went with him, saying "Kṛṣṇa" and dancing drunken, 42 and Prabhu cried "Hari *bol*!" in a loud voice. The creepers on the trees blossomed, hearing that sound. 43 As many things, moving and unmoving, as there were in Jhārikhaṇḍa, were drunk with *prema* by the name of Kṛṣṇa 44 Whatever village he passed through, and wherever he stayed, *prema-bhakti* was aroused in the people of all those villages. 45 And when anyone heard the name of Kṛṣṇa from his mouth, from his mouth another heard it, and from his mouth another. 46 And everyone, saying "Kṛṣṇa, Hari," danced and wept and sang, and throughout the country all became Vaiṣṇavas. 47 Even though Prabhu was in fear of the crowds of people, and kept *prema* hidden and did not manifest it outwardly, 48 still, affected by hearing him and by the sight of him, all the people of the country became Vaiṣṇavas. 49 He had gone to

43. Jhārikhaṇḍa is the name of the jungly section in western Bengal and Bihar, now inhabited mostly by tribal peoples.

49. Gauḍa: western Bengal; Baṅga or Vaṅga: eastern Bengal; Utkala: Orissa.

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Gauḍa, Vaṅga, Utkala, and to the south, and wherever he had wandered he saved people. 50 Under the pretext of going to Mathurā he had come to Jhārikhaṇḍa, where people were irreligious, like Bhillas. 51 He saved them all, by means of the name and *prema*; who has the power to understand the profundity of the *līlā* of Caitanya?

52 When he saw the forest he mistook it for Vṛndāvana; and when he saw the mountains he thought, 'This is Govarddhana.' 53 Wherever he saw a river he thought it the Kālindī, and there, overcome with *prema*, Prabhu danced and fell weeping. 54 While going along the path, Bhaṭṭācārya [found] vegetables and roots and fruit; whatever he could get anywhere, he took. 55 In whatever village Prabhu rested, there five or seven *brāhmaṇas* would come and offer him invitations. 56 And some people would bring rice and give it to Bhaṭṭācārya, and some brought milk and curd, and some brought *ghi* and *khaṇḍa*. 57 Where there were no *brāhmaṇas*, there were worthy *śūdras*, and coming, they all offered invitations to Bhaṭṭācārya. 58 Bhaṭṭācārya cooked curries with things of the forest, and with the forest-curry Prabhu was much delighted. 59 [Bhaṭṭācārya] gathered food for two or four days and kept it, and when they were in the deep forest where no one lived, 60 Bhaṭṭācārya would cook that food. He made curry with roots and fruits and many vegetables of the forest. 61 Prabhu would eat in the forest in the highest delight, and on those days when there were no people he found great happiness. 62 Bhaṭṭācārya served him, in affection, like a servant, and his *brāhmaṇa* carried the water-vessel and the outer clothing. 63 He bathed three times [a day] in the water of warm springs, and in the morning and in the evening in the warmth of the fire, for wood was plentiful.

64 So overcome with infinite *prema*, he proceeded alone, and experiencing great happiness, Prabhu said, 65 "Hear me, Bhaṭṭācārya. I have gone to many lands, but nowhere have I found the tiniest bit of the happiness I have on this forest path. 66 The merciful Kṛṣṇa has been very gracious to me, and by bringing me on this forest path has brought me much happiness. 67 Before, I made

50. It is probable that Kṛṣṇadāsa uses the name Bhilla as generic for the Munda-speaking tribal peoples of that part of India. For an excellent study of one type of effect of Vaiṣṇavism on tribals, see Surajit Sinha, "Vaiṣṇava Influence on a Tribal Culture," in *KMRA*.

57. Kṛṣṇadāsa makes sure these *śūdras* are worthy (*mahājana*). Rādhāgovinda Nātha interprets *mahājana* as "devotees of Bhagavān," because of the *BhP*'s statement that a *bhakta* of Bhagavān is not a *śūdra* (*na śūdrā bhagavadbhaktāḥ*). Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's *HBhV* 5.223-224 also says that Vaiṣṇava *śūdras* are like *brāhmaṇas*, and should be counted as one with them; they and Vaiṣṇava women are allowed to offer *pūjā* to the *śālagrāma*.

63. Caitanya had started from Purī in the autumn, so by this time the weather was cold.

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plans to go to Vṛndāvana, so that I could see once more my mother, and the Gaṅgā, and the *bhaktas*. 68 I was going to meet my *bhaktas*, and take them with me to Vṛndāvana. 69 And thinking this I made my way to Gauḍa; and when I saw my mother, and the Gaṅgā, and the *bhaktas*, I was happy. 70 But as I was going along in delight, with the *bhaktas*, crores of lakhs of people were there with me. 71 Kṛṣṇa instructed me through the mouth of Sanātana, and obstructed that [journey] and brought me along this forest path. 72 He is an ocean of mercy, full of compassion for the lowly and humble, for without the mercy of Kṛṣṇa there would be none of this happiness." 73 Embracing Bhaṭṭācārya he said to him, "It is by your grace that I have found so much happiness." 74 Bhaṭṭācārya said, "You are Kṛṣṇa, you are full of compassion, and I am a lowly *jīva*, to whom you have been merciful. 75 I am as ashes, and you have taken me with you, and in your mercy you have taken food from my hand. 76 You have made a lowly crow to be like Garuḍa; you are the self-willed Īśvara; you are *svayaṃ bhagavān*."

Śloka 4. Śrīdhara Svāmin's *Bhāvārthadīpikā* commentary on *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.1.1:
Whose mercy makes the dumb man eloquent and the lame to cross over the mountains, I bow to that Paramānanda Mādhava.

77 In this way Balabhadra praised him and served him in *prema* and made the heart of Prabhu satisfied.

78 In this way, in great delight, Prabhu came to Kāśī, and came to the Maṇikarṇikā to bathe at midday. 79 At that time Tapana Miśra was bathing in the Gaṅgā, and he was astonished to see Prabhu there. 80 "I heard before that Prabhu has taken *saṃnyāsa*." So he reflected, with delight in his heart. 81 Holding the feet of Prabhu, he wept aloud, and Prabhu raised him up and embraced him. 82 He took Prabhu to have *darśana* of Viśveśvara, and with him went to see the feet of Bindumādhava. 83 And then in great delight he took Prabhu to his house; and having served him, he danced, waving a cloth. 84 With his family he took the water of the feet of Prabhu, and honored Bhaṭṭācārya with *pūjā*. 85 Offering Prabhu an invitation, he fed him at his house, and had

76. See commentary on v. 7.
78. Maṇikarṇikā is the name of a famous ghat in Kāśī or Vārāṇasī.
79. 1.16.14-15: Caitanya had previously instructed Tapana Miśra to go to live at Kāśī.
82. Viśveśvara and Bindumādhava are the names of two images.
83. Or "his clothing whirling."

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Balabhadra Bhaṭṭācārya cook. 86 After he had eaten, Mahāprabhu lay down to rest, and Miśra's son Raghu massaged his feet. 87 Miśra and his family ate the food left by Prabhu, and having heard that Prabhu had come, Candraśekhara came. 88 He was a friend of Miśra, and a servant of Prabhu from long ago; he was a *vaidya* by caste, a scribe by profession, and dwelt at Vārāṇasī. 89 When he came he fell at the feet of Prabhu and wept aloud, and Prabhu raised him up and embraced him in his mercy. 90 Candraśekhara said, "Prabhu, you have shown great mercy, that you yourself have come and given *darśana* to your servant. 91 As a result of my own *karma* I live at this place, Vārāṇasī, where my ears hear nothing but the words '*māyā*' and '*brahma*.' 92 Here there is no discussion except of the six systems of philosophy, though Miśra, being merciful, speaks to me of Kṛṣṇa. 93 We both think always of your feet, and [now] you, the omniscient Īśvara, have given *darśana*. 94 Listen, Mahāprabhu; you will go to Śrī Vṛndāvana; but stay here a few days, and save these two, your servants." 95 And Miśra added, "Prabhu, as long as you stay in Kāśī, honor no invitation other than my own." 96 In this way Mahāprabhu, controlled by his two servants, though he had no desire to, remained there ten days. 97 A Maharashtrian *brāhmaṇa* came to see Prabhu, and when he saw the form and the *prema* of Prabhu he was astonished. 98 The *brāhmaṇa* invited them all, but Prabhu would not accept. Prabhu would say, "Today I have accepted an invitation." 99 In this way he deceived them every day: in fear of having to associate with *saṃnyāsins* he honored no invitations.

100 Śrīpāda Prakāśānanda was sitting in assembly, and he taught Vedānta to many students. 101 One *brāhmaṇa* came and saw the activities of Prabhu, and went and spoke of his actions to Prakāśānanda, 102 "A *saṃnyāsin* has come from Jagannātha, and I cannot describe his greatness and power. 103 His body is huge, and his color is that of pure gold; he has arms reaching to his knees, and eyes like lotuses. 104 He has all the marks of Īśvara, and seeing all these on

86. This Raghu later becomes the Gosvāmin, Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa.

91. I.e., discussion of the Vedānta. Vārāṇasī was at this time also a center for the study of philosophy.

92. The six systems are: Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Sāṃkhya, Pātañjala, Pūrva-mīmāṃsā, and Vedānta.

96. *Vaśa*: controlled; see 1.4.216; 1.7.138; 1.17.71, *śl.*5; 2.23.26. [Previously in 2.1.225, the stay in Kāśī was only four days. TKS]

98. He had agreed to take food at the house of Tapana Miśra, which is a little strange, for we have seen him refuse to eat more than one day at the house of Sārvabhauma, using the argument that longer periods would be against the *dharma* of a *saṃnyāsin*.

100. Prakāśānanda Sarasvatī, a famous Vedāntin scholar.

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him was a matter of wonder to me. 105 When I saw him I knew—this is Nārāyaṇa; and whoever sees him makes Kṛṣṇa-*saṃkīrtana*. 106 I have heard in the *Bhāgavata* the signs of a *mahābhāgavata*, and all those signs are manifested in him. 107 His tongue eternally sings the name of Kṛṣṇa, and the tears flow from his two eyes like streams of the Gaṅgā. 108 Sometimes he dances and laughs and sings, and sometimes weeps, and sometimes shouts, and sometimes roars like a lion. 109 He is a blessing to the earth, and his name is Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, and his name and form and qualities are all unequalled. 110 Seeing him I knew that this is the way of Īśvara; but hearing these transcendent things, who can believe them?"

111 When he heard this, Prakāśānanda laughed greatly, and smiling at the *brāhmaṇa* he began to speak, 112 "I have heard of this emotional *saṃnyāsin* of Gauḍa. He is a pupil of Keśava Bhāratī, and is a deceiver of people. 113 His name is Caitanya, and he has with him some emotionalists, and they wander from country to country and village to village dancing. 114 Whoever sees him calls him Īśvara. But this is his power of deception: whoever sees him is en-

106. BhP 11.2.48-55. The signs are: his mind is always absorbed in Vāsudeva; he is not greedy for things which satisfy the senses; if he gets things which satisfy and please the senses he is not overcome or controlled by them; he is meditating on Hari; he is not infatuated with the birth or death of the body, the hunger for life, fear of the mind, thirst for wisdom; in his mind there is no desire for selfish action; Vāsudeva is his refuge; he does not consider himself superior in, or in any way consider birth, deeds, *varṇa*, stage of life, caste, and so on; he considers that there is no difference in the property and so on of himself and others; nor does he consider any difference in body or in any other way between himself and others; he considers all things the same; he is at peace; he does not for an instant stray from the feet of Bhagavān; he has no material purpose; his heart never leaves Hari, but is always devoted to him in *prema*.

107-108. [For these and other signs, see text and commentary to 2.2.62; 2.8.135; 2.19.154-55; 2.23.31-32. TKS]

112. Bhāvaka: emotional, one who does not think, but over-reacts emotionally in every situation. Whether or not Kṛṣṇadāsa intended it, and it is not impossible that he did, Rādhāgovinda Nātha reads a meaning of praise into each of the statements. *Bhāvaka* can be a derogatory word, as it is interpreted above; but it can also mean one who has a *bhāva*, in this case the Rādhā-*bhāva*. Prakāśānanda, in the derogatory context, does not seem to think much of Keśava Bhāratī; but if the whole passage is read the other way, he might be making this one of Caitanya's qualities. Rādhāgovinda Nātha also says that "deceiver" (*pratāraka*) can also mean "one who saves." Or even if one reads it as "deceives," the interpretation can be that he is hiding his true nature under the guise of a *saṃnyāsin*, for the ultimate good of the world.

114. Mohana-vidyā: power of deception, his esoteric knowledge of enchantments. The complimentary meaning is that this is of course Kṛṣṇa's power to enchant even the enchanter, so also in v. 116.

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chanted. 115 There is a powerful *paṇḍita*, Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya, and I have heard that he has become mad in the company of Caitanya. 116 Only in name is he a *saṃnyāsin*; he is a great sorcerer. But his powers of enchantment will gain him nothing in Kāśīpura. 117 Listen to the Vedānta; do not go near him. In the company of such selfish people the two worlds are destroyed."

118 When he heard this, the *brāhmaṇa* was very disturbed, and saying "Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa" he got up and went from that place. 119 By the mere *darśana* of Caitanya had his heart become pure; sadly he went before Prabhu and described what had happened. 120 When he heard it, Mahāprabhu smiled a little and remained silent. And the *brāhmaṇa* again asked him, 121 "When I took your name before him, he knew your name, and spoke it himself. 122 But he uttered your name to deride you; 'Caitanya, Caitanya' he said three times. 123 The name 'Kṛṣṇa' did not come to his mouth three times. He took your name in scorn, and when I heard, I was sorrowful. 124 Be gracious to me, and tell me the cause of this; for when I see you, my mouth says 'Kṛṣṇa, Hari'." 125 And Prabhu said, "The Māyāvādīs are opposed to Kṛṣṇa; they speak senselessly of '*brahma*' and '*ātmā*' and '*caitanya*.' 126 Thus the Kṛṣṇa-nāme does not come to their mouths. The name of Kṛṣṇa and the *svarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa are the same. 127 The name, the *vigraha*, and the *svarūpa*, these three are one *rūpa*; there is no division among the three; the three are the *cidānanda svarūpa*. 128 There is no division in Kṛṣṇa between the body and possessor of the body, nor between

115. Pāgala: mad.

116. "Only in name": either "he is not a real *saṃnyāsin*, for if he were he would not act in this way" or "he is not a real *saṃnyāsin*, but is himself Bhagavān." Also either: "the people of Kāśī are too intelligent to be taken in by him" or "the people of Kāśī are all sunk in *māyā*, with their faces averted from Kṛṣṇa, therefore even he cannot save them."

117. Ucchṛṅkhala: self-seeking, selfish, a little bit harder to pun upon. The Bengali can mean either: one who seeks his own ends, to gratify his own desires; or: one who follows his own light, and is not dependent upon others.

125. Caitanya: consciousness.

126. I.e., "*caitanya*" as "consciousness" is a word which they are always using, in the context of philosophical discussion, so it has no particular religious value for them, except in connection with the concept of "*cit*." The name of Kṛṣṇa they never use, so it does not come to their mouths.

127. Cidānanda: made up of *cit* and *ānanda*.

128. In Kṛṣṇa name, body, and *svarūpa* are all made of *cit* and *ānanda*, and therefore there is no difference among them. Among *jīvas* there is a difference: name and body are material things, but *svarūpa* is made up of *cit* and *ānanda*. The *dharma* of *jīvas* is through name and body, and there are *jīva*-entities which are discrete categories and can be named: man, animal, plant, etc. This has no meaning in terms of Kṛṣṇa.

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the name and the possessor of the name. The *dharma* of *jīvas* distinguishes between name and body and *svarūpa*.

Śloka 5. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.233 [quoting *Padma Purāṇa*]:
Because of the undividedness of the name and the possessor of the name, the name Kṛṣṇa is the philosopher's stone; that Kṛṣṇa is he whose *vigraha* is Caitanya, fully pure and eternally free.

129 Thus the name of Kṛṣṇa is the *vilāsa* of his body; it cannot be grasped by the material senses, but is self-manifested. 130 The Kṛṣṇa-name, Kṛṣṇa-*guṇas*, and the various Kṛṣṇa-*līlās* are like the *svarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa, all consciousness and bliss.

Śloka 6. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.234:
Thus the Kṛṣṇa name and the rest cannot be grasped by the senses; it is self-manifested on the tongues, etc., of those whose faces are turned toward service.

131 The *rasa* of *līlā* is full bliss, as compared to the bliss of *brahma*; it attracts those who want to know *brahma* by *jñāna*, and makes them control themselves.

Śloka 7. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 12.12.69:
I bow down to that son of Vyāsa, the destroyer of all evil, whose mind was full of happiness, because of his having put other *bhāvas* away, and whose essence was attracted by the beauty of the *līlā* of Ajita, and who has spoken compassionately of these in the *purāṇa*, like a lamp of truth.

132 The qualities of Kṛṣṇa are full bliss, as compared to the bliss of *brahma*, and thus attract the minds of those who are *ātmārāmas*.

Śloka 5. This *śloka* is also found in Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin's *HBhV* 11.269 [quoting *Viṣṇu-dharmottara Purāṇa*].

131. "Control themselves" is an overly simple translation. There are two possible interpretations. The first is that, attracted by the taste of the *rasa* of the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*, even those who strive to know *brahman* are drawn to know within themselves the true *rasa*. The second is that they are controlled by their essential selves, i.e., they are in a condition of *bhāva*, in relationship to the *svarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa. For *vaśa* (control), see commentary to v. 96.

Śloka 7. See 2.24.*śl*.12.

132. *Ātmārāma*: those who delight in the self, who seek to know the bliss of *brahman*.

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Śloka 8. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.7.10:
Even though they are not possessed of the books, those sages who delight in the self offer selfless *bhakti* to the great striding [Viṣṇu]; of such qualities is Hari.

133 Retain all this; regarding the feet of Kṛṣṇa: the minds of those *ātmārāmas* are conquered by the scent of the *tulasī*.

Śloka 9. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.15.43:
The wind, bearing the perfume of the *tulasī*, mingled with the perfume of the lotus feet of that lotus-eyed one, enters through the orifices, and agitates the mind and body of those who are *akṣarajuṣas*.

134 Thus the Kṛṣṇa-nāme does not come to the lips of those Māyāvādīs who are always looking away [from Kṛṣṇa]. 135 I have come to Kāśīpura to sell my basket of *bhāva*; if there is no one to take it, I shall not sell it, and shall take it to my own place. 136 I have come with a heavy load; how shall I take it away again? If I get the most meager price, I shall sell it here."

137 So saying, he made that *brāhmaṇa* his own companion, and when he rose up in the morning Gaurahari set off to Mathurā. 138 Those three went with him, but Prabhu forbade them, and from a distance he sent the three men home. 139 In *viraha* for Prabhu, the three remained together, and sang of the qualities of Prabhu, drunk with *prema*. 140 Coming to Prayāga, Prabhu bathed in the Veṇī, and seeing Mādhava he danced and sang in *prema*. 141 When he saw the Yamunā, he gave a leap and fell into the water in *prema*, and Bhaṭṭācārya in a panic grabbed him and pulled him out. 142 In this way he spent three days at Prayāga, and saved people giving them the *prema* of the Kṛṣṇa-name. 143 While going to Mathurā in *prema*, wherever he went or stayed, he caused the people to dance by the *prema* of the name of Kṛṣṇa. 144 As before, while going through the south, he had saved people, so now in the western country he made every-

Śloka 8. See 2.6.*śl.*15; 2.24.*śl.*2; 2.24.*śl.*73; 2.25.*śl.*47.

Śloka 9. Akṣarajuṣās: Sanaka and the others who seek to know the bliss of *brahman*. See 2.24.*śl.*10; 2.24.*śl.*34; 2.25.*śl.*46.

135. Prakāśānanda has said that nothing will be gained by him in Kāśī, i.e., that Caitanya will make no profit.

138. Presumably Tapana Miśra, Candraśekhara, and the Maharashtrian *brāhmaṇa*.

140. Veṇī: Triveṇī, the confluence of the rivers. There is an image of Mādhava at that place.

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one Vaiṣṇavas. 145 On the path, wherever he saw the Yamunā, he would jump in, mindless in his *prema*.

146 So he drew near Mathurā, and seeing Mathurā he fell prostrate, overcome with *prema*. 147 Coming to Mathurā, he bathed in the Viśrānti *tīrtha*, and seeing the birthplace of Keśava he bowed in respect. 148 He danced in the bliss of *prema* and sang and shouted loudly; and when people saw Prabhu overcome with *prema*, they were astonished. 149 A *brāhmaṇa* came and fell, holding the feet of Prabhu, and danced with Prabhu, overcome with *prema*. 150 They both danced in *prema*, and embraced one another; both raised their arms and said, "Say Hari Kṛṣṇa." 151 And the people shouted "Hari Hari!" making a great commotion. The servant of Keśava put a garland around the neck of Prabhu. 152 When they saw Prabhu, the people were amazed, and said, "This *rūpa* and this *prema* could never be of this world. 153 The sight of him makes people drunk with *prema*, and they laugh and weep and dance and sing, taking the name of Kṛṣṇa. 154 He is certainly and completely the *avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa, who has come to Mathurā to save the people." 155 Then Mahāprabhu took that *brāhmaṇa*, and sat with him a little apart, and asked him, 156 "You are an old *brāhmaṇa*, venerable and simple; where have you gotten this wealth of *prema*?" 157 The *brāhmaṇa* replied, "Śrīpāda Śrī Mādhavendra Purī, in his wanderings, came to the city of Mathurā. 158 In his mercy he came to my house; he made me his pupil, and took food from my hand. 159 That great one manifested Gopāla and served him, and even now the service of him continues on Govarddhana." 160 When he heard this, Prabhu bowed at his feet; and frightened, the *brāhmaṇa* fell at the feet of Prabhu. 161 And Prabhu said, "You are my *guru*, and I am like your pupil; it is not proper that a *guru* make obeisance to his pupil." 162 When he heard this, the *brāhmaṇa* was astonished and frightened, and said, "How can you, a *saṃnyāsin*, say such mad things? 163 But seeing your *prema*, I consider that perhaps you have some relation to Mādhavendra Purī. 164 For whoever has *prema* for Kṛṣṇa, he has some relation to him; and except for him there is no scent of this *prema* anywhere." 165 Then Bhaṭṭācārya told him of the relationship, and when he heard it, the *brāhmaṇa* was overjoyed and began to dance.

145. Acetana: mindless, devoid of consciousness, or dissociative.

146. Aviṣṭa: overcome, possessed; also *āveśa* in the following passages.

147. Viśrānti-*tīrtha*: name of a ghat on the Yamunā, so called because Kṛṣṇa rested there after having slain Kaṃsa.

159. Mādhavendra installed the image of Gopāla at Govarddhana; see above 2.4.20-110.

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166 The *brāhmaṇa* took Prabhu to his own house, and he served Prabhu according to his own wishes. 167 He had Bhaṭṭācārya prepare food, and Mahāprabhu came and said to him, 168 "Purī Gosvāmī took food at your place; you give food to me also, this I have learned."

Śloka 10. *Bhagavad Gītā* 3.21:
Whatever better men do, others try to do. That which he does is standard authority for other people to follow.

169 Even though that *brāhmaṇa* was a *sanoḍiyā* [by caste], and though *saṃnyāsins* do not eat at the houses of *sanoḍiyās*, 170 still Purī, seeing that he acted like a Vaiṣṇava, made him a disciple, and accepted food from him. 171 When Mahāprabhu asked him for food, humbly the *brāhmaṇa* began to say, 172 "I shall give you food; that will be very lucky for me. You are Īśvara, and there are no restrictions or customs that apply to you. 173 But stupid people will condemn you, and I shall not be able to bear the words of these evil people." 174 Prabhu said, "As many *śrutis* and *smṛtis* and *ṛṣis* as there are—all are not of one opinion, but there are differences in *dharma* from one to another. 175 The base of the establishment of *dharma* is the action of holy men; and the conduct of Purī Gosvāmī is the essence of *dharma*."

Śloka 11. *Mahābhārata* [*vana parvan*] 3.13.117:
Philosophical argument is inconclusive; the *śrutis* are various, nor are there *ṛṣis* who do not hold various opinions; the truth of *dharma* is hidden deep. Its path is that on which great people move.

176 Then that *brāhmaṇa* fed Prabhu, and the people of Madhupurī came to see Prabhu. 177 Numbers of lakhs of people came; there was no counting them, and going outside, Prabhu gave them *darśana*. 178 Raising his arms, Prabhu said "Hari Hari *bol*!" and drunk with *prema* the people danced, making the "Hari" sound.

179 Prabhu bathed at the twenty-four ghats of the Yamunā, and that *brāhmaṇa* showed Prabhu the pilgrimage places: 180 Svayambhu, Viśrāma,

168. The lesson was to take food from a good man and a *bhakta*, without consideration of caste. The *brāhmaṇa*, as we shall see, was by caste a *sanoḍiyā*, and ordinarily a *saṃnyāsin* would not have accepted food from him.

Śloka 10. See 1.3.*śl.*4.

Śloka 11. See 2.25.*śl.*9.

180. Svayambhu, etc.: names of *vigrahas* of Kṛṣṇa.

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Dīrghaviṣṇu, Bhūteśvara, Mahāvidyā, Gokarṇa and the rest—he saw them all. 181 When Prabhu had it in his mind to see the forest, that *brāhmaṇa* took him himself. 182 They went to the Madhuvana, and the forests of Tāla, Kumuda, and Bahulā, and everywhere he bathed and was overcome with *prema*. 183 There were cows grazing along the path, and when they saw Prabhu they came and surrounded him, lowing loudly. 184 And when he saw the cows Prabhu was dumbfounded, and in a wave of *prema*, and in affection the cows licked his whole body. 185 He remained very still, and he scratched their bodies, and they went with Prabhu, and did not leave him. 186 The cowherds restrained them only with difficulty. And when they heard the sound of the voice of Prabhu, deer also would come, 187 both male and female. When they saw his face they would lick his body. They had no fear, and they went with him on every path. 188 At the fragrance of his body the deer lifted their antlers, and in his mercy Prabhu would put his hand on their backs. 189 When the nightingales and bees saw Prabhu, they sang the five notes, and the peacocks danced before him. 190 When they saw Prabhu, the trees and creepers of Vṛndāvana bore their own gooseflesh in the form of shoots, and they rained tears of honey. 191 Branches laden with fruits and flowers bent at the feet of Prabhu, as when a friend meets a friend he brings a gift. 192 When they saw Prabhu, all things of Vṛndāvana, moving and unmoving, were joyful, as friends when they see a friend. 193 Seeing the love of all of these, Prabhu was overcome with *bhāva*, and he played with them all, controlled by them. 194 Prabhu embraced each tree and creeper, and in his thoughts he made offerings of the flowers and the rest to Kṛṣṇa. 195 His body was restless with tears and trembling and gooseflesh, in *prema*, and he shouted in a loud voice, "Kṛṣṇa *bol*! Kṛṣṇa *bol*!" 196 Moving and unmoving things together made the Kṛṣṇa-sound, echoing the deep voice of Prabhu. 197 Holding a deer by the neck, Prabhu wept; gooseflesh was on the body of the deer, and tears were in its eyes.

198 In the branches of the trees, *śuka* and *śārī* parrots appeared, and when he saw them, Prabhu wanted to hear them [speak]. 199 The *śuka* and *śārikā*

182. Caitanya's visit to the twelve forests is mentioned in 2.1.225.

189. The five notes of the traditional pentatonic scale.

193. See commentary on v. 96.

198. *Śuka* and *śārī*: two kinds of talking parrots, male and female, respectively. In drama and belles lettres, the conversation of parrots is often a literary device for the furthering of the plot.

199. Rādhāgovinda Nātha notes that it was unusual for these birds to recite Sanskrit *ślokas*, but reminds us that when Kṛṣṇa comes to earth, his whole *dhāma* comes with him, and this included the birds and beasts.

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flew down and lit on the hand of Prabhu, and causing Prabhu to hear, they recited *ślokas* of the qualities of Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 12. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Govindalīlāmṛta* 13.29:
Whose beauty crushes the restraint of women, stupifying those who delight in *līlā*, whose power and strength make Govarddhana a plaything, whose qualities are infinite and pure, and whose conduct pleases all, he is our lord the all, praised by men throughout the universe, enchanter of the world, Kṛṣṇa the seducer, may he preserve the universe.

200 Hearing from the mouth of the *śuka* this description of Kṛṣṇa, the *śārikā* recited a verse describing Rādhā.

Śloka 13. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Govindalīlāmṛta* 13.30:
The love, beauty, and sweet nature of Rādhā, her skill at singing and dancing, her fullness of qualities, and her erudition shine resplendant—she who enchants the thoughts of him who charms the mind of world.

201 And again the *śuka* replied, "Kṛṣṇa is the Enchanter of Madana," and then he recited another *śloka*.

Śloka 14. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Govindalīlāmṛta* 13.31:
O *śārī*! The holder of the flute is the stealer of the minds of the women of the world, as he sports with the cowherd women; may that Enchanter of Madana be victorious.

202 Again the *śārī* replied, smiling at the *śuka*, and when he heard it Prabhu was astonished, and transported with *prema*.

Śloka 15. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Govindalīlāmṛta* 13.32:
When he shines forth, in the arms of Rādhā, then he is the Enchanter of Madana; at other times, though he is the Enchanter of the universe, he himself is enchanted by Madana.

203 The *śuka* and *śārī* again flew up to alight on the branch of the tree. And Prabhu watched with delight the dance of the peacock. 204 When he saw the

204. The peacock's neck is a deep blue, the color of Kṛṣṇa.

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neck of the peacock, he remembered Kṛṣṇa and fell on the earth, overcome with *prema*.

205 Seeing that Prabhu had fainted, then, that *brāhmaṇa*, together with Bhaṭṭācārya, took care of him. 206 Hurriedly they took off the outer garment of Mahāprabhu, and poured water on his body, and fanned him with the cloth. 207 They uttered the name of Kṛṣṇa into Prabhu's ear; he gained consciousness and rolled around on the ground. 208 In the rough and thorny forest his body was injured, and Bhaṭṭācārya took Prabhu on his lap and quieted him. 209 Absorbed in Kṛṣṇa, the mind of Prabhu was seething with *prema*, and he rose up saying "*Bol! bol!*" and began to dance. 210 Bhaṭṭācārya and the *brāhmaṇa* sang the name of Kṛṣṇa, and dancing Prabhu made his way along the path. 211 Seeing Prabhu under the influence of *prema*, the *brāhmaṇa* was astonished and concerned to protect him.

212 In Nīlācala his mind was absorbed in *prema*, but on the way to Vṛndāvana it increased a hundred times. 213 At the sight of Mathurā, his *prema* increased a thousand times, and when he was wandering in the forest, his *prema* increased a lakh. 214 In other countries, *prema* would arise at the name "Vṛndāvana," and now he was actually roaming in that Vṛndāvana. 215 Day and night his mind seethed in *prema*, and only out of habit did he succeed in bathing and eating and so on. 216 In this way was his *prema*, as he wandered through the twelve forests. It has been condensed in the writing for it could not be described completely. 217 In Vṛndāvana, Prabhu had many transformations; Ananta could describe them if he wrote a crore of books. 218 But I have not been able to write an iota of it; I have done what I could, in giving a suggestion of it. 219 The world floats in the ocean of the *līlā* of Caitanya; who has the strength swims in the ocean.

220 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

216. [Murāri Gupta in his *KCC* 4.3 details Caitanya's visit to the twelve forests. As noted, Kṛṣṇadāsa appears to be following closely Murāri's sequence for this journey. TKS]

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Madhya Līlā
Chapter 18

Śloka 1.

Gaurāṅga, delighting by his glances in Vṛndāvana all things moving and unmoving, was by the sight of them himself [delighted] as he wandered to and fro.

1 Glory, glory to Gauracandra, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 In this way Mahāprabhu went along dancing, and when he came to Āriṭa-grāma he recovered his senses. 3 At Āriṭa he asked people the whereabouts of the Rādhākuṇḍa, but no one could say; not even his *brāhmaṇa* companion knew. 4 Prabhu was the all-knowing Bhagavān, and he knew where the lost *tīrtha* was. He went to bathe in a small pool of water between two fields of paddy. 5 When they saw this, all the people of the village were astonished; in *prema* Prabhu praised the Rādhākuṇḍa, 6 "Among all the *gopīs* Rādhā is the most beloved of Kṛṣṇa; so the Rādhākuṇḍa is beloved, the tank of his beloved.

2. The place where Kṛṣṇa slew Ariṣṭa-asura in the form of an ox is called Ariṣṭagrāma or Āriṭagrāma. There is a story, recorded in Narahari Cakravartī's *BhR* 5.477-498, which tells of how after slaying the *asura* in the form of an ox, Kṛṣṇa came to Rādhā and went to touch her. Rādhā playfully accused him of the sin of cow-killing, and told him that he could not touch her until he had cleansed himself of that sin by bathing in all the pilgrimage-places. Kṛṣṇa said that in that case he would bring all the pilgrimage places to him, and so saying he stamped on the ground. There immediately appeared in that place a pond, a *kuṇḍa*, which contained the waters of all the pilgrimage places. Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā and the *sakhīs* often played in the water of the pond, which was known as Āriṣṭakuṇḍa or Śyāmakuṇḍa. Seeing this, Rādhā and her *sakhīs* decided to dig another pond, just to the west of Kṛṣṇa's; this was done. And Kṛṣṇa commanded the waters of his pond to fill that of Rādhā; her pond is known as Rādhākuṇḍa or Śrīkuṇḍa. The two ponds exist side by side in Āriṭagrāma today.

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Śloka 2. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta, uttara-khaṇḍa* 45 [quoting *Padma Purāṇa*]:

Just as Rādhā is the beloved of Viṣṇu, so is she a reservoir of love for him. Among all the *gopīs* she alone is perfectly loved by him.

7 In that *kuṇḍa* Kṛṣṇa eternally with Rādhikā plays games in the water, and dallies with her on its banks. 8 Whoever bathes once in that *kuṇḍa*, Kṛṣṇa grants to him a *prema* like that of Rādhā. 9 The sweetness of the *kuṇḍa* is like the sweetness of Rādhā, and the greatness of the *kuṇḍa* is like the greatness of Rādhā."

Śloka 3. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Govindalīlāmṛta* 7.102:

Because of its own dearest and wonderful qualities, her *kuṇḍa* is as deeply beloved of Kṛṣṇa as Rādhā herself; Śrīyuta-Mādhavendu every day plays in it with her in love. Whoever bathes in it once receives his *prema*, like Rādhā. By whom can its sweetness or greatness be described in this world?

10 In this way he offered praises, overcome with *prema*, and he danced on the bank, remembering the *kuṇḍa-līlā*. 11 He took mud from the *kuṇḍa*, and made a *tilaka*, and he took some mud with him, by means of Bhaṭṭācārya. 12 Prabhu then moved along, and came to the Sumanaḥ pond, and there he saw Govarddhana, and was overcome. 13 When he saw Govarddhana, he bowed down; he took a stone [from it] and hugged it to him, as if possessed. 14 Drunk with *prema*, he went to the Govarddhana village, and seeing Harideva there he made obeisance. 15 Whose dwelling is in the western petal of the Mathurā-lotus is Harideva Nārāyaṇa, the first manifestation. 16 Drunk with *prema*, he

Śloka 2. Or: "the Rādhākuṇḍa is as beloved of Kṛṣṇa as is Rādhā herself." See 1.4.*śl.*40; 2.8.*śl.*24.

Śloka 3. Śrīyuta-Mādhavendu: Mādhava the full moon [of Vraja].

11. Tilaka: an ornamental mark on the forehead.

12. Sumanaḥ pond: this is in the southwestern corner of the Rādhākuṇḍa; it is also called Mānasa-gaṅgā.

13. Caitanya considered this stone from the slopes of Govarddhana as the body of Kṛṣṇa; see 3.6.286.

14. Harideva: an image of Nārāyaṇa.

15. Rādhāgovinda Nātha: Mathurā here means the whole of the Vraja area, which, in schema at least, is shaped like a lotus, each petal of which is ruled over by a particular deity; the westernmost petal is ruled over by Harideva Nārāyaṇa. This formation is the basis for constructing meditative *maṇḍalas* of Vraja, called *yogapīṭhas*.

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danced before Harideva; all the people came, and when they saw and heard they were astonished. 17 When they saw the beauty and the *prema* of Prabhu, the people were amazed, and the servant of Harideva came and served Prabhu. 18 Bhaṭṭācārya went to cook at the Brahmakuṇḍa, and when he had bathed at the Brahmakuṇḍa, Prabhu ate. 19 That night he stayed at the temple of Harideva, and in the night Mahāprabhu decided in his mind, 20 "I shall never ascend to the top of Govarddhana; how shall I get *darśana* of Gopāla Rāya?" 21 Reflecting thus, Prabhu remained silent. Knowing [what was in his mind], Gopāla played a little trick.

Śloka 4.

Kṛṣṇa, considerate of his *bhaktas*, descending from the mountain, showed himself to his own Gaura, reluctant to ascend the mountain, thinking himself a *bhakta*.

22 The place of Gopāla was in a village, Annakūṭa by name, which was the dwelling-place of Rājput people. 23 A man came in the night and said to the headman of the village, "Some Tuṛukdhāṛīs are preparing to attack your village. 24 Flee tonight, and do not leave a single person in the village. Take the *ṭhākura* with you and flee; tomorrow the Yavanas will come." 25 When they heard this the people of the village considered, and they first took Gopāla and put him in Gāṭhuligrāma. 26 They secretly placed Gopāla in the house of a *brāhmaṇa*, and served him; the village was destroyed, and all the people fled. 27 Thus out of concern for the *mlecchas*, Gopāla fled again and again. Leaving his temple, he would dwell in a forest, and sometimes in a village. 28 In the morning, Prabhu bathed in the Mānasa-gaṅgā, and departed to circumambulate Govarddhana. 29 When he saw Govarddhana, Prabhu was overcome with *prema*, and while moving along dancing he recited a *śloka*.

18. Brahmakuṇḍa: a pond near Govarddhana.

20. Rādhāgovinda Nātha: Caitanya considered the mountain as the body of Kṛṣṇa, and therefore could not consider putting his feet on it. The temple of Gopāla is on Govarddhana. Even today many Bengali pilgrims refuse to set foot on Govarddhana for fear of insulting Kṛṣṇa.

22. Whether these are people from Rājputāna, or whether they are Rājput by caste, is not clear.

23. These people may actually have been Turks; but Rādhāgovinda Nātha suggests that at this time the name Tuṛuk or Tuṛukdhāṛī was a generic term for Muslim warriors.

28. See above, commentary on v. 12.

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Śloka 5. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.21.18:

O women! This mountain is the best of the servants of Hari; for this reason it is delighted at the touch of the feet of [Bala]rāma and Kṛṣṇa, and offers them homage, with cows and cowherds, by its roots and herbs, caves and grass, and water to drink.

30 Prabhu bathed at the Govindakuṇḍa and other *tīrtha*s, and there he heard that Gopāla had gone to Gāṭhuligrāma. 31 Going to that village, he had *darśana* of Gopāla, and overcome with *prema*, Prabhu danced and praised him. 32 When he saw the beauty of Gopāla, Prabhu was overcome. He danced and sang this *śloka* until the end of the day.

Śloka 6. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*dakṣiṇa-vibhāga, vibhāva-laharī*] 2.1.62:

May the staff of the left arm of the lotus-eyed one, with which he played with the mountain Govarddhana like a toy ball, protect you.

33 In this way he saw Gopāla for three days, and on the fourth day Gopāla went to his own temple. 34 [Prabhu] went with Gopāla, dancing and singing along the way, and the people shouted "Hari, Hari!" in a tumult of joy. 35 Gopāla went to his own temple, and Prabhu remained at the foot [of the mountain]; all the desires of Prabhu were fulfilled by Gopāla. 36 For this is the merciful nature of Gopāla. Whatever *bhakta* has a desire to see him, 37 and is anxious to see him but cannot climb Govarddhana, on some pretext Gopāla himself descends. 38 Sometimes he stays in groves, and sometimes within villages, and the *bhakta*, coming there, can see him. 39 Rūpa and Sanātana did not climb the mountain, and in just such a way did he give *darśana* to them.

40 Rūpa Gosvāmin was old, and could not go there, but he greatly desired to see the beauty of Gopāla. 41 For fear of the *mlecchas*, Gopāla came to Mathurā city, and remained there one month at the house of Viṭṭhaleśvara. 42 Then Rūpa Gosvāmin brought all his own people, and staying at Mathurā, had *darśana* for a month. 43 With him was Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, and Raghunātha Dāsa, Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin, and Lokanātha, 44 Bhūgarbha Gosvāmin, Śrī Jīva Gosvāmin, Śrī Yādava Ācārya, and Govinda Gosvāmin; 45 Śrī Uddhava Dāsa and Mādha-

Śloka 5. See 3.14.*śl*.6.

41. Viṭṭhaleśvara was the name of Vallabha Bhaṭṭa's son. See text and commentary to 2.4.103. *Mleccha*: foreigner, Muslim; see commentary on 2.1.186.

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va—these two, Śrī Gopāla Dāsa and Nārāyaṇa Dāsa, 46 Govindabhakta and Vāṇīkṛṣṇadāsa, Puṇḍarīkākṣa, Īśāna, and Laghu Haridāsa. 47 All these chief *bhaktas* he took as his own companions, and in great delight they had *darśana* of Śrī Gopāla. 48 Gopāla remained there for one month, and then went to his own place, and Śrī Rūpa Gosvāmin went to Śrī Vṛndāvana.

49 This story has been told to explain the mercy of Gopāla. Then Mahāprabhu went to Śrī Kāmyavana. 50 When Prabhu saw Vṛndāvana, his response was exactly the same as was written of his earlier experiences. 51 He saw there the place of the *līlā*, and went to Nandīśvara, and when he saw Nandīśvara he was agitated with *prema*. 52 He bathed in all the ponds, Pāvana and the rest, and going up on the hill, he asked the people, 53 "Is there a *deva-mūrti* on this hill?" and the people replied, "There is a *mūrti* in the cave. 54 On two sides are mother and father, with strong bodies, and between them there is a child, beautiful in the *tribhaṅga* pose." 55 When he heard this, Mahāprabhu was delighted in his heart, and he entered the cave and saw the three *mūrtis*. 56 He bowed to the feet of Vrajendra and Vrajeśvarī, and overcome with *prema* he touched the whole body of Kṛṣṇa. 57 The whole day, overcome with *prema*, he danced and sang, and Mahāprabhu went from there and came to Khadiravana. 58 Seeing the place of *līlā* there, he went to Śeṣaśāyī, and seeing Lakṣmī, the Gosvāmī recited this *śloka*:

Śloka 7. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.31.19:

O beloved! In fear that your most delicate lotus-feet be injured by our hard breasts, we place them gently down. With those lotus feet you wander about the forest—are they not hurt by those sharp pointed stones? You are our very life, and therefore our minds are rended.

59 Then, having seen Khelā *tīrtha*, he came to Bhāṇḍīravana, and crossing the

58. Śeṣaśāyī: the name of a place at Vraja; the meaning is "he who is lying on Śeṣa the cosmic serpent," Nārāyaṇa. There is at the place an image of Kṛṣṇa, with Rādhā serving his feet; this is thought to be also an image of the reclining Nārāyaṇa, served by Lakṣmī. That the image is intended to be Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā is suggested by Narahari's *BhR* 5.1422-1429. There was near this place a place called Kṣīrasamudra, where Kṛṣṇa once played the part of the reclining Nārāyaṇa, and Rādhā served him, playing Lakṣmī. She put Kṛṣṇa's feet to her breasts, in the manner described in the following *śloka*.

Śloka 7. See 1.4.*śl.*26; 2.8.*śl.*47; 3.7.*śl.*9.

59. Khelā *tīrtha:* Khelanavana, the grove in which Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa played (*khelā*). Narahari's *BhR* 5.1434-1435. The same text (5.1566-1571) tells us that the Bhāṇḍīravana was the grove in which Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma used to wrestle with their friends, and in which Balarāma killed

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Yamunā, he went to Bhadravana. 60 Seeing the Śrīvana, he went again to Lauhavana, and to Mahāvana, where he had *darśana* of the place of birth. 61 He saw Yamalārjunabhaṅga and other places, and the mind of Prabhu was confused, overwhelmed with *prema*. 62 Seeing Gokula, he came to Mathurā city, and seeing the birthplace, he remained at the house of that *brāhmaṇa*. 63 Seeing the crowds of people, he left Mathurā, and went and stayed alone at Akrūra *tīrtha*.

64 Another day Prabhu came to see Vṛndāvana. He bathed at Kāliyahrada and Praskandana. 65 From Dvādaśa-āditya he came to Keśi *tīrtha*, and seeing

the demon Pralamba. One day Kṛṣṇa was sitting in this place playing his flute, when Rādhā and the *gopīs* found him; they asked him what he and the others did there, and he replied that they wrestled. The *gopīs* asked him to prove his boast that he could defeat anyone, and so they wrestled with him. He could not however defeat Rādhā; in trying "there was a delight greater than that of the god of love himself."

60. Śrīvana: Belavana. Lauhavana: Lauhajaṅghavana, where Kṛṣṇa killed the demon Lohajaṅga. Mahāvana is Gokula. *BhP* 10.3.9 quotes the *Harivaṃśa* to prove that at the same time Devakī was bearing Kṛṣṇa in the prison of Kaṃsa, Yaśodā was bearing Kṛṣṇa in Gokula. The Kṛṣṇa born to Devakī was four-armed, holding conch, lotus, discus, and club, and the Kṛṣṇa born to Yaśodā was two armed. Seeing the four armed form, Devakī and Vāsudeva, his father, praised him; Kṛṣṇa then withdrew his four-armed form and became like a human child (*BhP* 10.3.47); he told Vāsudeva to take him to Gokula, to Yaśodā, for fear of Kaṃsa. Vāsudeva did so, and placed him on the bed beside Yaśodā.

61. Yamalārjunabhaṅga was the place where Kṛṣṇa broke two Yamalārjana trees. The story, as told in *BhP* 10.10, is that Kuvera had two sons, named Nalakuvara and Maṇigrīva, both very proud. One day they were drinking the kind of liquor called *vāruṇī*, and were drunk; naked, they were playing in the water of the Gaṅgā with the naked women of Kailāsa, when suddenly the sage Nārada appeared on the scene. Seeing Nārada, the girls were ashamed, and put on their clothes; but the two boys did not. Because of this Nārada cursed them: they were to become trees, since they were so devoid of shame. But then he relented, and said that they would not be forgotten, and would gain release from their tree-forms by the presence of Vāsudeva. It happened that one day Yaśodā had tied Kṛṣṇa to a threshing mortar, so that she could go about her housework undisturbed; Kṛṣṇa crawled away, dragging the mortar behind him. He went into the forest, and saw before him the two trees. He tried to crawl between them, but the mortar stuck. He pulled at it to get it through, the two trees crashed to the ground, and the two divine boys were released.

62. The *sanoḍiyā brāhmaṇa* of Mathurā. This is the second birthplace. See ante, note on v. 60.

63. The Akrūra ghat on the Yamunā river at Mathurā.

64. Praskandana is also the name of a ghat on the Yamunā. It is said that while Kṛṣṇa was bringing the great serpent Kāliya under control, his body became chilled from being so long in the water. He then dried himself in the rays of the sun, which became so hot that the sweat ran from his body and mingled with the waters of the Yamunā. Praskandana is the place where his sweat ran into the river.

65. Being chilled (see v. 64 above), Kṛṣṇa asked the twelve (*dvādaśa*) gods of the sun (*ādityas*) for heat; the small hill where he did this is the Dvādaśa-āditya.

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the place of the *rāsa*, he fainted with *prema*. 66 Again regaining consciousness, he rolled around on the ground, and laughed and danced and wept and fell, and sang in a loud voice. 67 In such play he passed that day there, and in the evening he returned to Akrūra and took his food there. 68 In the morning he bathed at the Cīra ghat in Vṛndāvana, and rested at the foot of the tamarind tree. 69 The tree was ancient, a tree of the time of the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*, and beneath it was built a platform, of most beautiful finish. 70 Near it the Yamunā flowed, and a cool breeze [blew]; he gazed at the glories of Vṛndāvana and the waters of the Yamunā. 71 He sat beneath the tamarind tree and made *nāma-saṃkīrtana*; and after he had performed the midday rituals he came and ate at Akrūra. 72 The people of Akrūra came to see Prabhu; because of the crowds of people he could not perform *kīrtana* as he wished to do. 73 So Prabhu went to Vṛndāvana and sat by himself, and he performed *nāma-saṃkīrtana* until the time for noonday ritual. 74 In the third watch the people gained *darśana* of him, and he instructed all of them to make *nāma-saṃkīrtana*.

75 At that time a Vaiṣṇava came, whose name was Kṛṣṇadāsa; he was a householder, of the Rājput *jāti*, whose village was on the other side of the Yamunā. 76 Having bathed at Keśī, he was going to Kālidaha; and suddenly he saw Gosvāmī at the foot of the Āmali. 77 When he saw the form and the *prema* of Prabhu, he was astonished, and overcome with *prema* he made obeisance to Prabhu. 78 Prabhu asked, "Who are you, and where is your home?" Kṛṣṇadāsa replied, "I am a householder, and a low person. 79 I am Rājput by *jāti*, and my home is across the river. My desire is to become the servant of a Vaiṣṇava. 80 But last night I dreamed a dream; that dream was that I come and see you in person here." 81 Prabhu was gracious to him and embraced him, and drunken with *prema* he danced and sang "Hari." 82 He came with Prabhu to Akrūra *tīrtha* for the midday rituals, and he received as *prasāda* the remnants of Prabhu's plate. 83 In the morning he came with Prabhu, bringing a vessel of water, and he remained with Prabhu, abandoning his house and wife and son.

84 "Kṛṣṇa has again manifested himself at Vṛndāvana"—this people everywhere began to say. 85 One day in the morning the people of Mathurā came from Vṛndāvana making a great hubbub. 86 And when they saw Prabhu the people bowed at his feet. Prabhu said, "From where have you come?" 87 And

66. [For more on these signs of *prema*, see 2.2.62; 2.8.135; 2.19.154-55; 2.23.31-32. See also below vv. 151-74. TKS]

68. Cīra: clothing. It was at this ghat that Kṛṣṇa stole the clothes of the *gopīs* as they bathed in the river.

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the people said, "Kṛṣṇa has appeared in the water at Kālidaha. He dances on the head of Kāliya, the jewel of whose hood is burning. 88 People have seen this, and there is no doubt about it." When he heard this, Prabhu smiled a little; all this was true. 89 In this way on three nights people came, and when they came they all said, "We have had *darśana* of Kṛṣṇa." 90 The people said before Prabhu, "Śrī Kṛṣṇa has been seen." Sarasvatī caused them to speak this truth. 91 Seeing Mahāprabhu, they truly had *darśana* of Kṛṣṇa; because of lack of knowledge about him they abandoned the truth, and mistook untruth for truth. 92 Then Bhaṭṭācārya said at the feet of Prabhu, "Give me your permission, and let me go have *darśana* of Kṛṣṇa." 93 But Prabhu gave him a slap and said to him, "You are a *paṇḍita*, but have become a fool because of the speech of fools. 94 Would Kṛṣṇa give *darśana* in this Kali age? Because of their own error, those foolish people are making a great to-do. 95 Do not be mad; remain sitting here at home. Tomorrow night go and have *darśana* of Kṛṣṇa."

96 In the morning a sensible man came to the place of Prabhu; and Prabhu asked him, "Have you come from seeing Kṛṣṇa?" 97 The man said, "In the night a fisherman was on board a boat, and was catching fish at the Kālidaha with a lighted lamp. 98 From a distance the people saw him and mistook him for Kṛṣṇa dancing on the head of Kāliya. 99 They thought that the boat was Kāliya, and that the lamp was the jewel, and the fools thought that the fisherman was Kṛṣṇa. 100 Kṛṣṇa has come to Vṛndāvana—that is true; and the people have seen Kṛṣṇa—this is not false. 101 But who they saw as Kṛṣṇa—that was an error. [Seeing] a post as a man is inverted knowledge." 102 Prabhu said, "Where have you gotten the *darśana* of Kṛṣṇa?" And the man said, "You, O *saṃnyāsin*, are the living Nārāyaṇa. 103 You are the *avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana; having seen you, all people are saved." 104 Prabhu said, "Viṣṇu, Viṣṇu! Do not speak so. Do not mistake a low *jīva* for Kṛṣṇa. 105 A *saṃnyāsin* is a particle of consciousness, a *jīva* is like a particle of a sunbeam, and the full Kṛṣṇa, with his six divine qualities, is like the sun itself. 106 The truths of Īśvara and of the *jīva* are not the same; it is as a particle of a spark is to a burning fire.

88. It was true because they had seen Caitanya; below, v. 91.

95. Vātula: mad.

97. Kaivarta: fisherman, name of a caste, largely consisting of fishermen.

101. Viparīta jñāna: inverted knowledge, a particular kind of error, e.g., mistaking a rope for a snake.

105. Citkaṇa: particle of consciousness.

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Śloka 8. Śrīdhara Svāmin's *Bhāvārthadīpikā* commentary on *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.7.6:
Īśvara, embraced by *hlādinī* and *saṃvit* [*śaktis*], is *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*; but the *jīva*, covered by ignorance of himself, is subject to many kinds of pain.

107 He who says foolish things—that the *jīva* and Īśvara are the same—is a blasphemer, and Yama will punish him."

Śloka 9. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin's *Haribhaktivilāsa* 1.73 [quoting *Padmottara Purāṇa* 23.12]:
He who considers Nārāyaṇa-deva the same as Brahmā, Rudra, and the other *devas*, he is certainly a heretic.

108 The man said, "You are not like a *jīva*. Your person and your nature are those of Kṛṣṇa. 109 I see you in form as Vrajendranandana, though hidden beneath a golden complexion. 110 By tying musk in a cloth it cannot be hidden; so your Īśvara-nature cannot be concealed. 111 Your nature is not of this world, and is imperceptible to [ordinary] intelligence; and seeing you, the world is mad with Kṛṣṇa-*prema*. 112 Women, children, old men, even *caṇḍālas* and Yavanas—whoever once gains sight of you 113 takes the name of Kṛṣṇa, dances as if mad, and becomes a teacher and saves the world. 114 And whatever might be accomplished by the *darśana* of you, he who hears your name is drunk with Kṛṣṇa-*prema*, and he saves the three worlds. 115 Hearing your name, a *śvapaca* is purified; your unworldly power cannot be described.

Śloka 10. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.33.6:
O Bhagavān, when at any time by singing and hearing sung your name, or meditating on it, even dog-eaters can be worthy [to offer] sacrifice, how much more [is gained] by seeing you?

Śloka 8. See 3.5.*śl.*8.
Śloka 9. See 2.25.*śl.*13.
111. Prakṛti: nature, material makeup.
113. Ācārya: teacher. There may also be a punning reference to Advaita Ācārya, who by his worship and prayers brought about the Caitanya-*avatāra* (1.13.61-69).
115. Śvapaca: one who "cooks dogs"; a low caste or non-caste person, a *caṇḍāla* or offspring of a mixed marriage forbidden by the *śāstras*.
Śloka 10. See 2.16.*śl.*3.

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116 The signs of this greatness of yours are visible; but by the signs of your true nature you are Vrajendranandana."

117 Prabhu gave his grace to all the people, and the people, drunk with the name and *prema*, went to their own houses. 118 In this way he stayed several days at Akrūra, and saved people with the Kṛṣṇa-name and *prema*. 119 That *brāhmaṇa* who was the pupil of Mādhava Purī, arranged for him to be invited to many houses in Mathurā. 120 As many people, virtuous and *brāhmaṇa*, as there were in Mathurā came to Bhaṭṭācārya to offer invitations. 121 On a single day, ten or twenty people would come with invitations, and Bhaṭṭācārya accepted only one. 122 Not everyone got the opportunity to extend their hospitality [even though] they pressed that *brāhmaṇa* to accept invitations. 123 *Kānyakubja*, *dākṣiṇātya*, and Vedic *brāhmaṇa*s humbly offered invitations to Mahāprabhu. 124 In the morning they came to Akrūra and cooked, and fed Prabhu, having offered the food to the *śālagrāma*.

125 One day, sitting on the ghat at Akrūra, Mahāprabhu was reflecting, 126 "On this ghat, Akrūra saw Vaikuṇṭha; the people dwelling at Vraja had *darśana* of Goloka." 127 And thinking thus, he leapt into the water, and was submerged there. 128 Seeing this, Kṛṣṇadāsa cried aloud, and Bhaṭṭācārya quickly came and pulled him out. 129 Then Bhaṭṭācārya took that *brāhmaṇa* aside, and consulted with him, 130 "Today I was able to save Prabhu. But if he starts to drown in Vṛndāvana, who will save him? 131 There are great crowds of people, and a rash of invitations, and Prabhu is always possessed—it does not seem good. 132 If we were to take Prabhu away from Vṛndāvana, it would be auspicious; it would be a good thing to do." 133 And the *brāhmaṇa* said. "Let us take Prabhu to Prayāga; let us go on the path along the bank of the Gaṅgā; then he will be happy. 134 First let us go to Sorokṣetra and bathe there; let us take Prabhu along that path. 135 It is the month of Māgha, and if we go now, in a few days we can bathe at Prayāga in the full moon. 136 Let us entreat him, [arguing] our own unhappi-

116. Taṭastha lakṣaṇa: visible signs, i.e., signs and characteristics which participate in both human and divine natures. These would be not only the physical characteristics, but his giving of *prema*; these are such as to reveal his true divine nature (*svarūpa-lakṣaṇa*).

126. BhP 10.28.9-17.

131. Āveśa: possessed; here and throughout the remainder of the chapter.

134. Sorokṣetra: a place in Bādāo district, to the east of Vṛndāvana.

135. Bathing in the Triveṇī, the confluence of rivers, at the full moon of the month of Māgha, is most auspicious.

136. Makara-pāuchasi, the full moon of Māgha; the month is called *makara* because that is the name of the sign in which the sun is during that month. *Pāuchasi* would be the fifteenth of the bright fortnight, when the moon is full. Some MSS however read "*pāuchāi*," i.e., "let us reach Prayāga on the Makara."

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ness, and introduce it, arguing the 'Makara-pāuchasi at Prayāga.' 137 Let us make him aware of the delights of the path along the Gaṅgā bank." Then Bhaṭṭācārya came and said to Prabhu, 138 "I cannot bear the crush of all the people, and people wrangling about invitations. 139 In the morning people come, and when they do not find you they eat my head. 140 But there can be happiness, if we go along the Gaṅgā path; so let us go now, let us bathe at the Makara in Prayāga. 141 My life has become very troubled; I cannot bear it. But that which is the order of Prabhu, I take on my head." 142 Even though Prabhu did not have it in his mind to leave Vṛndāvana, it was the desire of a *bhakta*. And he said in sweet words, 143 "You have brought me and showed me Vṛndāvana; I shall not be able to repay this debt. 144 Whatever you desire, I shall do; wherever you wish to take me, I shall go."

145 So in the morning Mahāprabhu took his morning bath, and knowing that he would leave Vṛndāvana, he was overcome with *prema*. 146 It was not manifested outwardly, but in his heart he was overcome with *prema*. Bhaṭṭācārya said, "Come, let us go to the Mahāvana." 147 And so saying, Bhaṭṭācārya seated him in a boat and took him across the river. 148 The *premī* Kṛṣṇadāsa and that *brāhmaṇa*, these two knew well the way along the path by the Gaṅgā. 149 As they were going along, Prabhu took them all beneath a tree, seeing that they were tired of travelling, and they all sat down. 150 Near that tree many cows were grazing, and when he saw them, the heart of Mahāprabhu was delighted. 151 Suddenly a cowherd began to play a flute, and when he heard it the heart of Mahāprabhu was overcome with great *prema*. 152 He fainted and fell to the earth; foam fell from his lips, and the breath in his nostrils was stopped.

153 At that time, ten horsemen were riding by, and these *mleccha* Pāṭhāns dismounted. 154 When they saw Prabhu, the *mlecchas* deliberated, "This *saṃnyāsin* had much gold. 155 These four bandits have fed him *dhuturā*; they have killed him and stolen all his wealth." 156 So the Pāṭhāns tied up the four men.

139. A modern equivalent would be "chew me out."

151-53. See commentary on v. 66 above.

153. It is quite possible that these were actually Pāṭhāns from Afghanistan, many of whom must have been serving in the armies of Delhi at the time. In Bengal, however, the name was often taken as a designation of rank.

155. The four were Kṛṣṇadāsa the Rājput, the *brāhmaṇa* of Mathurā, Bhaṭṭācārya, and the *brāhmaṇa* who accompanied him as servant. *Dhuturā*: a poison derived from the thornapple fruit.

156. The Bhaṭṭācārya and his *brāhmaṇa* were Bengalis (Gauḍiyā).

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They wanted to kill them, and the Gauḍiyās began to tremble. 157 Kṛṣṇadāsa was a Rājput, totally without fear; and that *brāhmaṇa* was also fearless, and firm in his speech. 158 The *brāhmaṇa* said, "Pāṭhāns! I petition you [in the name of] your Bādshāh. Let me go to your *sikdār*. 159 This *saṃnyāsin* is my *guru*, and I am a *brāhmaṇa* of Mathurā. There are a hundred of my people close to the Bādshāh. 160 This *saṃnyāsin* is always fainting, because of a disease. Soon he will regain consciousness, that I am sure of. 161 Tie us all up and seat us here a while. When you have examined him, then you may kill us all." 162 The Pāṭhāns said, "You two are from the west and are good men; but these two Gauḍiyās are rogues, and so they tremble." 163 Kṛṣṇadāsa said, "My house is in this village. There are a hundred Turukīs here, and two hundred cannon. 164 They will all come here if I shout. They will kill you all, and take your horses and gear. 165 These Gauḍiyās are not thieves—you are the thieves; you rob pilgrims, and want to kill them as well." 166 When they heard this speech, the Pāṭhāns drew back, and just at that time Mahāprabhu regained consciousness. 167 He rose up with a shout, saying "Hari, Hari!" He raised his arms and began to dance, overcome with *prema*. 168 And when Prabhu, overcome with *prema*, gave that shout, it was like a spear striking the hearts of the *mlecchas*. 169 Much afraid, the *mlecchas* let the four men go; Prabhu did not see the tying up of his own people. 170 Bhaṭṭācārya came and took Prabhu and sat him down, and when he saw the *mlecchas*, Mahāprabhu regained awareness. 171 The *mlecchas* came and bowed at the feet of Prabhu, and said to him, "These four are rogues. 172 The four of them together fed you *dhuturā*, and having made you mad they took your money." 173 And Prabhu said, "They are not rogues, they are my companions. I am a mendicant *saṃnyāsī*, and have no wealth at all. 174 I become unconscious because of epilepsy, and these four, in their kindness, protect me."

157. That *brāhmaṇa*: the *sanoḍiyā brāhmaṇa* previously mentioned.

158. Bādshāh: emperor; *sikdār*: ranking officer.

170. *Bāhya haila*: regained awareness, i.e., normal consciousness.

174. *Mṛgīvyādhi*: the "deer disease," epilepsy. Since according to orthodox thought Caitanya was not an epileptic, and since Caitanya obviously cannot lie, Rādhāgovinda Nātha has devised a nice bit of exegesis of this expression. *Mṛga* is a class of man, so named because of his similarity to the stag (*mṛga*) in copulation; she who is his partner in sexual intercourse is *mṛgī*. Kṛṣṇa, though not in material ways, can be thought of as *mṛga*, and Rādhā, as *hlādinī-śakti*, is *mṛgī*. Therefore the "illness of the *mṛgī*" is the *viraha* of Rādhā, which is the cause of Caitanya's fainting. [Mukunda also used the term epilepsy to describe his condition to a foreign king; see 2.15.126. See also 1.7.86-93; 1.17.5 for these same symptoms of possession interpreted as madness. TKS]

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175 Among those *mlecchas* there was a most grave man; he wore black cloth, and people called him "*pīr*." 176 His heart softened when he saw Prabhu. "Our own *śāstras* establish the quality-less *brahma*, 177 and preach non-dualism." Prabhu refuted his arguments using those very *śāstras*. 178 Whatever he argued, Prabhu refuted it. No rejoinder came to his lips, and he was dumbfounded. 179 Prabhu said, "In your *śāstras* is established the quality-less [God]; but in refutation of that, in the final analysis he has been established as qualified. 180 In your *śāstras* it says at the end that Īśvara is one; his body is *śyāma* in color, and he is full of all divine qualities. 181 His body is *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*, and in form he is the full *brahman*; he is the *ātmā* of all, the knower of all things, and his true form is the beginning of all things and eternal. 182 From him are creation, maintenance, and destruction; he is the equal refuge for worlds both gross and subtle. 183 He is the best of all things, to be worshiped by all, and is the cause of causes; in *bhakti* to him is the salvation from the ocean of existence of *jīvas*. 184 Without service of him, the ocean of existence of the *jīva* does not pass away, and love at his feet is the essence of the meaning of mankind. 185 *Mokṣa* and the rest are not a particle of the *ānanda* of him, and he who would gain his full *ānanda* should serve his feet. 186 *Karma*, *jñāna*, and *yoga*—having first established these, [the scriptures] finally refute them, and establish the service of Īśvara. 187 None of your *paṇḍitas* understand your *śāstras*, and that among injunctions what is former and what is latter, the latter is stronger. 188 You examine your own *śāstras*, and ascertain what has been written there at the end."

189 The *mleccha* said, "What you say is true. No one is able to accept what has been written in the *śāstras*. 190 They all expound on the quality-less Lord,

175. Pīr: a Sufi master.

180. God's uniqueness and the rest are all qualifications.

181. Although he has a form, a body, that body is made up of *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*, like *brahman*; he is indwelling, he is the soul (*ātmā*) in all things.

182. I.e., the material (Brahmā-world) world and the immaterial (infinite) world.

187. One method of argument is to state a proposition and then to refute it. Thus, in a sequence of arguments, that which is stated last is held to be the argument which is intended to be held.

190. The whole discussion seems somewhat simple-minded, but it may be that Rādhāgovinda Nātha is correct in analyzing it in this way: the deity can be said to be of one of three possible types. The first is without form and without qualities, and without relevant power, which is the position of the Vedānta. The second is without form, but with qualities and with power. And the third, the position of the Vaiṣṇavas, is that he has form, qualities, and power. Caitanya is saying that it is the second of the three positions which is ordinarily considered to be that of Islam, but

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and do not consider the service of the Lord who has form. 191 But you, O Gosvāmī, are the manifest Īśvara. Be merciful to me, an unworthy wretch. 192 I have read much in the *mleccha-śāstras*, and have not been able to ascertain what is to be attained, nor how. 193 Seeing you, my tongue says the name 'Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa,' and the conceit that I am very wise has gone. 194 So be merciful to me, and tell me what is to be attained, and how." And so saying, he fell at the feet of Mahāprabhu. 195 Prabhu said, "Rise up, and take the name of Kṛṣṇa; the sins of a crore of births are wiped away [by that], and you have become pure." 196 He instructed them, "Say Kṛṣṇa, say Kṛṣṇa!" and all said "Kṛṣṇa," and all were overcome with *prema*. 197 So Prabhu gave him the name Rāmadāsa; and there was another Pāṭhān, whose name was Bijuli Khān. 198 He was young, and the son of a king. Rāmadāsa and the other Pāṭhāns were his servants. 199 Saying "Kṛṣṇa," he fell at the feet of Mahāprabhu, and Prabhu put his holy feet on his head. 200 Prabhu went on, showing mercy to them all, and all those Pāṭhāns became ascetics. 201 And they became famous as the Pāṭhān Vaiṣṇavas, and they wandered everywhere, singing the praises of Mahāprabhu. 202 That Bijuli Khān became a very great *bhāgavata*; he visited all the *tīrthas*, and his excellence was the greatest. 203 And thus did Prabhu Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya have *līlā*; coming to the west he bestowed a great treasure on the Yavanas and others.

the third of the three is the proper interpretation. The argument is this: The second position is that God has qualities, such as love, compassion, and the rest, and intrinsic power allows him to taste the sweetness of devotion of his devotees, and for these to be tasted by men, though incompletely. God cannot be known on earth completely because he has no form, and the human mind cannot comprehend formlessness. In Islam, as in Christianity, the "throne of God" and so on are spoken of, however; what does this mean? In Islam, there are various places to which the Muslim goes: *Behesht* or Paradise (Beng. *behesta*), *ʿarsh* or the throne of God (Beng. *ārs*), *la-maqām* or "no-place" (Beng. *la-mokām*), etc. Each of these is spiritual, infinite, and in them the worshiper has some kind of spiritual body; there is in them enjoyment, depending on one's deeds in life, and in this these places are much like the Hindu *svarga* (heaven). But *svarga* is not infinite; from *svarga* one returns to worldly life again. Paradise then is a kind of *mukti*. *La-maqām* is where the court of God is, an invisible, unqualified place, similar to the Hindu notion of union with *brahman*. In this court God sits, with his eternal entourage; but what his true form is, is not mentioned in the Qur'ān. Early traditions do mention that he revealed himself to Muhammad and to Moses, but the form he took in his revelation to Muhammad is not mentioned, and to Moses he showed a brilliance such that as predicted, he died (since no living human could bear the sight), but was revived afterwards; presumably he saw the true form of God. If this was so, the reasoning might go, God has a true form, and thus the third, or the Vaiṣṇava, position is the correct one.

191. Sākṣāt: manifest, before one's very eyes.

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204 Coming to Sorokṣetra, Prabhu bathed in the Gaṅgā, and proceeded on the path on the bank of the Gaṅgā to Prayāga. 205 Prabhu bade farewell to that *brāhmaṇa* and Kṛṣṇadāsa, and with palms pressed together, the two began to say, 206 "Let us both go with you up to Prayāga; where again shall we gain the company of your feet? 207 In this country of the *mlecchas*, different people in different places cause trouble, and Bhaṭṭācārya and the *paṇḍita* do not know how to speak [their language]." 208 When he heard this, Mahāprabhu began to smile knowingly, and those two people continued along with Prabhu. 209 Whoever gained *darśana* of Prabhu became drunk with *prema*, and made Kṛṣṇa-*saṃkīrtana*. 210 With them were others, and they brought still others with them, and in this way all the villages of the country became Vaiṣṇava. 211 As he had manifested his *śakti* on his journey to the south, so did the western country float in *prema*. 212 In this way Prabhu came to Prayāga, and for ten days he took his Makara bath in the Triveṇī.

213 The actions of Prabhu on his trip to Vṛndāvana were infinite, and even he who has a thousand mouths could not reach the end of them. 214 Who, if he is a miserable *jīva*, could tell them all? So they have been surveyed in brief form. 215 The *līlā* of Prabhu is not of this world, and its manner is not of this world; even when they hear of it, unlucky people do not believe. 216 Know the *līlā* of Caitanya as not of this world, from beginning to end; listen to it with faith, and honor it as true. 217 He who argues about this is a prince of fools, and himself brings down the thunderbolt on his own head. 218 The acts of Caitanya are a sea of nectar, one drop of which makes the world float in bliss.

219 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

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Madhya Līlā
Chapter 19

Śloka 1.

As formerly the creation had been done by Brahmā, in that same way Prabhu, wishing for his own power, manifested again the *līlā* of *rāsa* of that Vṛndāvana—lost because of time—through Rūpa.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 Śrī Rūpa and Sanātana were at Rāmakeligrāma; they met Prabhu there and went to their own house. 3 The two brothers were devising means for the abandonment of the worldly life; they gave much wealth to two *brāhmaṇas*. 4 They had them perform two *puraścaraṇas*, with Kṛṣṇa-*mantras*, that shortly they would gain the feet of Caitanya again. 5 Śrī Rūpa Gosvāmin then, filling a boat, came with much wealth to his own home. 6 He gave half of the fortune to *brāhmaṇas* and Vaiṣṇavas, and he apportioned another quarter of the wealth for the support of relatives. 7 And he reserved a quarter of it in case of punish-

4. *Puraścaraṇa*: the intense worship, with the *mantra* which had been given to an individual, for the benefit of that individual. By the Rāma-*mantra*, Rāma is gained, by the Kṛṣṇa-*mantra* Kṛṣṇa, etc. Rūpa and Sanātana paid two *brāhmaṇas* to perform *puraścaraṇa*, to insure their prompt meeting with Caitanya.

5. His "own home" probably means his father's village, which was originally in Fateyābād in Bariśāl district. After he had remarried, Rūpa and Sanātana's father moved to his father-in-law's house in Mādhāipura in western Bengal, and again later moved to Māḍagrāma in Murśidābād district. It was probably to this latter place, where Rūpa and Sanātana had grown up, that Rūpa at this time went. See "*Rūpa-sanātana gosvāmī*," by Hirendranārāyaṇa Mukhopādhyāya, in *Bhāratbarṣa* for Jyaisthya, 1337 BS.

7. Sanātana was the chief minister of Husain Shāh, and Rūpa was that king's personal secretary; they naturally enough anticipated that Husain Shāh would be upset when they left his service.

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ment or imprisonment, and kept it at the place of trustworthy *brāhmaṇas*. 8 In Gauḍa he kept ten thousand coins, for Sanātana to spend, at the house of a provisioner. 9 Śrī Rūpa heard that Prabhu had gone to Nīlādri, and that Prabhu would journey along the forest path to Śrī Vṛndāvana. 10 Rūpa Gosvāmin sent two men to Nīlācala, to ask when Prabhu would travel to Vṛndāvana. 11 "Come back quickly and give me news of him; when I hear it, I shall decide accordingly."

12 At this time, Sanātana Gosvāmin was thinking to himself, "The king loves me, and that is my bondage. 13 If somehow the king were to become angry with me, then that would certainly mean my release." 14 So feigning illness he remained in his own house; he abandoned his duties to the king, and did not enter the king's door. 15 The king's work was done by just *kāyasthas*, while [Sanātana] remained in his own house discussing the *śāstras*. 16 He would sit together with twenty or thirty Bhaṭṭācārya *paṇḍitas* and discuss the *Bhāgavata*. 17 One day Gauḍeśvara with a companion suddenly entered the assembly of the Gosvāmin. 18 When they saw the emperor, everyone stood up in deference, and respectfully they seated the king in the place of honor. 19 The king said, "*Vaidyas* were sent to your house; the *vaidyas* said you were not ill, and that they had seen you well. 20 All my affairs are your responsibility, and yet you abandon all of them and sit in your house. 21 All my affairs have been destroyed. What do you feel in your heart? Tell me that." 22 Sanātana replied, "I cannot work. Have it done by someone else." 23 Then the king became angry and said

8. Rūpa was in his natal village; Sanātana however was still in Gauḍa, and easily accessible to the king. Rūpa therefore divided this quarter of his money again, putting ten thousand rupees at Sanātana's disposal.

15. Lebha: "just," the Apabhraṃśa form of *labhya*, "that which is to be gained"; other MSS however read, *lobhi*: "greedy." The *Śabdakalpadruma* definition of *labhya* is "just," "fair," which is Rādhāgovinda Nātha's preferred interpretation, based on the majority of the oldest MSS. *Kāyasthas* were originally scribes, later gaining great political and social power in Bengal; see Inden, *MRBC*, ch. 2, passim.

17. Gauḍeśvara: lit., Lord of Gauḍa, i.e., the king.

19. Vaidyas were, among other things, physicians.

23. In the *CC*, only three brothers are mentioned by name, of whom Sanātana is the eldest, as also at the end of Jīva's *Vaiṣṇavatoṣaṇī*, where he is discussing his family. Mukhopādhyāya (see v. 5 commentary) however claims that there were four brothers and one sister in the family. The names of the four brothers, in descending age, were Raghunandana, Amara, Santoṣa, and Anupama. Amara and Santoṣa were Sanātana and Rūpa, the latter names being given them by Caitanya. According to Mukhopādhyāya, Raghunandana was something of a revolutionary, and was constantly taking actions against the Muslim king.

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again, "Your elder brother is acting like a thief; 24 he has punished many individuals, and has made Bākalā his own possession; and now you have ruined all my other affairs." 25 Sanātana said, "You are the independent lord of Gauḍa; whatever offence has been committed, give the punishment for that." 26 When he heard this, the lord of Gauḍa rose up and went to his own place, and ordered Sanātana to be arrested, lest he flee. 27 At that time the king was going to invade Orissa, and he said to Sanātana, "You come with me." 28 And he said, "You are going to bring misery to the *devatā*; I have no power to go with you."

29 So keeping him imprisoned, he went; and at that time Prabhu went from Nīlācala to Vṛndāvana. 30 At that time also the two messengers had returned to Śrī Rūpa and told him that Prabhu had left for Vṛndāvana. 31 When he heard it, Śrī Rūpa wrote to Sanātana, "Śrī Caitanya Gosvāmī has gone to Vṛndāvana; 32 let us two brothers go to meet him. However you can manage it, escape and flee from there. 33 There are ten thousand gold *mudrās* at the house of the provisioner; use that and free yourself quickly. 34 Some way or other get free and come to Vṛndāvana." So he wrote, and the two brothers set off. 35 [The other brother was] Anupama Mallik, whose name was Śrī Vallabha—the younger brother of Rūpa Gosvāmin and a foremost Vaiṣṇava. 36 With him, Śrī Rūpa came to Prayāga, and when Mahāprabhu heard this, he was delighted. 37 Prabhu had gone to have *darśana* of Bindu-mādhava, and lakhs and lakhs of people came with him. 38 Some were weeping and some were laughing and some were dancing and singing, and some were saying "Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa" and rolling around on the ground. 39 The Gaṅgā and Yamunā [together] were not able to flood Prayāga, but Prabhu drowned it in a flood of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*. 40 Seeing the crowds, the two brothers remained by themselves. And Prabhu was absorbed in the *darśana* of Mādhava. 41 Absorbed in *prema*, Prabhu danced, making the sound of "Hari"; with arms upraised he sang, "*Bol* Hari Hari!"

42 Seeing the magnificence of Prabhu, the people were astonished; I cannot describe the *līlā* of Prabhu at Prayāga. 43 He was acquainted with a *brāhmaṇa* of the Deccan, and that *brāhmaṇa* brought him an invitation to his own house.

24. Bākalā was a territory near Candradvīpa.

28. "You are going to destroy the temples in Orissa; I do not have it in me to participate in that." *Devatā*: Jagannātha.

34. I.e., Rūpa and Anupama.

41. *Āveśa*: "absorbed," the term used throughout the chapter. *Bol* Hari Hari: the formulaic injunction to "say the name of Kṛṣṇa."

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44 Prabhu came to the house of the *brāhmaṇa* and sat alone; Śrī Rūpa and Vallabha both came to meet him there. 45 The two came, holding grass in their teeth, and when they saw Prabhu from a distance they fell to the ground in obeisance. 46 Getting up and lying prostrate again and again, they recited many *ślokas*: at the sight of Prabhu they both were overcome with *prema*. 47 When he saw Śrī Rūpa, Prabhu was delighted, and he said, "Rise up, rise up, Rūpa; come here. 48 The compassion of Kṛṣṇa cannot be described, for it has raised you both up from the well of worldly life."

Śloka 2. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin's *Haribhaktivilāsa* 10.91:
He who knows the four Vedas but does not have *bhakti* is not beloved of me; a *śvapaca* who is my *bhakta* is beloved of me. You should give to him and accept from him; he is as honorable as I.

49 Reciting this *śloka*, he embraced them both, and in his mercy held his feet on the heads of them both. 50 Getting the blessing of Prabhu, both pressed their palms together, and humbly they praised him in supplication.

Śloka 3. A *śloka* of Rūpa Gosvāmin:
I make obeisance to you, the Kṛṣṇa of the light complexion, Kṛṣṇa Caitanya by name, great giver, the giver of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*.

Śloka 4. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Govindalīlāmṛta* 1.2:
I take refuge in that Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, of most wonderful desire, who, merciful, has with the nectar of his own *prema* made intoxicated the world drunken with ignorance.

51 Then Mahāprabhu seated them nearby, and asked them, "Give me news of Sanātana." 52 And Rūpa said, "He is a prisoner in the palace of the king; if you save him, then [only] can he be saved." 53 Prabhu replied, "Sanātana has been released, and he will soon join us." 54 The *brāhmaṇa* asked Prabhu to perform the noonday rites; Rūpa Gosvāmin remained there that day. 55 The Bhaṭṭācārya extended an invitation to the two brothers; and they took as *prasāda* the leavings on the plate of Prabhu.

45. Holding grass as a sign of humility and submission.
Śloka 2. See 2.20.*śl.*3; 3.16.*śl.*2.

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56 The dwelling-place of Prabhu was above the Triveṇī, and the two brothers lodged near him. 57 At that time, Vallabha Bhaṭṭa was living in the village of Āḍaila; when he heard that Mahāprabhu had come, he came to that place. 58 There he made obeisance, and Prabhu embraced him, and the two spent some time in words of Kṛṣṇa. 59 At the words of Kṛṣṇa, *prema* rose up in Mahāprabhu; but, out of consideration for Bhaṭṭa, Prabhu restrained himself. 60 But within him the *prema* was seething, and there was no restraining it; and when he saw it, the heart of Bhaṭṭa was struck with wonder. 61 Then Bhaṭṭa extended Mahāprabhu an invitation, and Mahāprabhu introduced him to the two brothers. 62 At a distance, the two brothers fell to the earth, and very humbly made obeisance to Bhaṭṭa. 63 Bhaṭṭa went to meet them, but both fled to a distance. "We are low untouchables, do not touch us." 64 Bhaṭṭa was astonished, but Prabhu was pleased in his heart; he explained it, saying to Bhaṭṭa, 65 "Do not touch them; their *jāti* is very low. And you are a learned *kulīna*, *vaidika*, and *yājñika*." 66 But hearing the name of Kṛṣṇa constantly from the mouths of them both and knowing the signs of a deception of Prabhu, he said, 67 "The name of Kṛṣṇa dances in the mouths of these two; these two are not low, but are the highest of all."

Śloka 5. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.33.7:

How wonderful! That *śvapaca* on the tip of whose tongue your name is current is worthy of worship. Those who praise your name are endowed with proper action—they do ascetic deeds, offer sacrifices in the fire, bathe at pilgrimage places, and study the Vedas.

68 When he heard this, Mahāprabhu praised him much, and absorbed in *prema* began to recite a *śloka*:

56. The Triveṇī is the confluence of the Gaṅgā, Yamunā, and the invisible Sarasvatī rivers.

59. *Saṃvaraṇa*: restrained, covered over, or contained, used throughout the chapter. Presumably Vallabha and his followers were not given to displays of emotion.

65. *Kulīna* does not mean here what it means in the Bengali context, for Vallabha was not a Bengali; the term probably is used in its non-technical sense of "of high family"; *vaidika*: learned in the Vedas; *yājñika*: one knowing the technicalities of the sacrifice. Judging from what follows, Caitanya is here testing Bhaṭṭa, and is not serious about his agreement with the humility of the two brothers.

Śloka 5. See 2.11.*śl.*14; 3.16.*śl.*4.

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Śloka 6. *Haribhaktisudhodaya* 3.12:
Even a Śvapāka is pure and is worthy of praise by wise men, and impurities of low birth are burnt away in the burning flame of true *bhakti*; but not he who is *nāstika*, though he is versed in the Vedas.

Śloka 7. *Haribhaktisudhodaya* 3.11:
Of him who is devoid of *bhakti* to the *bhagavat*, caste, *śāstras*, *mantra*, and asceticism are like ornaments on a corpse, pleasing [only] to people.

69 The power and absorption of Prabhu in *prema* was the epitome of *bhakti*, and when he saw his beauty and the rest, Bhaṭṭa was astonished. 70 Bhaṭṭa had Prabhu, with his followers, board a boat, and he took them to his own house to give them food. 71 When he saw the waters of the Yamunā, smooth and dark, Mahāprabhu was distracted, under the influence of *prema*. 72 Giving a shout, he leapt into the waters of the Yamunā, and when they saw Prabhu, the minds of all trembled in fear. 73 Frantic, they all seized Prabhu and pulled him out, and he began to dance on the deck of the boat. 74 The boat began to rock under the weight of Mahāprabhu, and began to founder, as water washed over it. 75 When in the presence of Bhaṭṭa, the mind of Prabhu became quiet; but the *prema* was indescribably powerful, and could not be contained. 76 When he saw the place and the people, Mahāprabhu became quiet, and then the boat reached the ghat at Āḍaila. 77 Bhaṭṭa remained with him, in fear, and had Prabhu perform the midday rites, and then took him to his own house, together with his followers. 78 Overjoyed, Bhaṭṭa gave him the seat of honor, and he himself washed the feet of Prabhu. 79 Together with his family, he took that water on his head, and he gave him a new loincloth and outer garment to put on. 80 He then made *mahāpūjā*, with perfume and flowers and incense and lamps, and when he had honored him, he cooked. 81 He fed Prabhu with care and great affection, and he also caused Rūpa Gosvāmin and his brother to eat. 82 Bhaṭṭācārya had the remainder [of the food of Prabhu] given to Śrī Rūpa, and what remained of that *prasāda*, Kṛṣṇadāsa got. 83 Giving him a rinse for his mouth, he had Prabhu lie down, and Bhaṭṭa himself massaged his feet. 84 Prabhu sent him to eat his food; he ate and came back to the feet of Prabhu.

Śloka 6. Nāstika: "atheists," "naysayer," here defined as those devoid of *bhakti*.

82. Kṛṣṇadāsa is the name of Caitanya's servant, the Rājput *brāhmaṇa* he met earlier in Vṛndāvana, according to Rādhagovinda Nātha.

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85 At that same time, Raghupati Upādhyāya came, a Tirohitā *paṇḍita* and a great Vaiṣṇava. 86 Coming there, he clasped the feet of Prabhu. "Let your mind remain in Kṛṣṇa" were the words of Prabhu. 87 When he heard this, the heart of Upādhyāya was overjoyed, and Prabhu said to him, "Tell me of Kṛṣṇa." 88 So he recited a *śloka* of Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*, composed by himself, and when he heard it, Mahāprabhu was absorbed in great *prema*.

Śloka 8. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 126 [quoting Raghupati Upādhyāya]:
Some, afraid of the world, worship the *Bhārata*, and others the *smṛtis*, and others the *śrutis*; but I bow down to Nanda, in whose courtyard was the highest *brahma*.

89 Raghupati Upādhyāya made obeisance, and with the words of Prabhu, "Speak on," Upādhyāya said,

Śloka 9. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 98 [quoting Raghupati Upādhyāya]:
Who is strong enough to believe it? To whom can it be told? In the *kuñja* on the bank of the Yamunā, the lover of the young wives of the *gopas* is *brahma*.

90 Prabhu said, "Speak on"; and he recited the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*, and Prabhu's body and mind were overcome with *prema*. 91 Seeing the *prema*, Upādhyāya was astonished, and he decided, "This is not a human being; this is Kṛṣṇa." 92 Prabhu said, "Upādhyāya! Whom do you honor most?" And Upādhyāya replied, "Śyāma-*rūpa* is most [to be honored]." 93 "What dwelling place of Śyāma-*rūpa* do you most revere?" And Upādhyāya replied, "The city of Madhupurī is best." 94 "Boyhood or adolescence or youth—which do you most revere?" And Upādhyāya said, "I hold the age of youth to be the best." 95 "Among the qualities of *rasa*, which do you revere most?" Upādhyāya said, "The primary *rasa* is the last *rasa*." 96 Prabhu said, "You have taught me valid truth"; and so saying he recited a *śloka* in a trembling voice:

Śloka 10. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 82 [quoting Raghupati Upādhyāya]:
Śyāma-*rūpa* is the best *rūpa*, Madhupurī is the best place, the age of youth is to be meditated upon, and the primary *rasa* is the highest.

85. A man from Trihuta-deśa in Mithilā.
92. Kṛṣṇa in the form of Śyāma, the two-armed cowherd boy of Vṛndāvana.
95. The fifth *rasa*, *mādhurya-rasa* is the best.

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97 Overcome by *prema*, Prabhu embraced him, and drunk with *prema* he danced there.

98 Seeing this, Vallabha Bhaṭṭa was astonished, and bringing his two sons he fell at the feet of Prabhu. 99 For the sight of Prabhu all the people of the village came, and with *darśana* of him all became Kṛṣṇa *bhaktas*. 100 All the *brāhmaṇas* offered Prabhu invitations, but Vallabha Bhaṭṭa refused them all. 101 "Mad with *prema*, Gosvāmī falls in the middle of the Yamunā; I shall take him to Prayāga, and not allow him to remain here. 102 Whoever wants to, let him go to Prayāga and offer invitations there." So saying, he took Prabhu and set off.

103 Along the Gaṅgā, having seated Mahāprabhu in a boat, Bhaṭṭa brought him to Prayāga. 104 Out of concern for the crowds, Prabhu went to the Daśāśvamedha [ghat]; and spreading his *śakti*, he instructed Rūpa Gosvāmin. 105 The limits of the Kṛṣṇa-*tattva*, *bhakti-tattva*, and *rasa-tattva*—Prabhu taught all these conclusions of the *Bhāgavata*. 106 All the insights which he had heard from Rāmānanda, in his mercy, he communicated to Rūpa. 107 Prabhu spread *śakti* in the heart of Śrī Rūpa; he made him skilled in the investigation of all the *tattvas*. 108 And having instructed him, he ordered him to go to Vṛndāvana; he carried out everything according to the orders of Prabhu. 109 Kavikarṇapūra, the son of Śivānanda Sena, has written in detail in his book, about the meeting with Rūpa.

Śloka 11. Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka* 9.48 [*śloka* 38]:

In time, the news of the play at Vṛndāvana had been forgotten, therefore in order especially to make it widespread, Deva anointed with the nectar of his grace Rūpa and Sanātana.

Śloka 12-13. Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka* 9.42-43 [*ślokas* 29-30]:

12 He who, though before being deeply bound by the qualities of this love, and free from domestic substitution, became as it were the embodiment of the highest *rasa*, though bodiless—that Rūpa with Anupama,

107. Tattva: "quiddity," the distinguishing feature(s) of something, its "thatness," i.e., what makes something what it is; occasionally translated as metaphysical "truth."

Śloka 11. Deva: Caitanya. See 2.24.*śl.*95.

Śloka 13. There are many double meanings here: "whose beloved is Svarūpa Gosvāmī"; "who is the husband of Prabhu" or "like the true form of love or mercy," etc. The play is always on the term "*svarūpa*."

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Deva favored at Prayāga by embracing him with deep delight and discussions of *prema*. 13 Prabhu distributed *prema* to Rūpa, the true form of love, the true form of mercy, in true form wise and learned by nature, like his own form in one form, in form like his own *vilāsa*.

110 In this way Karṇapūra wrote in various places of how Prabhu was merciful to Rūpa and Sanātana.

111 As many very great *bhaktas* of Mahāprabhu as there are, Rūpa and Sanātana are the vessels of honor and grace of all. 112 When anyone goes back to his country, having seen Vṛndāvana, the followers of Prabhu all ask, 113 "Tell us, how are Rūpa and Sanātana faring there? How is their indifference to the world? Are they eating? 114 Do they perform *bhajana* for Śrī Kṛṣṇa for eight watches?" And then those *bhaktas* would praise them and say, 115 "Both remain shelterless; there are many trees, and each night they rest under a different tree. 116 Like bees, they eat coarse food at the houses of *brāhmaṇas*; [sometimes] they eat dried bread and chickpeas, and [sometimes] give up even that. 117 They have only a clay pot in their hands and torn patched cloth as outer garments; they dance in delight at the name of Kṛṣṇa and stories of Kṛṣṇa. 118 For eight watches they perform Kṛṣṇa-*bhajana*, and rest for four *daṇḍas*; and on some days not even that, when in *nāma-saṃkīrtana*. 119 Sometimes they write *bhakti-rasa śāstras*, and listen to stories of Caitanya, and reflect on Caitanya." 120 Hearing these words, the great ones were very pleased; for what surprises are there, where the grace of Caitanya is? 121 Rūpa himself has written of the grace of Caitanya, in the *maṅgalācaraṇa* of his [*Bhakti*]*rasāmṛtasindhu*:

Śloka 14. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sāmānyabhakti-laharī*] 1.1.2:

By whose inspiration in my heart I, most insignificant Rūpa, have been set into motion, I bow to the lotus-feet of him, that Hari, Caitanyadeva.

122 In this way he remained at Prayāga for ten days and taught Śrī Rūpa, dispensing his *śakti*. 123 Prabhu said, "Hear me, Rūpa. Let me tell the signs

116. They were like bees because, as bees cause no trouble to the flowers in taking pollen, and as they are not greedy in their taking of it, so were the brothers at the houses of the *brāhmaṇas*. *Cānā*: chickpeas.

117. Karoyā: a water vessel of clay or of gourd.

118. Bhajana: *kīrtana*; *Daṇḍa*: a period of about twenty-four minutes.

Śloka 14. See 3.1.*śl.*56.

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of *bhakti-rasa* in the form of *sūtras*, for they cannot be described in detail. 124 The ocean of *bhakti-rasa* is deep and shoreless; let me speak that you may taste a drop of it. 125 This Brahmā-world is filled with infinite *jīvas*, and they wander through eighty-four lakhs of wombs. 126 If a hair is divided into a hundred parts and again into a hundred parts, that would describe the true form of the minute *jīva*.

Śloka 15. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.87.30a:
This *jīva* is an atom of consciousness, beyond numbering, subtle in true form, like the hundredth part of the hundredth part of a hair.

Śloka 16. *Pañcadaśī, citradīpa-prakaraṇa* 81:
You should know that *jīva* is imagined as one part of a hundredth part of a hundredth part of a hair; this the highest *śrūti* says.

Śloka 17. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.16.11:
I am the *jīva* even within minutest things.

Śloka 18. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.87.30b:
O eternal one! If the innumerable and eternal *jīvas* were pervading everything, there would be no rule [of you] over them, but it is otherwise; for *jīvas* are produced [from a source]. Let [the *jīva*] not abandon that source of his creation and consider himself the controller. Those who consider the *jīva* to be the same as you are in error.

127 Among them are two classes: moving and unmoving. Among the moving are those which move horizontally through the water, and some which move on land. 128 And among these is the human race, most tiny [in numbers]. And among these are *mlecchas*, Pulindas, Bauddhas, and hunters. 129 And among those devoted to the Vedas there are those who pay the Vedas lip-service, and do wrong things forbidden by the Vedas and have no respect for *dharma*. 130 And among those who

125. Nine lakhs of wombs of fishes, twenty lakhs of wombs of unmoving things, eleven lakhs of wombs of insects, ten lakhs of wombs of birds, thirty lakhs of wombs of animals, four lakhs of human wombs; and by *sādhana* one leaves all these wombs and gains the womb of Brahmā.

127. Sthāvara: unmoving; *jaṅgama*: moving.

128. Mleccha: foreigner or barbarian, see the commentary to 2.1.186; Pulinda: name of a jungly tribe, probably here used to suggest all non-Vedic tribal peoples; Bauddha: Buddhist; *śavara*: hunter, fowler.

130. Jñānī: follower of the *jñāna-mārga*, obviously here considered higher than the path of *karma*.

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follow *dharma* are many who are devoted to *karma*, and among crores devoted to *karma*, there is a single *jñānī*. 131 And in a crore of *jñānīs* there is one *mukta*; and hard to find in a crore of *muktas* is a single Kṛṣṇa-*bhakta*. 132 The Kṛṣṇa-*bhakta* is without desire, and thus he is 'at peace'; and all who desire *siddhi*, *bhukti*, and *mukti* are 'not at peace.'

Śloka 19. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 6.14.5:

O *mahāmuni*! Even among crores of *muktas* and *siddhas*, a man of peaceful soul, devoted to Nārāyaṇa, is hard to find.

133 Certain fortunate *jīvas*, wandering in the Brahmā-world, gain the seed of the *bhakti*-creeper, in the grace of Kṛṣṇa and the *guru*. 134 And like a gardener they plant that seed, and nourish it with the water of *śravaṇa* and *kīrtana*. 135 The creeper grows and spreads, and splits the Brahmā-world; it pierces Virajā and Brahmaloka, and reaches Paravyoma. 136 It grows through that and reaches Goloka and Vṛndāvana, and climbs the wishing-tree of Kṛṣṇa's feet. 137 There it spreads, and bears the fruit of *prema*. But the gardener always nourishes it with the water of *śravaṇa* and the rest. 138 If the mad elephants of offences against Vaiṣṇavas rise up, and it is uprooted or torn, its leaves wither and die.

131. As we have seen, there are those among *muktas* who turn to *bhakti* to gain the true ultimate, for by *jñāna* one gains only the lowest level of the tripartite godhead; there is one true *bhakta* to every crore of people who follow *jñāna*.

132. *Niṣkāma*: without desire for the satisfaction of the self. The ends of all other ways are selfish, and people are constantly agitated to gain that self-satisfaction. *Siddhi* is usually interpreted as the various end states which are gained by *yoga*; it is of eight kinds: *aṇimā*, the power of assuming a subtle or invisible or atomic (*aṇu*) form; *laghimā*, a lightness of weight, so that one may rise up as a mote in the sunbeam; *mahimā*, greatness, by which one is able to assume a form as vast as a mountain; *prāpti*, in which the adept is able to touch and hold anything he wishes, even the moon in the sky; *īśitva*, by which power matter can be created; *vaśitva*, by which all matter can be controlled; *prakāmya*, by which wishes and desires of the adept are granted; and *kāmāvasāyitā*, by which all desires of whatever sort are granted. *Bhukti* is enjoyment, in heaven or *svarga*; and the five kinds of *mukti* have been discussed several times previously (see text and commentary to 1.3.16 and 2.6.239).

Śloka 19. See 2.25.*śl.*14.

134. *Śravaṇa*: listening to the stories of Kṛṣṇa.

137. "The rest": the other sixty-three kinds of *vaidhī-bhakti*; see 2.22.60-84 text and commentary.

138. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin's *HBhV* 10.239 [quoting *Skānda Purāṇa*]. Offences against Vaiṣṇavas are striking, vilifying, arguing, treating with contempt, anger, and not being pleased at seeing a Vaiṣṇava. Also, if one does not show respect to a Vaiṣṇava because he is of a lower caste, this is an *aparādha*. Even if a Vaiṣṇava does evil, he must be revered; see *BhG* 9.30.

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139 That is why the gardener covers it carefully, lest it not sprout because of the elephants of offences. 140 But if branches sprout on the limbs of the creeper—desire for pleasure, or for *mukti*, so many of them that they cannot be written— 141 forbidden and evil acts, fraudulence and concern with worldly things, injury to *jīva*s, greed, and all the other offshoots, 142 and these offshoots grow, getting the water of fomentation, the main trunk is paralyzed, and does not grow. 143 So at the first, lop off these offshoots, and then the rootstem can grow in Vṛndāvana. 144 The ripe fruit of *prema* falls, and the gardener tastes it; and holding to the creeper, the gardener gets the wishing-tree. 145 And there he serves that wishing-tree, and in happiness tastes the *rasa* of the *prema*-fruit. 146 For this is the best of fruits, and the highest end of man, before which the four ends of man are like straw.

Śloka 20. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Lalitamādhava* 5.6:

Up to that point at which even the merest scent of the *prema* which is the nectar for the gaining of control over the Enemy of Madhu becomes the path of the mind, the *guru* can bring about the astonishment, the joy which comes from the experience of *brahma*, which is special, the *samādhi*, the true *dharma*, the glory of the road to perfection, which is prosperous.

147 From pure *bhakti* is produced *prema*; thus these are the signs of pure *bhakti*: 148 abandonment of desire for other things, of *pūjā* of others, and of *jñāna* and *karma*, and with the aid of all the senses, constant dedication to Kṛṣṇa. 149 This is pure *bhakti*, and from it *prema* comes. These signs are given in the *Pañcarātra* and *Bhāgavata*.

144. The wishing tree: the feet of Kṛṣṇa. [Compare in 1.9-12 the tree of devotion, whose trunk is Caitanya, whose main branches are Nityānanda and Advaitācārya, etc. TKS]

146. The four are *artha*, *kāma*, *dharma*, *mokṣa*.

Śloka 20. Samādhi: depth of absorption in meditation; realization.

148. Abandonment of things other than the attainment of Kṛṣṇa. Abandonment of *pūjā* to other deities, however, causes the Vaiṣṇava interpreters some trouble, for in many places it is said that these other deities are aspects of Kṛṣṇa. Śrīdhara Svāmin, in his *Bhāvārthadīpikā*, commenting on *BhP* 4.31.14, says that Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa is not separate from other gods, and that if one worships other gods with the understanding that he is worshiping Kṛṣṇa, and worships Kṛṣṇa the *parameśvara*, he is a holy man. And *BhG* 9.23 says clearly that he who worships other gods is worshiping Kṛṣṇa. But, say the Vaiṣṇava commentators, it depends upon the object of worship, for one gains that aspect of Kṛṣṇa appropriate to one's worship. Thus, if one worships Śiva, one gains Śiva. In no aspect other than Kṛṣṇa himself is the ultimate end gained, for Kṛṣṇa not only contains all the other

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Śloka 21. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*, [*pūrva-vibhāga, sāmānyabhakti-laharī*] 1.1.12 [quoting *Nārada Pañcarātra*]:

Bhakti is said by Hṛṣīka to be the service of Hṛṣīkeśa, the pure, and devoid of all kinds of deception, by means of mastery of the senses.

Śloka 22-25. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.29.11-14:

22 Just as the water of the Gaṅgā runs into the sea, the minds [of my devotees], when they merely hear of the qualities of me, Puruṣottama, contained within the hearts of all, turn toward me without interruption. 23 The mark of *nirguṇa bhakti-yoga* is cited as *bhakti* not separate from me and spontaneous; it is not the fruit of examination, nor of knowledge of works. 24 Even if I myself am prepared to give it, my people do not take to *sālokya*, *sārṣṭi*, *sārūpya*, *sāmīpya*, or *ekatva* without serving me. 25 By which, having passed beyond the three *guṇas*, there is one worthy of gaining my *bhāva*, that is called an excessively great *bhakti-yoga*.

150 If there is desire for enjoyment and *mukti* and the rest in the mind, even if one performs *sādhana*, *prema* is not born.

Śloka 26. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*, [*pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.22:

When the *piśācīs* of desire for *mukti* and enjoyment dwell in the heart, then how can the happiness of *bhakti* be experienced there?

deities, but has the added quality which is Kṛṣṇa himself. There are five "knowledge-senses" (*jñānendriya*): eyes to see the image of Kṛṣṇa; ears to hear of the *līlā* and qualities and the name of Kṛṣṇa; nose to smell the scent of the flowers and the *tulasī* offered to him; tongue to taste *prasāda* and to sing of his *līlā* and name and qualities; and touch to feel the garlands offered to him, etc. And there are five "work-senses" (*karmendriya*): speech to recite the *līlā* and the qualities and the name; hand to offer flowers, play instruments, and cleanse the temple; feet to go to the temple and on pilgrimage; anus and genitals to void feces and urine and thus keep the body prepared for service to Kṛṣṇa. And there are four "inner senses": mind to remember the *līlā* and qualities of Kṛṣṇa; intelligence to establish Kṛṣṇa; realization that one is Kṛṣṇa's servant; and consciousness, to be used in seeking out things relevant to Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 21. Hṛṣīka: the senses. Hṛṣīkeśa: the Lord of the senses.

Śloka 22. See 1.4.*śl*.34.

Śloka 23. See 1.4.*śl*.35.

Śloka 24. See 1.4.*śl*.36; 2.6.*śl*.23; 2.9.*śl*.24; 3.3.*śl*.12. For an explanation of the five kinds of *mukti*, see commentary to v. 132, above.

Śloka 26. *Piśācī*: a kind of demi-god or spirit, usually malevolent or at least impish.

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151 From *sādhana-bhakti* comes the birth of *rati*, and when *rati* is sufficiently deep, its name is *prema*. 152 And the names of *prema* as it gradually develops are: *sneha*, *māna*, *praṇaya*, *rāga*, *anurāga*, *bhāva*, and *mahābhāva*; 153 as seed, sugar cane, juice, *guḍa*, *khaṇḍasāra*, *śarkarā*, *sitā*, *miśri*, and *uttamamiśri*— 154 all these are *sthāyi-bhāvas* of Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti-rasa*. When the *sthāyi-bhāvas* are mixed together with *vibhāva* and *anubhāva*, and 155 when mixed with *sāttvika* and *vyabhicāri bhāvas*, Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti rasa* comes about, as sweet as nectar to the taste. 156 It is as curd and *sitā* and *ghi* and pepper and camphor, mixed together, yield *rasālā*, sweet as nectar.

151. Sādhana-bhakti: listening to the stories of the *BhP*, *kīrtana*, and the rest of the sixty-four devotional acts. *Rati* usually means sexual attraction, but in the technical Vaiṣṇava context it has the suggestion of the dawning of love, of attraction to Kṛṣṇa. When *rati* is born, the *sādhaka* is beginning to get away from the necessity of ritual action; pure *prema* is beginning to develop. Cf. Rūpa's *BhRS* [*pūrva-vibhāga*, *bhāvabhakti-laharī*] 1.3.1.

152. Sneha: when the mind is dissolved, and separation cannot be borne; Rūpa's *BhRS* [*paścima-vibhāga*, *prītabhakti-laharī*] 3.2.84.

Māna: when to increase the sweetness of the love affair and cause the loved one to experience love in a different way, anger and irritation are feigned, out of love; Rūpa's *UNM* [*sthāyibhāva-prakaraṇa*] 14.96.

Praṇaya: when *māna* is changed to a state in which there is faith in the beloved; ibid., 14.108.

Rāga: when *praṇaya* is strengthened to such an extent that faith becomes the real possibility of gaining Kṛṣṇa, and even excessive sadness is considered happiness; ibid., 14.126.

Anurāga: when *rāga* is constantly renewed, and the beloved is made to feel the renewed *rāga* in new and different ways; ibid., 14.146.

Bhāva: the condition of *anurāga* in which the experience of love is stabilized, when the heart is completely filled; ibid., 14.154. In Rūpa's *UNM* there is no distinction made between *bhāva* and *mahābhāva*. Kṛṣṇadāsa in *CC* 1.4.59, says that *mahābhāva* is an increased condition of *bhāva*, but gives no description of any other distinctions. See also 2.23.22.

153. Guḍa: a sugar made from sugar-cane juice; *khaṇḍasāra*: a kind of rough sweet made from *guḍa*; *śarkarā*: another kind of sugar; *sitā*: a more refined, white sugar; *miśri* and *uttamamiśri*: candies made from *sitā*. The series, of course, suggests increasing refinement, and increasingly concentrated sweetness, with all the qualities of all the items being contained in the last.

154-55. In the process of increasing refinement, things are added to make the difference between for example *śarkarā* and *sitā*, and the resulting taste is different; so when *vibhāva*, *anubhāva*, *sāttvika*, and *vyabhicāri bhāvas* are all mixed together, *rati*, the first step in Kṛṣṇa-*prema*, results. *Bhakti-rasa* is an aggregate of twelve *rasas*: seven *gauṇa* or secondary, and five primary. The *gauṇas* are, as in poetics, heroism, compassion, wonder, comedy, terror, anger, and shock; the primary ones are *śānta*, *dāsya*, *vātsalya*, *sakhya*, and *madhura*, as we have seen.

Sthāyi-bhāva, "permanent *bhāva*" is a stable condition in which *bhāvas* which are opposed to the main one are eliminated; anger, for example, is opposed to comedy or laughter; when one or the other is established and the one opposed to it eliminated, the *bhāva* is considered *sthāyi*; *BhRS* [*dakṣiṇa-vibhāga*, *sthāyibhāva-laharī*] 2.5.1. *Sthāyi-bhāvas* are those conditions which are stabilized and become *rasas*. Striving and valor, for example are *sthāyi-bhāvas* to the heroic *rasa*, grief to the compassion-*rasa*, astonishment to the wonder-*rasa*, laughter to the comedy-*rasa*, and so on.

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157 *Bhaktas* are divided into divisions of *rati*, of five kinds: *śānta-rati*, *dāsya-rati*, and *sakhya-rati*, 158 *vātsalya-rati*, and *madhura-rati*—these five kinds. The divisions of *rati* are the five divisions of the *rasa* of Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*. 159 *Śānta*, *dāsya*, *sakhya*, *vātsalya*, and *madhura-rasa* are their names, and among the *rasas* of Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti* these five are chief. 160 *Hāsya*, *adbhūta*, *vīra*, *karuṇa*, *raudra*,

Vibhāvas are stimulants to these conditions, *BhRS* [*dakṣiṇa-vibhāga*, *vibhāva-laharī*] 2.1.15, in which and because of which the tasting of *rati* and the others in the series comes about.

Vibhāvas are of two kinds: dependent and "burning." The dependent type is also of two kinds: dependent on the object and dependent on the subject. Kṛṣṇa is the object of *bhakti*, so Kṛṣṇa is the object-dependent *vibhāva*. And *bhakti* resides in the *bhaktas*, so the *bhaktas* are the subject-dependent *vibhāva*. *Vibhāvas* by which the *bhāvas* become "burning" or intensified are the *uddīpana-vibhāvas*: the deeds, gestures, beauty, ornaments, time and place of the dependent *vibhāvas* Kṛṣṇa and the *bhaktas*, are made more intense by the *uddīpana-vibhāvas*. For example, if one sees the blue of a peacock's tail one's experience of the presence of Kṛṣṇa is made more intense.

Anubhāvas are those outward signs by which one's inner condition is expressed; *BhRS* [*dakṣiṇa-vibhāga*, *anubhāva-laharī*] 2.2.1. Dancing, singing, falling on the ground, shouting, sighing, and all the rest are *anubhāvas*.

Sāttvika-bhāvas are eight in number, and are similar in manifestation to *anubhāvas*; see *CC* 1.7.86-93* and 2.23.31-32. They are stupor, tears, trembling, sweat, thrilling, breaking voice, pallor, and fainting.

For *vyabhicāri-bhāvas*, see *CC* 2.8.135. When all of these are together, then *rati* is brought about, and the condition of tasting *rasa* is assured.

157-59. Rati, or the *sthāyi-bhāva* of Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*, is of five kinds; *rasa* can be known or experienced in these five ways. The *guṇa* or quality of *śānta* is firmness in Kṛṣṇa, the abandonment of desire for anything except Kṛṣṇa; of *dāsya* the quality is service, in which the majesty of Kṛṣṇa is still recognized as in *śānta*, but is mixed with a quality of possessiveness, as in a servant proud of his master; *sakhya* has the quality of being devoid of humble reverence, considering Kṛṣṇa as an equal; *vātsalya* has the quality of considering Kṛṣṇa the child and oneself the elder; and *madhura* is considering Kṛṣṇa as the beloved in any of the states listed above: *prema*, *sneha*, and the rest. See 2.23.25-27, 33-44. [Previously Kṛṣṇadāsa discussed the *bhāvas* and *rasas* as four in number, excluding *śānta*, which exposes the ambivalence within the Gaṇḍīya Vaiṣṇava community regarding the inclusion of that fifth. See 1.3.9 and 1.4.38-40, *śl.* 5. TKS]

160. These seven *gauṇa-rasas* are seen in the five kinds of *bhaktas*, *śānta* and the rest; *BhRS* [*dakṣiṇa-vibhāga*, *sthāyibhāva-laharī*] 2.5.115-16. They appear in this way.

Hāsya: widening of the eyes, agitation of the nose and forehead are called *ceṣṭā*. *Ceṣṭas* are born from relationship to Kṛṣṇa, and the laughter which they cause is called *hāsya*; this is heightened by the appropriate *vibhāvas* and the rest to a state of *hāsya-bhakti-rasa*.

Adbhūta, or wonder: that which springs from the amazement at the sight of the unworldly power and beauty of Kṛṣṇa; *anubhāvas* are such as widening of the eyes, tears, stupefaction, and *sañcārī* or *vyabhicāri bhāvas* such as shock, delight, and inertia.

Vīra or heroic: eagerness to take action in war or any other way, because of love of Kṛṣṇa; its *sañcārī-bhāvas* are such as pride and delight.

Karuṇa or compassionate: grief, etc., appropriate to love for Kṛṣṇa; *anubhāvas* include dryness of the mouth, raving, limpness of the limbs, sweating, and *sañcārī-bhāvas* are such as coldness and apathy.

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vībhatsa, and *bhaya*—these are the seven *rasa*s subordinate to the five kinds of *bhakti*. 161 The five *rasa*s are *sthāyi*, and remain spread in the heart of the *bhakta*; the seven are secondary, and gain their cause as guests. 162 *Śānta bhakta*s were the nine Yogendras, and Sanaka and the others. *Bhakta*s of the *dāsya-bhāva* are his numberless servants everywhere. 163 *Sakhya bhakta*s are Śrīdāma and the rest, and in the city Bhīma and Arjuna. *Vātsalya bhakta*s were mother, father, and many elders. 164 The *bhakta*s of *madhura-rasa* are primary, and are the *gopī*s in Vraja, the *mahiṣī*s, the *lakṣmī*s, too numerous to count.

165 Again, *rati* for Kṛṣṇa is of two kinds: one is mingled with the knowledge of his divine majesty, the other is isolated. 166 In Gokula the only *rati* is devoid of the knowledge of his divine majesty; in the two cities, and in Vaikuṇṭha and the rest, is his majesty primary. 167 With the primacy of knowledge of his divine majesty, love is shrivelled up. Even if one sees it one does

Raudra or anger: anger which is born from that which is opposed to Kṛṣṇa, stemming from love of him; *anubhāva*s are reddened eyes, grinding of the teeth, silence, and so on, and pride, stiffness and so on are among the *sañcārī-bhāva*s.

Vībhatsa or shock: shock at abuse and scorn directed against Kṛṣṇa or his *bhakta*s; *anubhāva*s are such as lowering the face, running, and trembling, and *sañcārī-bhāva*s such as pallor, stupefaction, and madness.

Bhaya or terror: terror at seeing or hearing evil or sinful things; *anubhāva*s are such as dryness of the mouth and deep breathing, while *sañcārī-bhāva*s are such as death, paralysis, and humility.

161. The *gauṇa-rasa*s are not permanent, but occur from time to time.

162. The nine *yogendra*s are Kavi, Havi, Antarīkṣa, Prabuddha, Pippalāyana, Āvirhotra, Draviḍa, Camaśa, and Karabhājana. Sanaka and the rest: Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanātana, and Sanatkumāra. There are two types of *śānta-bhakta*s, *ātmārāma* and *tāpasa*. Sanaka and the others were *ātmārāma* (see ante, 1.5.105, 2.6.179); *BhRS* [*paścima-vibhāga*, *śāntabhaktirasa-laharī*] 3.1.15 defines *tāpasa* as those who realize that *mukti* apart from *bhakti* is not really without its difficulties, and accept appropriate asceticism and *bhakti*, while not abandoning their desire for *mukti*.

*Dāsya-bhāva bhakta*s are of four kinds; *BhRS* [*paścima-vibhāga*, *prītabhaktirasa-laharī*] 3.2.16-38. *Adhikṛta*, "lordly," which Brahmā, Śiva, and the other *devatā*s are. *Āśrita*, "protected," is itself of three kinds (*śaraṇāgata*, those who have taken refuge, of which examples are the serpent Kālīya and the kings imprisoned by Jarāsandha; *jñānaniṣṭa*, those still firm in *jñāna*, who take refuge in Kṛṣṇa before they abandon their *jñāna*-path, of which examples are Saunaka and the other *ṛṣi*s, and *sevāniṣṭa*, those firm in service, who have from the first been drawn to worship, such as Rājā Bahulāśva, Puṇḍarīka, and others). *Pariṣada*, the retinue: in Dvāraka, such as Uddhava, and among the Kauravas Bhīṣma, Parīkṣit, and Vidura. *Anuga*, those who are always attracted to doing things for the service of Kṛṣṇa, are found in both Dvāraka and Vraja.

163. The city: the Dvāraka-*līlā*. Śrīdāma was a cowherd boy in the Vraja-*līlā*.

164. The *mahiṣī*s or queens of the Dvāraka *līlā*, and Lakṣmī in Vaikuṇṭha.

166. The two cities are Dvāraka and Mathurā.

167. *Kevalā* is *prema* in which is sweetness and intimacy alone, isolated from any suggestion that Kṛṣṇa is also the majestic deity. This is not to be confused with the state of *kevalā* experienced by *yogin*s.

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not honor the majesty: this is the way [called] *kevalā*. 168 Sometimes the majesty blazes up in the *śānta* and *dāsya rasas*; but it withers *vātsalya*, *sakhya*, and *madhura*. 169 So Vāsudeva and Devakī bowed to the feet of Kṛṣṇa: both had fear in their hearts because of their knowledge of his divine majesty.

Śloka 27. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.44.51:
Devakī and Vāsudeva, though bowing, knowing their two sons to be lords of the world, were afraid and did not embrace them.

170 Seeing the universal form of Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna was afraid, and in the *sakhya-bhāva* he humbly asked to be pardoned from his offences of arrogance.

Ślokas 28-29. *Bhagavad Gītā* 11.41-42:
28 If, thinking you friend, I have too boldly
Cried, 'Yādava! Kṛṣṇa! Come here my good friend!'
Not knowing of this your magnificence,
Out of absence of mind or sheer affection,
29 If perchance I have slighted you—merely in jest—
In matters of sport, bed, seating, or meal,
In privacy, Acyuta, or before others—
I ask your indulgence, immeasurable One!

171 When Kṛṣṇa laughed at Rukmiṇī, she thought 'Kṛṣṇa will leave me,' and was distraught.

Śloka 30. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.60.24:
Benumbed with great grief, fear, and sadness, her fan fell from her lax, bangled hand; her body faint, stupefied, hair loose, like a plantain tree blown by the wind fallen on the earth.

172 The pure *kevalā prema* does not know divine majesty; and even when it sees divine majesty it does not relate it to itself.

169. At the time of the killing of Kaṃsa, Kṛṣṇa revealed some of his divinity to Vāsudeva and Devakī; they could no longer think of him as their son, and their *vātsalya-bhāva* was destroyed.

171. And Rukmiṇī, when Kṛṣṇa was joking with her and telling her to marry a prince instead of him, became afraid because of his confessed "indifference" and other signs of divinity; *BhP* 10.60.10-20.

172. Nanda and Yaśodā, even though they realized Kṛṣṇa's divinity, still considered him their son; and the *gopīs*, under the same conditions, still considered him their lover.

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Śloka 31. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.8.45:
Yaśodā considered to be her own son that Hari whose greatness is celebrated by the three [Vedas], by the Upaniṣads, by Sāṃkhya, by Yoga, by Sātvata.

Śloka 32. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.9.14:
The *gopī* assumed to be her own son the unmanifest Adhokṣaja with the marks of a mortal, and tied him to a post with a rope, as she would have a material child.

Śloka 33. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.18.24:
Bhagavān Kṛṣṇa, being defeated [in a game], carried Śrīdāma, Bhadra Sena carried Vṛṣabha, and Pralamba carried the son of Rohiṇī.

Śloka 34. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.30.37:
Then, going into the forest, she proudly said, "I can walk no more; take me wherever you want." In this way she spoke to Keśava. And he said to his beloved, "Mount on my shoulders."

Śloka 35. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.31.16:
O Acyuta, entranced by the song of your flute, and having transgressed husbands and sons, and family and relatives and brothers and friends, we have come to you, knowing the way. O cheat! What kind of a man would abandon women in the night?

173 In the *śānta-rasa*, by knowledge of his true form, Kṛṣṇa is established as the one. 'With knowledge of me, tranquility is established.' This is a verse from the holy mouth:

Śloka 36. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*paścima-vibhāva*, *śāntabhaktirasa-laharī*] 3.1.47:
The fixing of knowledge on me is tranquility, so says Bhagavān. Thus, without *śānta-rati*, the fixing of knowledge on him is difficult.

Śloka 31. Sātvata: Pañcarātra. See 3.7.*śl.*8.
Śloka 32. Adhokṣaja: "he who was born beneath the plow," an epithet of Viṣṇu.
Śloka 35. See 3.7.*śl.*10.

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Śloka 37. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.19.36:
The concentration of knowledge on me is *śama*, the restraint of the senses is *dama*, the enduring of sorrow is *titikṣā*, and the conquest of the tongue and the generative organs is *dhṛti*.

174 The abandonment of desires except that for Kṛṣṇa, this action is to be honored. Thus I know the *śānta* [person] as one [type of] Kṛṣṇa-*bhakta*. 175 The Kṛṣṇa-*bhakta* considers heaven and *mokṣa* as hell. The fixing of Kṛṣṇa [in the mind] and the abandonment of desires—these are the two qualities of the *śānta* man.

Śloka 38. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 6.17.28:
All followers of Nārāyaṇa fear nothing at all; for they look upon heaven, *mukti*, and hell as the same.

176 These two qualities spread to all *bhaktas*, as the sound-quality of the sky among all elements. 177 The nature of *śānta* is without a hint of affection for Kṛṣṇa, but is learned in the knowledge [of Kṛṣṇa as] *parambrahma* and *paramātmā*. 178 In the *śānta-rasa* there is only knowledge of his true form; in *dāsya* there is additional knowledge of Prabhu with full divinity. 179 [In] knowledge of Īśvara, reverence for his glory is great, and serving him gives infinite pleasure to Kṛṣṇa.

180 In addition to the qualities of *śānta*, there is more of service in *dāsya*, and thus the qualities of *dāsya* are double. 181 The qualities of *śānta* and the service of *dāsya* are doubled in *sakhya*. In *dāsya* is reverence for his majesty,

Śloka 37. Śama: tranquility; *dama*, the subduing; *titikṣā*: forbearance; *dhṛti*: firmness.

Śloka 38. See 2.9.*śl.*26.

176. The five elements are earth, water, fire, wind, and sky. The quality of sky is sound; the qualities or *guṇas* of wind are sound and touch; the qualities of fire are sound, touch, and form; the qualities of water are sound, touch, form and *rasa*; and the qualities of earth are sound, touch, form, *rasa*, and smell. In this way, the qualities of *śānta* are in *dāsya*, the qualities of *śānta* and *dāsya* are in *sakhya*, and so on.

177. Mamatā implies more than "affection"; it means a personal attachment, a feeling that Kṛṣṇa somehow belongs to one.

178. I.e., in *śānta*, one only knows the *svarūpa*, he does not experience it; in *dāsya*, one not only knows this *svarūpa*, but experience is added. In *dāsya*, one's deity is personal (*prabhu*), though the experience of this is mingled with the awe one feels before full divinity.

181. Viśvāsa: faith. This is defined by Rādhāgovinda Nātha as *viśrambha*, a condition in which love is so great that there is no hesitation or diffidence on the part of either party, and each considers the other his equal and no more.

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and service; *sakhya* is full of faith. 182 Riding on their shoulders, and having them ride on his shoulders, and playing at fighting: they serve Kṛṣṇa, and cause Kṛṣṇa to serve them. 183 Faith is primary in *sakhya*, and reverence for majesty less; thus are the signs of the three qualities of *sakhya-rasa*. 184 There is more affection for Kṛṣṇa, and knowledge of him as equal to the self; thus in *sakhya-rasa* Bhagavān is controlled. 185 In *vātsalya* are the qualities of *śānta* and the service of *dāsya*, and those various services called by the name '*pālana*.' 186 The qualities of *sakhya* are the essence of non-diffidence and non-reverence for majesty, and in deep affection chastisement and reproach are common. 187 Knowledge of the self as protector, and of Kṛṣṇa as the protected; with the qualities of the four *rasas*, *vātsalya* is like nectar. 188 He himself drowns with his *bhaktas* in the bliss of that nectar, and those who perceive his divinity say that Kṛṣṇa is controlled by his *bhaktas*.

Śloka 39. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin's *Haribhaktivilāsa* 16.99 [quoting *Padma Purāṇa*, *dāmodarāṣṭaka-stotra*]:

You who immersed in the well of bliss all the people of Vraja by such *līlās* of your own, and who proclaimed the conquest of yourself by your *bhaktas* to those who were devoted to the perception of your divine majesty, I bow to you again and again, a hundred hundred times, controlled by *prema*.

189 In *madhura-rasa* is the establishment of Kṛṣṇa and very intense service and the non-diffidence and most loving care of the *sakhya*. 190 In the manner of a lover, one serves him with the whole body. Thus in *madhura-rasa* are the

184. Vaśa: control of Bhagavān by the love of the devotee; see text and commentary to 1.4.216; 1.7.138; 1.17.71, *śl.* 5; and 2.23.26.

185. Pālana: protection, as one protects and nourishes a child.

188. This couplet seems to be answering the complex question of the relationship of Kṛṣṇa the protector and indweller of innumerable crores of Brahmā-worlds to those who protect him, especially Yaśodā and Nanda, who also know Kṛṣṇa's divinity. If Kṛṣṇa does not consider himself as subordinate to, protected by Yaśodā and Nanda, if the relationship is one-sided only, then *vātsalya-rasa* is not tasted, i.e., he who is not hungry, in this case for affection, gets no enjoyment from eating. Thus the desire to protect and the desire to be protected must both be present. This realization arises in Kṛṣṇa because he is controlled by his *bhaktas*: neither will get the full effect of *vātsalya-rasa* unless the appropriate feelings are deeply there on both sides. See above commentary on v. 184.

190. The qualities of the other four *rasas* are present in *madhura*, and in addition there is a fifth, peculiar to this *rasa*: serving him with the whole body, abandoning home and family, which the *gopīs* did for his sake.

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qualities of all five. 191 The qualities of sky, etc., are in each of the other elements; the first, second, third, and up to earth, the fifth. 192 In this same way the *madhura* is the aggregate of all the others, and thus the taste of it is most wonderful. 193 This has been a survey of *bhakti-rasa*: reflect and expand on it in your mind. 194 While you reflect on it, Kṛṣṇa will blossom in your heart; by the grace of Kṛṣṇa the ignorant man gains the shore of the ocean of *rasa*."

195 So saying Prabhu embraced him. Prabhu decided to go to Vārāṇasī. 196 And when he rose up in the morning he set forth. Then at his feet Rūpa entreated him, 197 "Give me your permission to come, in the company of your holy feet. I cannot bear the wave of *viraha* from you." 198 Prabhu said, "My words are your duty. You have come here; go to Vṛndāvana. 199 From Vṛndāvana, by way of the Gauḍa country, come to meet me at Nīlācala." 200 And embracing him, Prabhu boarded a boat; [Rūpa] fainted, and fell down on the spot. 201 The Deccani *brāhmaṇa* brought him to his house, and then the two brothers left for Vṛndāvana. 202 Mahāprabhu, after much travelling, came to Vārāṇasī; Candraśekhara came outside the village and met him. 203 In the night he had dreamed that Prabhu would come to his house, and in the morning he came and waited outside the village. 204 When he saw Prabhu he quickly fell at his feet, and joyfully took him to his own house. 205 Hearing of this, Tapana Miśra came to meet Prabhu. In friendly conversation he extended to Prabhu an invitation. 206 Bringing him to his own house he had Prabhu fed; and Candraśekhara offered an invitation to Bhaṭṭācārya. 207 Having fed him [Caitanya], Miśra held his feet and said, "Being kind, grant me a boon I beg of you. 208 As long as you remain in Kāśīpura, eat nowhere except at my house." 209 Prabhu knew that he would remain five or seven days, and that he would not eat with *saṃnyāsins*. 210 And knowing this, he gave his promise, and established his residence at the house of Candraśekhara. 211 The Maharashtrian *brāhmaṇa* came and met him, and Prabhu in affection manifested his grace to him. 212 The pious people heard that Mahāprabhu had come, and *brāhmaṇas* and *kṣatriyas* came to have *darśana*. 213 Thus did Prabhu grant his grace to Śrī Rūpa, and I have told in brief a matter of infinite complexity. 214 Whoever listens to this story with faith gains *prema-bhakti* and the feet of that very Caitanya.

215 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

197. Viraha: searing pain of separation.
201. Two brothers: Anupama was with Rūpa.

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Madhya Līlā
Chapter 20

Śloka 1.

By whose grace even low people promulgate the *bhakti-śāstras*, whose glories are infinite and wonderful, I bow down to him, the great lord Caitanya.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 And now Sanātana was in prison in Gauḍa, and at that time came the message from Śrī Rūpa Gosvāmī. 3 Receiving the message, Sanātana was overjoyed, and he began to speak to the Yavana guard, 4 "You are a *zindā-pīr*, greatly blessed, for you have knowledge of the Qur'ān and other books. 5 If one allows a prisoner to escape it is his own fortune, for God frees him from *saṃsāra*. 6 Formerly I have done you favors; return the favor and release me. 7 Accept five thousand *mūdrās*, and your merit also will be doubled." 8 Then that Yavana said, "Listen, sir. I would release you, except for fear of the king." 9 Sanātana replied, "Do not fear the king. He has gone to the south. If he returns, 10 say to him that 'he went out to relieve himself, and I saw him go toward the Gaṅgā and jump in. 11 I looked much, but caught no sight of him. With his chains on, he must have drowned and drifted away somewhere.' 12 There is no reason to fear; I shall not remain in this country. I shall become a dervish and go to Mecca." 13 Still the heart of the Yavana did not seem well disposed, so he

2. See 2.19.31-34.
3. *Zindā-pīr*: in Sufi terminology, one who has gained perfection while still alive.
5. The term for God is *gosāñā*, *gosvāmī*.
9. The king had gone to invade Orissa; see 2.19.27.
12. *Darveśa*: dervish, fakir; a Sufi mendicant.

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piled seven thousand *mudrās* in front of him. 14 When the Yavana saw this he became greedy, and in the night he cut the chains, and put him on the other shore of the Gaṅgā. 15 He left the path [which ran] through the gate of the fort; he could not go that way. He travelled night and day and came to Pātarā mountain.

16 At that place lived a landowner, and he went to him and pleaded with him, "Transport me across the mountain." 17 That landowner had a companion who was a hand-reader, and he whispered into the landowner's ear, 18 "I know something of this; he has eight *moharas* of gold with him." When he heard this, the landowner was delighted, and he said to Sanātana, 19 "In the night I shall have my own people take you across the mountain; but cook and eat." 20 And so saying he gave him rice and paid him respect, and Sanātana went and bathed in the river. 21 After two fast days he cooked and ate. Sanātana, the king's minister, pondered it all, 22 "Why does this landowner pay me so much respect?" And thus reflecting, Sanātana asked Īśāna, 23 "Do you by any chance have some goods with you?" And Īśāna replied, "I have seven gold *moharas* with me." 24 When he heard this, Sanātana rebuked him, "Why have you brought this with you? These are death." 25 Then he took the seven *moharas* in his hand, and going to the landowner, he held out the seven *moharas* and said, 26 "I have these seven gold *moharas*; it is right for you to take them for taking me across. 27 I am a prisoner of the king, and could not go through the gate of the fort; by helping me across the mountain there will be merit [for you]." 28 The landowner smiled and replied, "I knew from the beginning that you had eight gold *moharas* in the *āñcala* of your servant. 29 Tonight I would have killed you and taken the *moharas*. But what you have said is good, and I have escaped from an evil deed. 30 So I am satisfied; I shall not take the *moharas*. For the sake of merit I shall have you taken across the mountain." 31 The Gosvāmī said, "Taking any goods at all means my death. By accepting the goods you save my life." 32 Then the landowner sent four footsoldiers with the

15. From the fort of Husain Shāh's capital at Gauḍa there was a main road—the Trunk Road—which went all the way to Delhi. As an escaped prisoner, Sanātana obviously could not travel that road.

17. Hāthagaṇitā: hand-reader, fortune teller.

21. It had evidently taken him two days to get to Pātarā mountain, and he had not eaten in that time.

22. Īśāna: Sanātana's servant.

28. Añcala: a fold in the cloth at the end of the *dhoti*, where valuables are often tied.

31. I.e., if you did not take them, someone else would kill me to get them.

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Gosvāmī, and travelling at night they crossed the mountain on the forest path. 33 And when they were across, the Gosvāmī asked Īśāna, "Perhaps you have some things left about your person?" 34 And Īśāna replied, "I have one last *mohara*." And Gosvāmī said, "Take the *mohara* home with you." 35 And bidding him farewell, Gosvāmī went on alone. He had no fear—he had only a waterpot in his hand, and a torn cloth [on his back].

36 After much travelling, Gosvāmī came to Hājipura; and in the evening he was sitting within a garden. 37 At Hājipura there was a man named Śrīkānta; he was a brother-in-law of Gosvāmī, and worked for the king. 38 The king had given to him three lakhs of *mudrās*, as payment for horses which he had sent to the Bādshāh. 39 He had been sitting on a high place and had seen Gosvāmī [coming], and in the night with a single companion he came to Gosvāmī. 40 The two met there and had a friendly conversation, and the Gosvāmī told him the story of his escape, and everything. 41 And he said, "Stay here two or three days. And act like a civilized man; throw away this dirty cloth." 42 Gosvāmī said, "I shall not stay here a moment; help me across the Gaṅgā. I must go at once." 43 And he took care of him and gave him a fine Bhutanese shawl, and put him across the Gaṅgā, and the Gosvāmī went on.

44 In a few days Gosvāmī came to Vārāṇasī, and when he heard that Prabhu had come he was delighted. 45 Coming to the house of Candraśekhara he sat down in the doorway. Mahāprabhu knew this, and said to Candraśekhara, 46 "There is a Vaiṣṇava at the door; have him summoned." And Candraśekara looked, and there was no Vaiṣṇava at the door. 47 He said to Prabhu, "There is no Vaiṣṇava at the door"; and Prabhu asked him, "Who is there?" 48 He replied, "There is a dervish at the door." And Prabhu told him to bring him in. And he said, 49 "Dervish, Prabhu tells you to come in." When he heard that, Sanātana entered in delight. 50 And seeing him in the courtyard, Prabhu ran to him and embraced him, overcome with *prema*. 51 At the touch of Prabhu, Sanātana also was overcome with *prema*, and said in a choked voice, "Do not

35. Karoyā: a vessel for carrying water, made of clay or a gourd.

36. Rādhāgovinda Nātha speculates that this town was probably in present day Muzaffarpur district in Bihar.

37-38. Sanātana had one sister, whose husband this Śrīkanta was; see 2.19.23- 24 commentary. He was a supplier of horses to the emperor at Delhi; or perhaps the Bādshāh refers to Husain Shāh.

43. Bhoṭa-kambala, an expensive shawl or blanket from Bhutan, usually extravagantly decorated with rich colors and intricate stitching.

50. Aviṣṭa: overcome.

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touch me." 52 The two embraced each other and wept ceaselessly, and when he saw it Candraśekhara was astonished.

53 Then Prabhu took him by the hand and led him to the *piṇḍā* and seated him beside himself. 54 With his holy hands he began to brush his body, and he said, "Prabhu, do not touch me." 55 Prabhu responded, "I touch you to become purified. By the power of your *bhakti* you can purify the Brahmā-world.

Śloka 2. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.13.10:
Bhāgavatas like you are themselves the true forms of pilgrimage places; they make pilgrimage to all the pilgrimage places by means of Gadādhara, who is situated in their own hearts.

Śloka 3. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin's *Haribhaktivilāsa* 10.91:
He who knows the four Vedas but does not have *bhakti* is not beloved of me; a *śvapaca* who is my *bhakta* is beloved of me. You should give to him and accept from him; he is as honorable as I.

Śloka 4. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 7.9.10:
I consider a *śvapaca* whose mind, speech, efforts, wealth, and life are devoted to him to be better than a *brāhmaṇa* who, though he possess the twelve qualities, has his face averted from the lotus-footed, lotus-navelled one; such a one purifies his family, but the prideful one does not.

56 I see you, I touch you, I sing your praises, and all my senses are fruitful—this is the determination of the *śāstras*.

Śloka 5. *Haribhaktisudhodaya* 13.2:
By the sight of someone like you, these eyes are fulfilled; by touching the body of someone like you, this body is fulfilled; by singing the praises of someone like you this tongue is fruitful; indeed, among people, *bhaktas* of Bhagavān are most hard to find in the world.

57 When he had said this, Prabhu said, "Hear me, Sanātana. Kṛṣṇa is full of mercy, he is the savior of the fallen. 58 He has rescued you from awful hell; the

53. *Piṇḍā*: a low seat, usually for honored guests.
Śloka 2. See 1.1.*śl.*31; 2.10.*śl.*2.
Śloka 3. See 2.19.*śl.*2; 3.16.*śl.*2.
Śloka 4. See 3.4.*śl.*5; 3.16.*śl.*3.

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sea of the grace of Kṛṣṇa is profound and shoreless." 59 And Sanātana said, "I do not know Kṛṣṇa; I consider your grace as the source of my salvation." 60 Prabhu asked him, "How did you escape?" And he told him the whole story, from beginning to end. 61 Prabhu said, "Your two brothers met me at Prayāga; Rūpa and Anupama both have gone to Vṛndāvana."

62 Then, at the instruction of Prabhu, Sanātana met both Tapana Miśra and Candraśekhara. 63 Tapana Miśra embraced him. Prabhu said, "Go, Sanātana, and shave." 64 And Prabhu told Candraśekhara to tell him, "Put off this dress, and go put on this one"; 65 and he told him to have him take a bath in the Gaṅgā and make himself decent. Śekhara brought and gave him a new garment. 66 Sanātana refused to accept that garment, and when he heard of it, Prabhu was boundlessly delighted. 67 Having performed the midday rites, Prabhu went to eat, and he took Sanātana to the house of Tapana Miśra. 68 Having washed his feet, he sat down to eat; and he said to Miśra, "Give food to Sanātana." 69 Miśra said, "Sanātana has some duties to perform; you eat, and afterwards I shall give *prasāda* to him." 70 After he had eaten, Mahāprabhu rested, and Miśra gave the remainder of Prabhu's food to Sanātana.

71 Miśra gave a new cloth to Sanātana. He would not take the new cloth, and entreated him, 72 "If you want to give me clothing, give me old clothing, which you yourself have worn." 73 Then Miśra gave him an old dhoti, and of it he made two loin-cloths and two outer cloths. 74 Prabhu introduced Sanātana to the Maharashtrian *brāhmaṇa*, and that *brāhmaṇa* offered him a generous invitation, 75 "Sanātana, as long as you remain at Kāśī you must eat at my house." 76 Sanātana replied, "I shall beg for alms; how can I take food every day at the house of one *brāhmaṇa*?" 77 The asceticism of Sanātana gave Prabhu infinite joy; but he looked again and again at the Bhutanese shawl. 78 Sanātana realized that it did not please Prabhu, and he thought of ways in which he could put aside the shawl. 79 Thinking thus he went to have his midday bath in the Gaṅgā; there was a Gauḍiyā there who had washed his patchwork wrap, and

63. He had probably been wearing a beard, in the Muslim style.

69. I.e., Sanātana has not yet finished his bathing, etc. It is difficult to know whether he said this because he did not approve of Caitanya eating with a Muslim, or whether it was because he was afraid that Caitanya would be overcome by the presence of one of his *bhaktas*, and not eat. [A third possibility is that by feeding Sanātana after Caitanya, Miśra was able to feed him Caitanya's leftovers (*śeṣapātra*) which would otherwise be impossible. Eating Caitanya's leftovers as *prasāda* was of course what Rūpa did previously; it is the mark of only the closest and most sincere of devotees. TKS]

76. Mādhukarī kariba: beg for alms, lit., "act like a bee."

79. Kānthā: a patch-work upper garment.

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was drying it out. 80 He said to him, "Hey brother! Do me a service: take this shawl and give me your patchwork wrap." 81 And he replied, "Why do you, a respectable man, make fun of me? Why would you give me an expensive Bhutanese shawl and take this patchwork piece?" 82 And Sanātana said, "I am not making fun of you; I speak the truth. Take this shawl and give me the patched garment." 83 And so saying he took the patchwork wrap and gave him the Bhutanese shawl, and he came to Gosvāmī, putting the garment up to his cheeks. 84 Prabhu queried, "Where is your fine Bhutanese shawl?" And at the feet of Prabhu, Gosvāmī told everything. 85 Prabhu said, "I have considered this; Kṛṣṇa has caused you to break away from enjoyment of worldly things; 86 why should there remain one last luxury? A good physician, curing an illness, does not let one trace of it remain. 87 A Bhutanese shawl worth three *mudrās* on the body, yet subsisting on alms; this would have been the destruction of *dharma*, and people would have laughed." 88 Gosvāmī said, "At the wish of him, who has broken the enjoyment of evil worldly things, the last of my illness of worldly things is gone." 89 Delighted, Prabhu was gracious to him, and because of his grace [Sanātana] was infused with the power to ask him questions.

90 As formerly Prabhu had asked questions of Rāya, and by his power Rāmānanda had given him answers, 91 so now, by the power of Prabhu, Sanātana asked the questions and Mahāprabhu himself explained the truths.

Śloka 6.

That Īśvara, being gracious, explained to Sanātana the *tattva* of *bhakti-rasa*, and the majesty, and the sweetness, and the true form of Kṛṣṇa.

92 Then Sanātana, holding the feet of Prabhu, humbly entreated him, clenching grass in his teeth, 93 "I am of low birth, and low companions, I am fallen and worthless; I have passed my life fallen into the well of evil worldly things. 94 I know nothing of the right and wrong of the self. It is true, I acknowledge, that in worldly matters I am wise. 95 You have rescued me, being merciful; and now in your own mercy, tell me my duty. 96 Who am I? Why do the three types of suffering erode me? And this I do not know—how can they be con-

90-91. See 2.8.12-263.

96. Three types of suffering: *ādhyātmika*, *ādhibhautika*, and *ādhidaivika*. *Ādhyātmika* are those types which arise within the self, and they can be mental, spiritual, or physical; *adhibhautika* are sufferings inflicted by the elements or by other creatures; and *ādhidaivika* are sufferings inflicted by the gods.

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quered? 97 I do not know how to ask what is to be pursued, nor the true means of the pursuit. Be gracious, and personally explain to me all these truths."

98 Prabhu replied, "The grace of Kṛṣṇa is fully on you. You know all the truths, and the three sufferings are not yours. 99 You hold the power of Kṛṣṇa, and you know the *bhāva* of truth. I know you ask about the profound meanings—this is the nature of the holy man.

Śloka 7. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.103:

The zealous seeking in the minds of those devoted to true *dharma* will soon gain for them all that they earnestly desire.

100 You are a worthy vessel to propagate *bhakti*; so listen to the development of all the truths as I expound them to you.

101 The true form of the *jīva* is the eternal servant of Kṛṣṇa; it is the *taṭastha śakti* of Kṛṣṇa, manifested as both immanent and transcendent. 102 As a beam of light in a part of the sun, or flame a part of the fire, so the three *śaktis* are of Kṛṣṇa's nature.

97. Sādhya: what is to be pursued or striven after; *sādhana*: means of pursuit.

Śloka 7. See 2.24.*śl*.57.

100. Tattva: truth.

101. This is in answer to the question, "Who am I; what is a *jīva*?" The Vaiṣṇavas answer the question by process of elimination. The *jīva* is not the body, for not only is the body mortal, but it takes different forms in different births. It is not the subtle body which carries over after death, for that too is material; it is said that in the great destruction at the end of the world, the subtle body too is destroyed, while the *jīva* resides in the sea of causation. The mind and the senses cannot be the *jīva*, because these two are material. What then is the *jīva*? It is said that after a man or an animal is dead, the *jīva* was in that body. Therefore there is a relationship between the *jīva* and consciousness, and there is no relationship between the *jīva* and inert matter. But the consciousness cannot be a unitary thing, for one body can die and the next one remain alive. So there must be the possibility of dividing consciousness; it is concluded, then, that the *jīva* is a particle of consciousness, of *cit*. In this couplet, Caitanya makes four remarks about the *jīva*: it is a *śakti* of Kṛṣṇa, the *jīva-śakti* is a *taṭastha-śakti* of Kṛṣṇa, the relationship between the *jīva* and Kṛṣṇa is both immanent and transcendent (*bhedābheda*), and the *jīva* is in *svarūpa* the eternal servant of Kṛṣṇa. The *śaktis* of Kṛṣṇa are three: the *cit-śakti*, otherwise called the *svarūpa-śakti*, the nature of which is *cit*, pure consciousness untouched by *māyā*; this is called intrinsic (*antarāṅga*). At the other end of the spectrum is *māyā-śakti*, the *śakti* which causes the creation of the material universe, which does not partake of the *cit* or *svarūpa*; this is known as *bahirāṅga*, extrinsic. Between these is *taṭastha*, neither intrinsic nor extrinsic, the *jīva-śakti*, which has *cit* as its form, and yet is related to *māyā*. See Jīva's *Paramātmā-sandarbha* 37. It is defined there as participating in both, and is therefore called both undivided from (*abheda*) and divided from (*bheda*) both extremes.

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Śloka 8. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 1.22.54:
As the light from a fire situated in one place spreads itself out, so is the world pervaded by the whole *śakti* of *parabrahman*.

103 The final developments of the three *śakti*s natural to Kṛṣṇa are *cit-śakti*, *jīva-śakti*, and *māyā-śakti*.

Śloka 9. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 6.7.61:
The *śakti* of Viṣṇu is of three kinds: *parā*, *kṣetrajñā*, and the third is called *avidyā-karman*.

Śloka 10. *Bhagavad Gītā* 7.5:
The elemental world is my lower nature; know that I have a higher nature, in which *jīva*-[*śakti*] participates, by which the world is upheld, strong-armed prince.

104 To that *jīva* who forgets Kṛṣṇa, and eternally has his face turned outward, *māyā* gives the sorrows of *saṃsāra*. 105 Sometimes he rises up to heaven, and sometimes he sinks into hell, as the king immerses offenders in the river.

103. Pariṇati: development; *śakti*s are known by the functions they perform in the material and immaterial realms. As in v. 102, the warmth and brightness of the sun suggest something of the nature of the sun, but are not the sun: this is analogous to *māyā-śakti*. The rays of the sun carry the brightness and warmth to the earth; this is *jīva-śakti*. But the sun itself is separate from these functions in its true nature; the sun itself on the earth is in fact inconceivable.

Śloka 9. See 1.7.*śl*.7 and commentary. See also 2.6.*śl*.10; 2.8.*śl*.36; 2.24.*śl*.88.

Śloka 10. See 1.7.*śl*.6; 2.6.*śl*.12.

104. Rādhāgovinda Nātha suggests that the phrase "who forgets Kṛṣṇa" or "having forgotten Kṛṣṇa" implies that there is a dynamic involved, by which a *jīva* can attain a state of proper servitude to Kṛṣṇa and then turn away from *bhakti* to a desire, for example, for *mukti*. But the next phrase in the line corrects that, and Rādhāgovinda Nātha says that there are two essential types of *jīva*s, those who are by nature beyond the Pale, those who have their faces eternally turned away, and those who have their faces toward Kṛṣṇa, who can be saved. For one who desires Kṛṣṇa is eligible for Kṛṣṇa's grace, and when that is granted there is no possibility of apostasy. The question, answered by v. 105, is of course: Although extrinsic, *māyā-śakti* is still a *śakti* of Kṛṣṇa; is it then part of the nature of Kṛṣṇa to send *jīva*s into hell? The analogy is to the king, who rewards and punishes in the material world, it being his *dharma* or cosmic duty to do so. Both heaven and hell are in the realm of material nature, and as Kṛṣṇa's *māyā-śakti* functions within material nature—is in fact the operative force in material nature—it is by that *śakti* that reward and punishment come about.

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Śloka 11. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.2.37:

He who is separated from Īśvara, because of his *māyā*, forgets; because of that, he is in opposition, and because of that is born fear and clinging to things of the body and of the world. For this reason the wise man worships that Īśvara with undeviating *bhakti*, [considering] his *guru* as *devatā*.

106 If, by grace of the *śāstras* and *sādhus*, one's face is turned toward Kṛṣṇa, that *jīva* is saved, then *māyā* leaves him.

Śloka 12. *Bhagavad Gītā* 7.14:

This my divine *māyā*, consisting of [the three] *guṇas*, is certainly hard to escape. Those who take refuge in me can overcome this *māyā*.

107 For the *jīva* immersed in *māyā* there is no spontaneous knowledge of Kṛṣṇa. In his mercy for the *jīva*, Kṛṣṇa made the Vedas and Purāṇas. 108 He causes himself to be known in the forms of the *śāstras* and the *guru* and the *ātmā*; and the *jīva* comes to know that 'Kṛṣṇa is my lord and my deliverer.'

109 It says in the Vedas and *śāstras* that [there are three divisions]: *sambandha*, *abhidheya*, and *prayojana*. The gaining of Kṛṣṇa is the *sambandha*, and *bhakti* is the means of gaining him. 110 So *bhakti* is the *abhidheya*, and the *prayojana* is *prema*. *Prema* is the ultimate wealth, the crest jewel of the ends of man. 111 The cause of the attaining of it is the bliss of the service of the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa; service of Kṛṣṇa increases the taste of the *rasa* of Kṛṣṇa. 112 An example of this is: if to the house of a poor man an all-knowing man comes, and seeing his misery he

Śloka 11. See 2.24.*śl.*44; 2.25.*śl.*32.

Śloka 12. See 2.22.*śl.*7; 2.24.*śl.*45.

107. Svataḥ: spontaneous—except for the *śāstras*, *guru*, etc., there is no way for the *jīva* sunk in *māyā* to know his true relationship to Kṛṣṇa, for at this point he is entirely under the control of *māyā-śakti*, which is extrinsic. When the *jīva* is released from the control of *māyā*, however, that relationship is immediately and spontaneously known in the heart.

108. Ātmā: the *paramātmā*, which is indwelling in the hearts of all *jīvas*.

109. These are the three parts of all textual argument: what the matter of the discourse is (*sambandha*), what the argument will be, or the means of reaching the conclusion (*abhidheya*), and the resolution (*prayojana*); see 1.7.139. [The *sambandha* (= Kṛṣṇa) is the topic of discourse in chapters 2.20-21; see also below vv. 121-24; 2.25.88-98, *śl.*22; and 2.25.106, *śl.*30-32. The *abhidheya* (= *bhakti*) is the topic of chapter 2.22; see also below vv. 125-27; 2.25.99-101; and 2.25.106, *śl.*30-32. The *prayojana* (= *prema*) is the topic of chapter 2.23; see also below vv. 128-30; 2.25.102-104, *śl.*24-26; and 2.25.107, *śl.*33-34. TKS]

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asks him, 113 'Why are you so miserable? You have your father's wealth. He did not tell you this, as he died in another place.' 114 The speech of the seer gives him news of wealth; and thus Kṛṣṇa instructs the *jīvas* through the Vedas and Purāṇas. 115 In the speech of the seer, wealth and property are the matter; so in the teachings of all the *śāstras*, the *sambandha* is Śrī Kṛṣṇa. 116 That 'you have the wealth of your father'—this knowledge does not gain him the wealth; for then the seer must tell him the means of getting it. 117 'The wealth is in this place; if you dig in the south, hornets and wasps will rise up, and you will not get the wealth. 118 If you dig in the west, there is a *yakṣa* there, and he will prevent you, and the wealth will not fall into your hands. 119 If you dig to the north, there is a black snake there, and you will not get the wealth; while you are digging he will eat everybody. 120 But turn a little earth to the east, and pots of money will fall into your hands.' 121 Thus the *śāstras* say: abandon *karma* and *jñāna* and *yoga*. Kṛṣṇa is controlled by *bhakti*, and by *bhakti* he should be worshiped.

Śloka 13. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.14.20:

O Uddhava, only that very powerful *bhakti* toward me is able to compel me; I am not [compelled by] *yoga*, *sāṃkhya*, *dharma*, Vedic study, *tapas*, or renunciation.

Śloka 14. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.14.21:

I, beloved of the souls of holy men, am obedient only to *bhakti* with faith; *bhakti* established toward me purifies even the natures of *śvapacas*.

122 Thus *bhakti* is the means of gaining Kṛṣṇa, and is celebrated in all the *śāstras* as *abhidheya*. 123 If one gains wealth, he gains its fruits of enjoyment and happiness, and sorrow flees by itself from happiness and joy. 124 In that way does *prema* grow toward Kṛṣṇa, as the fruit of *bhakti*. And when one tastes Kṛṣṇa in *prema*, the world is destroyed. 125 But the destruction of the world and the

115. Sanubandha or *sambandha*: matter, the subject of the all-knowing one's discourse or the teachings of the *śāstras*.

118. Yakṣa: a ghost, spirit, or demigod, often as here thought to be malevolent.

121. Vaśa: control; see also 1.4.216; 1.7.138; 1.17.71, *śl.*5; 2.23.26.

Śloka 13. See 1.17.*śl.*5; 2.25.*śl.*31; 3.4.*śl.*2.

Śloka 14. See 2.25.*śl.*30.

124. "The world": the material world, with its three kinds of misery.

125. Rādhāgovinda Nātha notes that the destruction of poverty is not the primary result or fruit of the attainment of wealth, but is an accompanying result. So the destruction of the misery

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elimination of misery is not the [chief] fruit of *prema*; the primary *prayojana* is the enjoyment of the happiness of *prema*. 126 The Vedas and *śāstras* say that there are *sambandha*, *abhidheya*, and *prayojana*. These are the three great riches, Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*, and *prema*.

127 In the Vedas and all the *śāstras*, Kṛṣṇa is the primary *sambandha*; consequent upon realization of this, the bonds of *māyā* disappear.

Śloka 15. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*dakṣīna-vibhāga, vyabhicāri-laharī*] 2.4.142:

Some *purāṇas* and *āgamas*, in order to delude the moving and unmoving creatures of the world, may prattle until the end of time of the primacy of this *devatā* or that; but if one has the power to discriminate the true matter of all the *āgamas*, it will finally be ascertained to be the single and only Bhagavān Viṣṇu.

128 Whether it be a primary or secondary issue, whether it be the rule or the exception—that which the Veda asserts exclusively is called Kṛṣṇa.

Ślokas 16-17. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.21.42-43:

16 What is enjoined? What is overtly stated? What can be restated by philosophical argument back and forth? No one except for me knows the essence of all of this. 17 They enjoin me; they manifest me; I am the conclusion which they reach, debating it.

129 The *svarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa is infinite, its grandeur limitless—*cit-śakti*, *māyā-śakti*, and *jīva-śakti*. 130 Vaikuṇṭha and the Brahmā-worlds—these are the creations of his *śakti*. Kṛṣṇa shelters equally these creations of his *śakti*, as well as the *svarūpa-śakti* [itself].

Śloka 18. Śrīdhara Svāmin's *Bhāvārthadīpikā* commentary on *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.1.1:

In the tenth [book of *Bhāgavata*] the object to be defined, the tenth

of *saṃsāra* is not the chief result of the gaining of *prema*; the chief result is the tasting of the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa through the happiness of service to him in *prema*.

Śloka 15. This verse is also found in Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin's *HBhV* 1.68; Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta, pūrva-khaṇḍa* 2.53; *Padma Purāṇa, pātāla-khaṇḍa*, 93.26.

128. See *ślokas* 16-17.

129. The various *śaktis* are also discussed in 1.2.84-86; 1.7.106-19; and 2.6.143-59. The *svarūpa-śakti* is discussed in 1.4.52-61. *Vaibhava*: grandeur.

130. Both the powers of creation (*svarūpa śakti*) as well as creation itself are contained in Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 18. See *1.2.śl.16.*

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principle, the incarnation of the shelter of those seeking shelter, called Kṛṣṇa, the highest place, the refuge of the universe—to him I bow down.

131 Hear, O Sanātana, a discussion of the *svarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa: the truth of knowledge of the non-dual is the son of Vrajendra in Vraja. 132 He is the beginning of all things, the container of all things, the crown of youth; his body is *cit* and *ānanda*, the refuge of all, the lord of all.

Śloka 19. *Brahma Saṃhitā* 5.1:
Kṛṣṇa is the highest Īśvara, the embodiment of *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*, beginningless, yet the beginning of all things, Govinda, the cause of all causes.

133 Kṛṣṇa is *svayaṃ bhagavān*; his other name is Govinda. He is full of all divine qualities, and his eternal dwelling place is Goloka.

Śloka 20. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.3.28:
All these are but parts and fractions of parts of the *puruṣa*; but Kṛṣṇa is *svayaṃ bhagavān*. They incarnate themselves in every age to protect people persecuted by Indra's enemies.

131. Rādhāgovinda Nātha notes that, based on Jīva's *Tattva-sandarbha* 51, knowledge (*jñāna*) is knowledge of the self as *cit*, as consciousness; the *svarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa is *cit*, consisting of the three *śaktis* by which he knows himself as *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*. This is his knowledge of himself; and by this *śakti* he also knows himself as non-dual or without a second (*advaya*). The true nature is called *advaya* when it is self-perfected, when there is no condition other than self-perfectedness, when there is no heterogeneity, and when there is no help or assistance other than one's own power. Another definition is "devoid of separation" (*bhedahina*). Separation or difference can be of three kinds: within a category, of different categories, and within the self. "Within a category" is a condition like differences between two men. If it is asked: "Are not Kṛṣṇa and Nārāyaṇa within the same category?"—the answer is that in *svarūpa* there is no difference. Or if it is suggested that the *jīva* also participates in *cit*, the answer is that the *jīva* is not self-perfected, but needs the grace of Kṛṣṇa for perfection; therefore the categories are different. The *jīva* is therefore neither within the same category, nor of a different category. And "within the self": it has been shown that the body and the possessor of the body may be different in terms of material, but in terms of Kṛṣṇa both are made up of *cit*, and thus there is no difference.

Śloka 19. See 1.2.*śl.*17; 2.8.*śl.*29; 2.21.*śl.*8.

133. Aiśvarya: divine qualities.

Śloka 20. See 1.2.*śl.*13; 1.5.*śl.*11; 2.9.*śl.*12; 2.25.*śl.*29.

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134 *Jñāna*, *yoga*, and *bhakti*—under the control of these three *sādhanas* are the three—*brahma*, *ātmā*, and Bhagavān—realized.

Śloka 21. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.2.11:
The truth-knowing wise men call the ultimate truth that which is undivided knowledge. It is called by three names—*brahman*, *paramātmā*, and *bhagavān*.

135 Brahma—its manifestation is the undifferentiated radiance of his body, as the sun fills the naked eye with brilliance.

Śloka 22. *Brahma Saṃhitā* 5.40:
That *brahma* whose magnificence is manifest in crores and crores of Brahmā-worlds, that *brahma* differentiated in all the manifestations of all the elements of earth, etc., endless, undivided, and total—I worship that Govinda as the *ādi-puruṣa*.

136 That which is *paramātmā* is part of Kṛṣṇa; Kṛṣṇa is the soul of the soul and the ornament of all things.

Śloka 23. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.14.55:
Know that Kṛṣṇa as the soul of the souls of all [things]; he manifested himself in this world by his *māyā*, in a body, for the well being of the world.

Śloka 24. *Bhagavad Gītā* 10.42:
O Arjuna! What is the point of your knowing much about all such matters? I, by one single part, support this whole universe!

137 By *bhakti* is Bhagavān experienced fully; he has only one *vigraha*, and infinite *svarūpa*. 138 *Svayaṃ-rūpa*, *tadekātma-rūpa*, and *āveśa*-[*rūpa*] are the names

134. Jñāna gains for one the unqualified, undifferentiated *brahman*. *Yoga* gains the differentiated indwelling one; see 1.2.7. *Bhakti* will gain the possessor of all form and all qualities, the highest Bhagavān.
Śloka 21. See 1.2.*śl.*4; 1.2.*śl.*12; 2.24.*śl.*22; 2.24.*śl.*25; 2.25.*śl.*27.
135. His body: the body of Kṛṣṇa.
Śloka 22. See 1.2.*śl.*5.
136. See ante, 1.2. *Ātmāra ātmā*: the soul of the soul.
Śloka 24. See 1.2.*śl.*7; 2.20.*śl.*62.
137. His one *vigraha* is the two-armed, flute playing cowherd boy of Vṛndāvana.

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of the three *rūpa*s in which Bhagavān primarily remains. 139 In his *svayaṃ-rūpa* he appears in two forms: *svayaṃ* and *prakāśa*. The *svayaṃ-rūpa* is singular: Kṛṣṇa as a *gopa* in Vraja. 140 In *prakāśa* there are two kinds: the *prābhava* and the *vaibhava rūpa*s. One body [contains] many forms, as in the *rāsa-līlā*. 141 In his marriage to the *mahiṣī*s his forms were many: this is well known in the *śāstra*s as *prābhava-prakāśa*. 142 This was not the *kāyavyūha* of Saubhari and the other [sages]; if it had been *kāyavyūha*, Nārada would not have been astonished.

Śloka 25. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.69.2:

It is indeed a wonderful thing how he, alone, with a single body, in different houses simultaneously and separately married sixteen thousand women.

143 If that same body and that same form appear in different ways, separate in nature and kind, its name is *vaibhava-prakāśa*. 144 In these multitudes of *prakāśa*, there is no division of the form of Kṛṣṇa; but in differences in shape and color and weapons, there is division in name.

138. Svayaṃ-rūpa: form as self-perfected and contained, Vrajendranandana; *tadekātma-rūpa*: no division in *svarūpa*, but in which different bodily forms, emotional conditions, etc., appear; *āveśa-rūpa*: absorbed, those great *bhakta*s who are absorbed in Kṛṣṇa's power and in knowledge of him; see below, vv. 139, 152, 304. [These and the following divisions establish the primary categories of Kṛṣṇa's multiple forms, especially *avatāra* theory. For a schematic of this system, see the chart in Introduction, Figure 1, pp. 142-43. TKS]

139. I.e., *svayaṃ-rūpa* is of two kinds: *svayaṃ-rūpa* and *prakāśa-rūpa*. [Here and in the next verses *rūpa* is a technical term (to be distinguished from other terms that are roughly synonymous, e.g., *mūrti* and *vigraha*), but which can usefully be read in the general concept of "form." TKS]

140. Prakāśa-rūpa: separation of one basic form into many forms, there being no differences among the many forms, or between the many forms and the one basic form; in this way Kṛṣṇa appeared between each two *gopī*s during the *rāsa-līlā*.

141. In the same way, in the Dvāraka *līlā* he married sixteen thousand queens; each of Kṛṣṇa's sixteen thousand forms was equally real. *Mūrti*: form, image, or shape.

142. Saubhari, the legend says, married fifty girls at the same time, having divided himself up by his yogic power into fifty forms. *Kāyavyūha* means a magical or *yoga*-generated replica; Nārada himself knew how to make such *kāyavyūha*s, and would not have been astonished, as the next *śloka* suggests, at Kṛṣṇa's having a similar power. [*Kāyāvyūha*, literally a manifestation of the body, is a function of *māyā*, whereas Kṛṣṇa's multiplication of *rūpa*s is devoid of *māyā* altogether, a docetism which is of a different order than the less subtle *kāyāvyūha*. TKS]

Śloka 25. See 1.1.*śl.*32.

143. I.e., if in the body of the *svayaṃ-rūpa* differences of color, of number of arms, etc. appear; and if these are manifested in different forms, this is called *vaibhava-prakāśa*.

144. I.e., Kṛṣṇa can have one form or many forms; if to the many forms different and separate names are assigned, this is *ananta-prakāśa*. *Mūrti*: form.

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Śloka 26. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.40.7:

And others, having cultured souls, are singly devoted to you, and are instructed by you according to injunctions, and worship you as many forms or as one form.

145 The *vaibhava-prakāśa* of Kṛṣṇa is Śrī Balarāma. He is different only in color; in all other ways he is the same as Kṛṣṇa. 146 The son of Devakī is his *vaibhava-prakāśa*, [appearing sometimes] in his two-armed true form, and sometimes as four-armed. 147 When he is two-armed, his name is *prābhava-prakāśa*, and when he is four-armed, his name is *vaibhava-prakāśa*. 148 In his *svayaṃ-rūpa* he is a *gopa* in dress and considers himself a *gopa*; and in the *kṣatriya* dress of Vāsudeva, he realizes: 'I am *kṣatriya*.' 149 Replete with beauty and majesty, and sweetness and skill are his activites as the son of Vrajendra—this is his chief joy. 150 Seeing the sweetness of Govinda, Vāsudeva was agitated, and desire arose to taste that sweetness.

Śloka 27. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Lalitamādhava* 4.19:

O friend, this dance, displaying my duality of the Ābhīra-*līlā*, manifesting a sweetness most wonderful, again and again has astonished [me]. Having seen the true form of which [dance], my mind is anxious for that entrancing play, and desires to be like the form of the women of Vraja truly.

151 As it was at the sight of the dance of the *gandharva* at Mathurā, so it was again when he saw the picture at Dvārakā.

146. The son of Devakī and the son of Yaśodā are not separate; yet as the son of Devakī he appears as four-armed, and as son of Yaśodā as two-armed.

148. Vāsudeva: the son of Devakī and Vasudeva.

149. Vilāsa: activities. I.e., Kṛṣṇa realized that as the *gopa*, son of Vrajendra and Yaśodā, his beauty, majesty, etc. were greater, and therefore in his form as Vāsudeva asked Vasudeva his father to take him to Yaśodā.

150. While the essence is the same, one *prakāśa* can stand aside and admire and desire the qualities of another.

Śloka 27. Ābhīra-*līlā*: *līlā* as *gopa*, although B. B. Majumdar feels that "the Gopas of the Mathurā region can hardly be identified with the Ābhīras"; see *Kṛṣṇa in History and Legend*, 54.

151. When Kṛṣṇa was at Mathurā, the *gandharvas* acted out the Vraja-*līlā* of Kṛṣṇa; seeing the sweetness manifested, Vāsudeva became agitated, and wanted to taste that sweetness as Rādhā. Also when in Dvārakā he saw a picture of himself, as Rādhā he was anxious to taste that sweetness.

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Śloka 28. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Lalitamādhava* 8.34:

What is this unprecedented, astonishing, ultimate sweetness of mine which throbs so profoundly? When I see this, I am attracted and with greedy mind seek to enjoy it impetuously like Rādhikā.

152 That body takes different forms, and has different reflections; and the name of it when different in sentiment, emotion, and shape is *tadekātma-rūpa*. 153 There are two divisions of *tadekātma-rūpa*: *vilāsa* and *svāṃśa*. And the subdivisions of *vilāsa* and *svāṃśa* are many. 154 *Vilāsa* has two forms, *prābhava* and *vaibhava*. And the *vilāsa* divisions of these *vilāsa*s are of endless kinds. 155 *Prābhava-vilāsa* is Vāsudeva and Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha—these four are primary. 156 At Vraja, Balarāma was in the *gopa-bhāva*, and at Pura in the condition of *kṣatriya*. The name of this is *vilāsa* because of differences of color and dress. 157 In *vaibhava-prakāśa* and in *prābhava-vilāsa*—Baladeva appears in one form in different *bhāva*s. 158 There is nothing equal to the *ādi-caturvyūha*; it is the cause of the manifestation of innumerable *caturvyūha*s. 159 These four are the *prābhava-vilāsa*s of Kṛṣṇa; their dwelling place is eternally at the citadels of Dvārakā and Mathurā. 160 From these four, twenty-four *mūrti*s are manifested; these are *vaibhava-vilāsa*, different in names and in weapons. 161 Again, Kṛṣṇa with the *caturvyūha*, in his former form, dwells in Paravyoma in

Śloka 28. See 1.4.*śl*.20; 2.8.*śl*.35.

152. *Sei vapu*: "that body," i.e., the *svayaṃ-rūpa*. There is no division of *svarūpa*, but differences of *bhāva* (sentiment), *āveśa* (emotion), and *ākṛti* (shape).

153. *Vilāsa*: in which for a particular *līlā* Kṛṣṇa assumes a particular form, or if the form is slightly different from the *svayaṃ-rūpa*. *Svāṃśa*: being of the same nature as the *svayaṃ-rūpa*, as in *vilāsa*, but manifesting slightly less *śakti* than *vilāsa*.

154. *Prābhava-vilāsa* manifests less *śakti* than does *vaibhava-vilāsa*. Rādhāgovinda Nātha bases this on the distinctions made in vv. 140-148 above.

156. Pura: Mathurā and Dvārakā. "Color" is *varṇa*, which might refer to the social distinction between *gopa* and *kṣatriya*.

157. The *prābhava-vilāsa* and the *vaibhava-vilāsa* are not two forms (*mūrti*) of Baladeva; they are one form with different characteristics.

158. The *ādi-caturvyūha* is made up of Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha, noted in v. 154; there are innumerable *caturvyūha*s in the innumerable Brahmā-worlds; but the manifestation in the Brahmā-worlds is from the *ādi-caturvyūha* in Dvārakā and Mathurā.

160. The twenty-four are Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava, Govinda, Viṣṇu, Madhusūdana, Trivikrama, Vāmana, Śrīdhara, Hṛṣīkeśa, Padmanābha, Dāmodara, Adhokṣaja, Puruṣottama, Upendra, Acyuta, Nṛsiṃha, Janārddana, Hari, and Kṛṣṇa. For weapons, see vv. 193-205.

161. Nārāyaṇa, the *vilāsa-mūrti* of Kṛṣṇa, dwells in Paravyoma. "Former form" means previously mentioned form (*rūpa*): as Kṛṣṇa is in Dvārakā in the *caturvyūha*, so Nārāyaṇa is in the *caturvyūha* in Paravyoma.

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the form of Nārāyaṇa. 162 From that, again are manifested *caturvyūhas*, and they dwell all around it in latent form. 163 Again, in each of the four there are three *mūrtis*, from which come Keśava and the rest, the fulfillments of *vilāsa*. 164 These are all differentiated in name and according to whether they hold the disc or other weapons. The *mūrtis* of Vāsudeva are Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, and Mādhava. 165 The *mūrtis* of Saṃkarṣaṇa are Govinda, Viṣṇu, and Madhusūdana. This is the other Govinda, not the son of Vrajendra. 166 The *mūrtis* of Pradyumna are Trivikrama, Vāmana, and Śrīdhara; the *mūrtis* of Aniruddha are Hṛṣīkeśa, Padmanābha, and Dāmodara. 167 These twelve are the deities of the twelve months: Keśava of Mārgaśīrṣa, Nārāyaṇa of Pauṣa, 168 Mādhava is the deity of Māgha, Govinda of Phālguna, Viṣṇu of Caitra, Śrī Madhusūdana of Vaiśākha, 169 Trivikrama of Jyaiṣṭha, Vāmana the lord of deities in Āsāḍha, Śrīdhara in Śrāvaṇa, and the deity Hṛṣīkeśa in Bhādra. 170 Padmanābha is in Āśvina, and Dāmodara in Kārttika: he is other than the 'Rādhā-Dāmodara,' the son of Vrajendra. 171 These are twelve *tilakas*, the names of *mantras* in the ritual, and with the twelve names appropriate places are touched.

172 The *vilāsas* of the four are eight; let me tell you the names of all of these, Sanātana. 173 They are Puruṣottama, Acyuta, Nṛsiṃha, Janārddana, Hari, Kṛṣṇa, Adhokṣaja, and Upendra—these eight. 174 The *vilāsas* of Vāsudeva are Adhokṣaja and Puruṣottama; the *vilāsas* of Saṃkarṣaṇa are the pair of Upendra and Acyuta. 175 The *vilāsas* of Pradyumna are Nṛsiṃha and Janārddana, and the *vilāsas* of Aniruddha are Hari and Kṛṣṇa. 176 These twenty-four *mūrtis* are chief in the *prābhava-vilāsa*, and they have different names, according to the differences in the weapons they hold. 177 Among them, of whom there are

162. Vāsudeva is in the east, Saṃkarṣaṇa in the south, Pradyumna in the west, and Aniruddha in the north.

167. Mārgaśīrṣa: Agrahāyaṇa; *devatā*: deity.

170. Dāmodara is another name of Kṛṣṇa.

171. *Ācamana*: ritual, ritual cleansing of the self, especially the mouth, in purification preparatory to worship. In *ācamana* twelve parts of the body are touched, and as they are touched these names are meditated upon: Keśava—the forehead; Nārāyaṇa—the stomach; Mādhava—the breast; Govinda—the pit of the throat; Viṣṇu—the right side of the belly; Madhusūdhana—the right arm; Trivikrama—the right shoulder; Vāmana—the left side of the belly; Śrīdhara—the left arm; Hṛṣīkeśa—the left shoulder; Padmanābha—the back; and Dāmodara—the loins. *Tilaka* is an auspicious mark, a sign. Actually, in the Vaiṣṇava *ācamana* the names of the twenty-four deities mentioned above in v. 160 are uttered; these twelve are included among them.

172. The "four," i.e., the *ādi-caturvyūha* of v. 154.

176. The twenty-four are the four *caturvyūhas*, the twelve gods of the months, and the eight *vilāsa-mūrtis* of the *caturvyūhas*. The *caturvyūhas* of Dvārakā are the *prābhava-vilāsas* of Kṛṣṇa; these twenty-four are the *vilāsas* of the *caturvyūhas*.

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differences in dress and in form, are separate *vaibhava-vilāsa*. 178 Padmanābha, Trivikrama, Nṛsiṃha, Vāmana, Hari, Kṛṣṇa, etc.—among these there are differences in form. 179 The *prābhava-vilāsa*s of Kṛṣṇa are four—Vāsudeva and the rest; and the [*vaibhava-*]*vilāsa*s of these four are twenty in number. 180 Each one of these is in Vaikuṇṭha Paravyoma, and in each of the eight directions, east, etc., are three. 181 Although Paravyoma is the eternal place of them all, still some are nearby, in the Brahmā-world. 182 In the midst of Paravyoma is the eternal place of Nārāyaṇa; and above Paravyoma is the glory of Kṛṣṇa-*loka*. 183 Kṛṣṇa-*loka* is one, but has the tripartite variegation known as Gokulā, Mathurā, and Dvārakā. 184 At Mathurā Keśava is eternally present; at Nīlācala, Puruṣottama has the name Jagannātha. 185 At Prayāga is Mādhava; at Mandāra Śrī Madhusūdana; in Ānandāraṇya is Vāsudeva, Padmanābha, and Janārddana. 186 Viṣṇu is at Viṣṇukāñcī, and Hari remains at Māyāpura. And thus are many other *mūrti*s within the Brahmā-world. 187 And in this way all of them are manifested in the Brahmā-world, and they all have *vilāsa* in the seven islands and the nine *khaṇḍa*s. 188 They are manifested everywhere to give happiness to *bhakta*s, to destroy non-*dharma* in the world, and to establish *dharma*. 189 Among them some are called *avatāra*s, such as Viṣṇu, Trivikrama, Nṛsiṃha, and Vāmana.

190 The cause of the differences in their names is the difference in the weapons which they hold; hear, O Sanātana, the differences among the holders of the discus and other weapons. 191 From the lower right hand to the lower left hand, the holding of the various weapons is counted. 192 The *Siddhārtha-saṃhitā* numbers twenty-four *mūrti*s, and according to that text, the holding of the discus, etc., is primary. 193 Vāsudeva: club, conch, discus, lotus; Saṃkarṣaṇa: club, conch, lotus, discus; 194 Pradyumna: discus, conch, club, lotus; Aniruddha: discus, club, conch, lotus; 195 In Paravyoma, Vāsudeva and the rest each hold their own weapons distinctively—Śrī Keśava: lotus, conch, discus, club; 196 Nārāyaṇa:

178. Ākāra: form.

180. Each of these has a separate and eternal dwelling place or *dhāma* in Paravyoma.

183. See 1.5.13-14.

187. The seven islands (*dvīpa*) are Jambu, Prakṣa, Śālmalī, Krauñca, Kuśa, Śāka, and Puṣkara; the nine parts (*khaṇḍa*) are Bhāratavarṣa, Bhadrāśvavarṣa, Ketumālavarṣa, Uttarakuruvarṣa, Ilāvṛtavarṣa, Ramyakavarṣa, Hariṇmayavarṣa, Harivarṣa, and Kiṃpuruṣavarṣa. The islands are parts of the earth as defined by rivers, the *khaṇḍa*s are parts of the earth as separated by mountain ranges; together they make up the whole earth.

191. Each of them is, obviously, four-armed; to the viewer the sequence is clockwise from the deity's lower right hand, upper right, upper left, and finally lower left.

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conch, lotus, club, discus; Śrī Mādhava: club, discus, conch, lotus; 197 Śrī Govinda: discus, club, lotus, conch; Viṣṇu-*mūrti*: conch, club, lotus, discus; 198 Madhusūdana: discus, conch, club, lotus; Trivikrama: lotus, club, discus, conch; 199 Śrī Vāmana: conch, discus, club, lotus; Śrīdhara: lotus, discus, club, conch; 200 Hṛṣīkeśa: club, discus, lotus, conch; Padmanābha: conch, lotus, discus, club; 201 Dāmodara: lotus, discus, club, conch; Puruṣottama: discus, lotus, conch, club; 202 Acyuta: club, lotus, discus, conch; Nṛsiṃha: discus, lotus, club, conch; 203 Janārddana: lotus, discus, conch, club; Śrī Hari: conch, discus, lotus, club; 204 Śrī Kṛṣṇa: conch, club, lotus, discus; Adhokṣaja: lotus, club, conch, discus; 205 Śrī Upendra: conch, club, discus, lotus. This is the configuration for the conch, discus, etc., in the hands of the twenty-four *mūrtis*.

206 The *Hayaśīrṣa-pañcarātra* speaks of sixteen figures, and according to its configuration these are the [differences in the] holding of the discus and other weapons. 207 Keśava is distinguished by holding lotus, conch, club, and discus; Mādhava differs by holding discus, club, lotus, and conch. 208 Nārāyaṇa differs with his various weapons; and there are numerous other differences as well for holding all these weapons.

209 *Svayaṃ bhagavān* and *līlā-puruṣottama*—Vrajendranandana has these two names. 210 In latent form in Purī, in Purī's nine directions, nine *mūrtis* are manifested in the form of nine *vyūhas*.

Śloka 29. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*, *pūrva-khaṇḍa* 5.175:

These four—Vāsudeva and the others—and Nārāyaṇa and Nṛsiṃha,
Hayagrīva, Varāha and Brahmā—these nine are mentioned.

211 This has been a description of *prakāśa* and *vilāsa*; now hear, O Sanātana, about the divisions of *svāṃśa*. 212 It has two divisions: Saṃkarṣaṇa and those in the line starting with Matsya. Saṃkarṣaṇa is the *puruṣa-avatāra*, and the other is the *līlā-avatāra*. 213 There are six kinds of *avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa; the *puruṣa-*

207. Bheda: difference, distinction.

209. Evidently in the Pañcarātra text these two names are listed among the other differences noted above; Kṛṣṇadāsa is saying that these are names of Kṛṣṇa himself, not merely aspects holding various weapons.

210. Āvaraṇa: concealed, which can also mean "protecting," i.e., the deities of the eight directions of the compass; here the ninth, upward, has been added. Purī refers to Mathurā and Dvārakā, "the cities," and should not be confused with Nīlācala, which is on occasional called Purī in the early Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava literature.

212. Līlā-avatāra means Matsya, Kūrma, and the rest.

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avatāra is one, and the *līlā-avatāra* another. 214 The others are: *guṇa-avatāra*, *manvantara-avatāra*, *yuga-avatāra*, and *śaktyāveśa-avatāra*. 215 Boyhood and youth are the *dharmas* of his *vigraha*; in these forms does Vrajendranandana have *līlā*. 216 The *avatāras* of Kṛṣṇa are so many, there is no counting them; they pervade all directions like the moon through branches.

Śloka 30. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.3.23:

O *brāhmaṇa*, from the lotus pond which is never depleted thousands and thousands of streams flow; so from Hari, the ocean of being, innumerable *avatāras* are manifested.

217 In the beginning, Kṛṣṇa fashions his *puruṣa-avatāra*, and that *puruṣa* is of three kinds.

Śloka 31. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*, *pūrva-khaṇḍa* 2.9 [quoting *Sātvata Tantra*]:

Viṣṇu has three forms which they know under the name *puruṣa*: the first is the creator of *mahat-tattva*, the second is the *puruṣa* immanent in all Brahmā-worlds; the third is the *puruṣa*, immanent, the god indwelling in each creature. If one is able to realize this, he is freed from the material world.

218 Among the infinite *śaktis* of Kṛṣṇa, three are primary; their names are *icchā-śakti*, *jñāna-śakti*, and *kriyā-śakti*. 219 Primary in *icchā-śakti* is Kṛṣṇa

214. These will all be discussed below.

215. Kṛṣṇa has *līlā* in the forms of his *prakāśas*, *vilāsas*, and the rest, in his *puruṣa-avatāra*, and in the five other kinds of *avatāra*; and apart from that, he takes his true form as boy and youth for his manifest *līlā* on the earth. *Vigraha*: the true form of the body of Kṛṣṇa. *Dharma* here might be something like "characteristics" or "particularities."

216. This is a puzzling verse. Rādhāgovinda Nātha explains it in this way: as one is standing under a tree thick with leaves and branches and looks up at the moon, one sees only a sliver or a hint of it; so it is when the *jīva* looks at the *avatāras* of Kṛṣṇa: he sees a hint of the *svarūpa*.

217. Although the Bengali of this period was rather loose about its tenses, the verb here is present, perhaps implying a continuous process.

Śloka 31. See 1.5.*śl.*10.

218. He is speaking of the *puruṣa-avatāra*, the cause of creation. These three *śaktis* are described in the following verses.

219. Icchā: wish or desire. By this *śakti*, Kṛṣṇa desires the creation to come about. When this desire arises, the intelligence, knowledge, or consciousness *śakti*, which is ruled by Vāsudeva, ascertains the means by which the creation is to be effected; and then the creation is performed by the "doing" or *kriyā-śakti*, ruled by Saṃkarṣaṇa.

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[who] effects everything according to his desire. Primary in *jñāna-śakti* is Vāsudeva [who] rules. 220 Apart from *icchā*, *jñāna*, and *kriyā*, there is no creation; these three *śakti*s together compile the phenomenal world. 221 Primary in *kriyā-śakti* is Saṃkarṣaṇa-Balarāma, [who] fabricates material and immaterial creation. 222 He rules self-consciousness according to the wish of Kṛṣṇa, and by *cit-śakti* he creates Goloka and Vaikuṇṭha. 223 Even though they are uncreated and eternal as *vilāsa*s of *cit-śakti*, still they are manifested according to the desire of Saṃkarṣaṇa.

Śloka 32. *Brahma Saṃhitā* 5.2:
There is a thousand-petalled lotus named Gokula, which is the place of the great one, and the seed-pod of that lotus is the place of him, arisen from a particle of his infinitude.

224 By *māyā* he creates the multiple Brahmā-worlds; material nature, which is inert, is not the cause of the Brahmā-worlds. 225 Creation cannot emerge from inert matter apart from the *śakti* of Īśvara; for that reason Saṃkarṣaṇa generates *śakti*. 226 By the *śakti* of Īśvara material creation is brought about, as iron, by the *śakti* of fire, has the power to burn [one].

Śloka 33. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.46.31:
Rāma and Mukunda—these two are the seed and the womb of the universe; they are *prakṛti* and *puruṣa*; being ancient they have entered into all material things, and control the various kinds of creatures.

227 That *mūrti* which takes shape in the phenomenal world for the purpose of creation, that Īśvara-*mūrti* is called '*avatāra*.' 228 All of these dwell in Paravyoma, which is apart from *māyā*; but having descended into the universe,

222. Ahaṃkāra: self-consciousness. Kṛṣṇadāsa, it seems, is saying that Saṃkarṣaṇa was creating these places, or "manifesting" them, as in v. 223, out of pure consciousness, *cit*.

223. "Manifested" implies that these places are eternal, as consciousness is eternal and as Kṛṣṇa is eternal, but that the consciousness out of which they were manifested was somehow shaped.

Śloka 32. "Arisen from a particle of his infinitude" has an alternative reading: "is manifested from Saṃkarṣaṇa."

Śloka 33. Jñānasya: "creatures," literally "rational beings." The reading is that of Rādhāgovinda Nātha.

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they have the name *avatāra*. 229 To survey *māyā*, Śrī Saṃkarṣaṇa was first manifested in the form of *puruṣa*.

Śloka 34. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.3.1:
Bhagavān in the beginning assumed the form of the *puruṣa*—composed of *mahat*, etc., and consisting of the sixteen component parts—out of a desire to create the world.

Śloka 35. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.6.42:
The *puruṣa* is the *ādi-avatāra* of Bhagavān. Of the supreme are time, nature, *prakṛti*, which is cause and effect, [the *mahat-tattva* of] mind, etc., substance, transformation, *guṇa*, senses, vastness, splendor, and the totality of all creatures, moving and unmoving.

230 That *puruṣa* lay on the Virajā [Sea], and, called Kāraṇābdhiśāyī, is the cause of the world. 231 On one shore of the Causal Waters *māyā* is eternally situated; it cannot cross over to Paravyoma, on the shore of the Virajā [Sea].

Śloka 36. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.9.10:
[It is] where there is no *rajas* or *tamas*, and *sattva* is not mixed with them, nor overcoming by death, where there is no *māyā* nor influence of *māyā*, and where the followers of Hari are worshiped by *suras* and *asuras*.

232 There are two conditions of *māyā*—*māyā* and *pradhāna*. *Māyā* is the cause of the material cause, and *pradhāna* is the motive cause. 233 That *puruṣa* looks toward *māyā*, and, having agitated material nature, impregnates her. 234 Touching *prakṛti* with the special lustre of his own body, he sowed his seed in the form of *jīvas*.

229. Avalokite: to survey; the creation of the material world was brought about by Saṃkarṣaṇa's energizing *māyā* by a glance; *avatīrṇa*: manifested. The first *puruṣa*, Saṃkarṣaṇa as Kāraṇābdhiśāyī, is discussed in vv. 229-41.

Śloka 34. See 1.5.*śl*.13.

Śloka 35. See 1.5.*śl*.12.

231. Kāraṇābdhi: Causal Waters. On one side of the Virajā sea or river is pure consciousness, *cit*, and on the other the material creation; they cannot touch one another.

232. *Māyā* here means *jīva-māyā* and *pradhāna* means *guṇa-māyā*; *jīva-māyā* is the secondary material cause (*nimitta-kāraṇa*) and *guṇa-māyā* the secondary motive cause (*upādāna-kāraṇa*). See ante, commentary on 1.5.50.

233. *Prakṛti*: material nature.

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Śloka 37. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.26.19:
Because of destiny the *parama-puruṣa* sowed his seed in his own womb, affected by qualities; and it became the *mahat-tattva*, golden.

Śloka 38. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.5.23:
By the power of time, the potent Adhokṣaja has sowed the seed of the *puruṣa*, by himself becoming the *puruṣa*, in that *māyā* which is full of qualities.

235 Then from the *mahat-tattvas* came three kinds of consciousness of self, from which proceed the elements, the *devatās*, and the senses. 236 All the *tattvas* together created the multiple Brahmā-worlds; the Brahmā-worlds are infinite, and there is no numbering of them. 237 This *puruṣa* is the creator of the universe, and his name is Mahāviṣṇu; in the pores of his skin dwell innumerable Brahmā-worlds. 238 As motes of dust come and go through windows, so do Brahmā-worlds float out with the breathing of the *puruṣa*. 239 And again they float in, with his breathing. His majesty is infinite, and all beyond *māyā*.

Śloka 39. *Brahma Saṃhitā* 5.48:
I worship that Govinda, the *ādi puruṣa*, for the duration of whose breath the lords of the Brahmā-worlds that are born from his pores live, and of whom Mahāviṣṇu is a special fraction.

240 He is indwelling in all the Brahmā-worlds and the lord of all the worlds, Kāraṇābdhiśāyī. 241 Thus has been explained the truth of the first *puruṣa*, and now hear the great truth of the second *puruṣa*.

235. According to *śloka* 37, *prakṛti*, material nature, was transformed by the seed-glance of the *puruṣa*, and this transformation is called *mahat-tattva*. Three kinds of consciousness: *sāttvika*, *rājasika*, and *tāmasika ahaṃkāra*. The last part of the verse might read: "and the *devatās* who control the senses." The progression is as follows: when *prakṛti* is infused with *śakti* by the *puruṣa*, her equilibrium is destroyed, and the first transformation which comes about is *mahat-tattva*; by the activity of *śakti*, the three *guṇas* are agitated, and as a result the three join and separate, and from that movement consciousness of self comes about. This consciousness is of the three kinds above, depending on which of the *guṇas* is primary. Then from the *sāttvika-guṇa* proceed the *devatās*, from the *rājasika-guṇa* the senses, and from the *tāmasika-guṇa* the five primary sensations of form, taste, smell, touch, and sound.

236. All the *tattvas*: *mahattattva*, *devatā*, senses, and elements. What has been translated here and throughout the text as Brahmā-world is literally Brahmā-egg (*brahmāṇḍa*).

239. Aiśvarya: majesty, divinity.

Śloka 39. See 1.5.*śl.*8; 2.21.*śl.*10.

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242 That [first] *puruṣa*, having created unnumbered crores of Brahmā-worlds, assumed many forms, and entered each [world] in a distinct form. 243 Having entered them he saw that all was darkness, and that there was no place to rest, and he reflected on this. 244 He filled half of each Brahmā-world with the water of the sweat of his own body, and on that water he rested on his Śeṣa-couch. 245 From his lotus-navel a lotus grew, and in that lotus was the birth-place of Brahmā. 246 In the stalk of that lotus were the fourteen worlds; and he, becoming Brahmā, created the creation. 247 Assuming the form of Viṣṇu, he protected the world; Viṣṇu is apart from qualities—he is untouched by *māyā*. 248 Taking the form of Rudra, he destroys the world. By whose desire come creation, maintenance, and destruction, 249 his *guṇa-avatāras* are Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva. And these three control creation, maintenance, and destruction [respectively]. 250 Garbhodakaśāyī is indwelling in Hiraṇyagarbha; in the Vedas he is celebrated as Sahasraśīrṣa, etc. 251 And this second *puruṣa* is the Īśvara of Brahmā-worlds; he is the refuge of *māyā*, but he is beyond *māyā*.

252 The third *puruṣa* is Viṣṇu the *guṇa-avatāra*; he is counted as within two *avatāras*. 253 He is the indweller in the Virāṭa and in individual *jīvas*; he is Kṣīrodakaśāyī, he is the lord and the protector. 254 This then is the description of the *puruṣa-avatāras*; now hear, O Sanātana, of the *līlā-avatāras*.

255 The *līlā-avatāras* of Kṛṣṇa are beyond counting; let me survey the primary ones among them. 256 The Matsya, Kūrma, Raghunātha, Nṛsiṃha, Vāmana, Varāha and the rest—the numbers in the writings cannot be counted.

Śloka 40. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.2.40:

O Īśvara! You protect us and protect the three worlds by descending as Matsya, Aśva, Kacchapa, Varāha, Nṛsiṃha, Haṃsa, Rājanya, Vipra, and Vibudha; in this way now, destroy the burden of the earth; supreme homage to them.

257 The *līlā-avatāras* have been briefly surveyed; now hear a description of the *guṇa-avatāras*.

242. The second *puruṣa*, Garbhodakaśāyī, is discussed in vv. 242-51.

247. "Apart from qualities," i.e., the material *guṇas*.

249. Brahmā creates as the controller of *rajas*, Viṣṇu protects as controller of *sattva*, and Rudra destroys as controller of *tamas*.

252. As he is controller of the *sattva-guṇa* and protector of the world, he is a *guṇa-avatāra*. He is also the third *puruṣa-avatāra*. The third *puruṣa*, Kṣīrodakaśāyī, is described in vv. 252-54.

253. Virāṭa: the fourteen worlds; *svāmi*: lord.

256. I.e., fish, tortoise, Rāma, man-lion, dwarf, boar, etc.

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258 Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva—these are the three *guṇa-avatāras*; they accept the three *guṇas* and carry out creation and the rest. 259 There are certain worthy *jīvas*, who do meritorious deeds mingled with *bhakti*, and their minds are distinguished by the *rajas-guṇa*. 260 Pervading [them] with *śakti* by means of the Garbhodakaśāyī, Kṛṣṇa, taking the form of Brahmā, himself creates.

Śloka 41. *Brahma Saṃhitā* 5.49:
As the sun manifests its own brightness a little in its own jewels, so [does] this Brahmā, the creator of the world-eggs; I worship that *ādi-puruṣa*, Govinda.

261 When in certain *kalpas*, no *jīva* is worthy, Īśvara himself then becomes Brahmā in part.

Śloka 42. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.68.37:
All the *lokapālas* take the dust of his lotus feet upon their heads, of him who is the *tīrtha* for whom *tīrthas* are venerated; and we—Brahmā, Śiva, myself, and Śrī—are a part of a part of him; where should we carry the royal throne of his leisure?

262 In the part of his own part, Kṛṣṇa accepts the *tamas-guṇa*, and takes the form of Rudra, together with *māyā*, for the purpose of destruction. 263 Rudra transformed with *māyā* is of a form both the same and different: he is not the

259. Those who follow the path of *karma* mingled with *bhakti* gain a lower form of realization than those who follow pure *bhakti*; but they are nonetheless worthy. These *jīvas* become Brahmā, who is the controller of *rajas-guṇa*.

260. Rādhāgovinda Nātha comments: in those *kalpas* (ages of Brahmā) in which such worthy *jīvas* are found, Bhagavān inspires their minds with *rajas-guṇa*, and by means of Garbhodakaśāyī the second *puruṣa* causes the infusion of the creative *śakti* in them and makes them Brahmā. By them in that *kalpa* the creation of *jīvas* is brought about. In this way, that *jīva* who becomes Brahmā is called the *jīvakoṭi* Brahmā. And in those *kalpas* in which such worthy *jīvas* are not found, the Garbhodakaśāyī himself becomes manifest as Brahmā, and this is called the *īśvarakoṭi* Brahmā.

261. I.e., this Brahmā is a part (*aṃśa*) of Bhagavān.

Śloka 42. See 1.5.*śl.*20.

262. I.e., he is a part of the second *puruṣa*, which is itself a part.

263. Rudra in conjunction with *māyā* is called "transformed" (*vikārī*): "Both the same and different" from Kṛṣṇa. Rudra or Śiva is a part of a part (*aṃśakalā*) of Kṛṣṇa, and as there is no difference between the part and the container of parts, so there is no difference in *svarūpa* between Śiva and Kṛṣṇa. But because he has accepted *māyā*, Śiva must be different, and Kṛṣṇa is unchanged.

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jīva-tattva, nor is he the *svarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa. 264 It is as milk mixed with a coagulant sours to form curd, and no longer has the substance of milk within it, and cannot become milk again.

Śloka 43. *Brahma Saṃhitā* 5.45:
As milk, mixed with a transforming substance is changed into curd, but is not separate from its source, so he has taken on Śambhu-ness to carry out his work; I worship that *ādi-puruṣa*, Govinda.

265 Śiva is linked with *māyā-śakti*, and is controlled by the *tamas-guṇa*; but Viṣṇu Parameśvara is beyond *māyā* and beyond *guṇas*.

Śloka 44. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.88.3:
Śiva is eternally linked with *śakti*, and characterized by the *triliṅga-guṇas*; he has the *vaikārika*, *taijasa*, and *tāmasa*—this [*ahaṃkāra*] is threefold.

Śloka 45. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.88.5:
Hari is himself free from *guṇas* and apart from *prakṛti*; he is the manifest *puruṣa*, all-seeing, all-witnessing; if one worships him, one becomes free from *guṇas*.

266 With the aim of protection, he comes down in the form of Viṣṇu, a part of himself; he directs his gaze toward *sattva-guṇa*, but he is beyond the *guṇas* and beyond *māyā*. 267 The full divine majesty of his true form is almost equal to [that of] Kṛṣṇa; but 'Kṛṣṇa is the container of parts, and he is a part': This is celebrated in the Vedas.

V. 101, has the *jīva* as "*bhedābheda prakāśa*" of Kṛṣṇa, a revelation which is both the same and different. The difference is that the *jīva* is controlled by *māyā*; Kṛṣṇadāsa is saying here that although Śiva has relationship to *māyā*, he is not controlled by it, thus he is not the same as the *jīva*. Nor, because he does have that relationship, is he the *svarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa. See Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's *HBhV* 1.73 and 11.283.

264. Amla: coagulant

Śloka 43. Śambhu: Śiva.

Śloka 44. Rādhāgovinda Nātha comments: *triliṅga* is the attribute of Śiva when the three *guṇas* are agitated by the *śakti* of the *puruṣa*. *Vaikārika* is *sāttvika*, and *taijasa* is *rājasa*. On the question of how Śiva comes to be linked with all three *guṇas*, when his power is that of destruction and his *guṇa* that of *tāmasa*, Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa comments that *tāmasa* is merely his primary *guṇa*.

266. I.e., he protects by his glance; he does not touch the material *guṇas*.

267. Aiśvarya: divine majesty.

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Śloka 46. *Brahma Saṃhitā* 5.46:
As the flame of a lamp lights another wick, and manifests a role like that of its source although in another lamp, just so does he appear in the form of Viṣṇu; I worship that *ādi-puruṣa*, Govinda.

268 Brahmā and Śiva are *avatāras* to carry out commands, they are *bhaktas*; and with the aim of preservation, Viṣṇu is the form of Kṛṣṇa's *svarūpa*.

Śloka 47. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.6.32:
I create enjoined by him; Hara, controlled by him, destroys; he, possessing the three *śaktis*, in the form of *puruṣa*, sustains the universe.

269 Now, O Sanātana, hear of the *manvantara-avatāras*; they are innumerable; hear their causes. 270 In one day of Brahmā are fourteen *manvantaras*; and Īśvara makes fourteen *avatāras* in them. 271 These fourteen are in one day; in a month there are four hundred and twenty, and in a year of Brahmā there are five thousand and forty. 272 One hundred years is a lifetime of Brahmā, so there are five lakhs and four thousand *manvantara-avatāras*. 273 Thus they are enumerated in the infinite Brahmā-worlds; and one breath of Mahāviṣṇu is the lifetime of Brahmā. 274 There is no end to the breaths of Mahāviṣṇu; so you see the limit in writing of one *manvantara-avatāra*. 275 In the Svāyambhuva it is Yajña; in Svārociṣa it is Vibhu; in Auttama it is Satyasena; and in Tāmasa its name is Hari. 276 In Raivata it is Vaikuṇṭha; in Cākṣuṣa it is Ajita; and in Vaivasvata it is Vāmana; in Sāvarṇa it is Sārvabhauma; and in Dakṣasāvarṇa it is Ṛṣabha. 277 In Brahmasāvarṇa it is Viśvaksena; in Dharmasāvarṇa it is Dharmasetu; in Rudrasāvarṇa it is Sudhāma; and in Devasāvarṇa it is Yogeśvara. 278 In Indrasāvarṇa it is called Bṛhatbhānu. These are the names of the fourteen *avatāras* in the fourteen *manvantaras*.

Śloka 47. See 2.21.*śl.*9.

272. [The printed text reads "five lakhs, forty thousand" (*pañcalakṣa-calliśa-hājāra*), which is in error. TKS]

14 *manvantaras*/day x 30 days = 420 *manvantaras*/month
420 *manvantaras*/month x 12 months = 5040 *manvantaras*/year
5040 *manvantaras*/year x 100 years = 504,000 *manvantaras*.

275-278. These are the names of the *manvantaras* (e.g., Svāyambhuva) and the *avatāras* of each (e.g., Yajña).

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279 Now, O Sanātana, hear of the *yuga-avatāras*. The four *yugas* are counted as Satya, Tretā, Dvāpara, and Kali. 280 Light, blood, dark, and yellow—these, in order, are the four colors; and taking these four colors Kṛṣṇa establishes the *dharma* of the age.

Śloka 48. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.8.13:
From age to age, there are three colors of him who embodies himself: white, red, and yellow. Now he has become black.

Śloka 49. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.5.21:
In the Kṛta [age] he is of light color and four armed, with matted hair, wearing garments made of bark, the skin of a dark-colored deer, the sacred thread, and a rosary of seeds, and carries a staff and an earthen pot.

Śloka 50. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.5.24:
In the Tretā age he is blood-colored, four-armed, holding the trident, his hair tawny, his self made up of the three, and having the signs of garlands and flowing water.

281 In the Satya age, with light-colored *mūrti*, he established the *dharma* of meditation, and, being gracious, granted a boon to Karddama. 282 Meditating on Kṛṣṇa, people [became] proficient in *jñāna*. And in the Tretā age, having blood-color, he established sacrifice as the *dharma*. 283 Worship of the feet of Kṛṣṇa was the *dharma* of the Dvāpara age, and in his dark color he established the duty of the worship of Kṛṣṇa among the people.

279. These four ages or *yugas* make up one *divya-yuga*; seventy-one *divya-yugas* make up one *manvantara*.

Śloka 48. See 1.3.*śl.*6; 2.6.*śl.*3.

Śloka 49. Kṛta: Satya age.

Śloka 50. "Made up of the three": RGN comments: *vedamaya śarīraviśiṣṭha*, "characterized by being made of the Vedas."

281. Meditation: *dhyāna*; see *BhG* 6.11-14. In *BhP* 3.21, this story is told: Brahmā instructed his son Karddama to create *pūjā*; Karddama thereupon to satisfy Bhagavān sat in meditation for ten thousand years on the bank of the Sarasvatī River. So powerful was his meditation and asceticism that Bhagavān appeared to him. Karddama then asked a boon of him: a wife. So Bhagavān granted him this boon: that the Svāyambhuva-manu would present him his own daughter in marriage, and that they would have nine daughters who would marry *ṛṣis*.

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Śloka 51. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.5.27:
In the Dvāpara [age], Bhagavān, of dark color, wears yellow clothing and bears his own weapons, characterized by signs like the *śrīvatsa* curl, and by certain marks on his body.

Śloka 52. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.5.29:
Homage to that Vāsudeva, homage to Saṃkarṣaṇa, to Bhagavān Pradyumna and Aniruddha both, homage.

284 By this *mantra* they worship Kṛṣṇa in the Dvāpara age. And in the Kali age the *dharma* is the *nāma-saṃkīrtana* to Kṛṣṇa. 285 In his yellow color, then, he propagated this; he gave *prema-bhakti* to the people, with his *bhaktas*. 286 Vrajendranandana propagated the *dharma*, and in *prema* the people sang and danced and made *saṃkīrtana*.

Śloka 53. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.5.32:
Good and wise people indeed worship [him] by sacrifice, [namely] chiefly *saṃkīrtana*, together with his followers and weapons of *aṅga* and *upāṅga*, black-colored yet light-colored in his glory.

287 Those fruits which are gained by meditation and the rest, in the other three ages, those same fruits are gained in the Kali age by the name of Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 54-55. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 12.3.51-52:
54 O *rājā*! Though it is a storehouse of faults, the Kali age has one great quality; by the praise of Kṛṣṇa alone, the *jīva* is freed from his bondage and is able to gain the supreme one. 55 What was gained in the Kṛta age by meditation on Viṣṇu, and what in the Tretā age was gained by sacrifice, and by worship in the Dvāpara age, that in the Kali age is gained by *kīrtana*.

Śloka 51. Śrīvatsa is a curl of hair on the chest of Kṛṣṇa. See 1.3.*śl*.7.
284. The *mantra* quoted as *śloka* 52.
Śloka 53. See 1.3.*śl*.10; 2.6.*śl*.4; 2.11.*śl*.10; 3.20.*śl*.2.

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Śloka 56. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 6.2.17:
Which is gained in the Kṛta by meditation, by sacrifices of the offering in the Tretā, by worship in the Dvāpara, that is gained in the Kali Yuga by *kīrtana* of Keśava.

Śloka 57. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.5.36:
Noble men, discerning virtue and holding to the essence, revere [him] in the Kali age, when all the ends can be gained by *saṃkīrtana*.

288 When previously I wrote about the *guṇa-avatāras* I said they were innumerable and could not be counted. 289 And thus have been considered the *avatāras* of the four ages." And when he heard this, Sanātana, with a gesture, questioned him.

290 Sanātana was a minister of the king, and was as Bṛhaspati in wisdom; and by the grace of Prabhu he asked him unhesitatingly, 291 "I am a most insignificant *jīva*, a low man who has done low things; how shall I know who is the *avatāra* in the Kali age?" 292 Prabhu answered, "We know the other *avatāras* by means of the *śāstras*; and so, respecting the words of the *śāstras*, [we know] the Kali-*avatāra*. 293 The *śāstras* are the words of all-knowing sages, and are proof. All we *jīvas* are informed by the *śāstras*. 294 The *avatāra* does not say 'I am an *avatāra*,' but the sages, knowing all, determine it by the signs.

Śloka 58. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.10.34:
By all that unparalleled greatness, by his might which does not accompany any *jīva* who possesses a body, and by these [signs] all the *avatāras* into bodies by the Bodiless are known.

295 By *svarūpa-lakṣaṇa* and by *taṭastha-lakṣaṇa*—by these two *lakṣaṇas* the seers know the matter. 296 Form and nature—these are *svarūpa-lakṣaṇa*; and knowledge by means of deeds—this is *taṭastha-lakṣaṇa*. 297 In the beginning of the *Bhāgavata*, in the *maṅgalācaraṇa* of Vyāsa, he ascertains Parameśvara by these two signs.

Śloka 56. Also found in *Padma Purāṇa, uttara-khaṇḍa* 72.25; *Bṛhannāradīya* 38.97; Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin's *HBhV* 11.239.

295. Lakṣaṇa: mark, sign, characteristic.

296. Ākṛti-prakṛti: form and nature. Some of these might be four arms, arms reaching to the knees, lameness, color of skin, etc. Characteristics of nature would be internal. "Knowledge by means of deeds": activities from which true nature can be deduced. The usual example is that sugar is known by the act of tasting, and its quality is sweetness.

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Śloka 59. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.1.1:

Let us meditate upon the highest truth, from which the birth, etc., of this world derive, who has come from the other side, who is cognizant and of self-perfected knowledge, who spans the *brahman* with his heart, about whom the original poets and sages are confused, in whom fire, water, and earth are mixed, in whom the three creations serve no purpose, by whom all deception is discarded with its own splendor.

298 In this *śloka*, in the word '*para*' is the determination of Kṛṣṇa, and in the word '*satya*' is his *svarūpa-lakṣaṇa*. 299 He created the universe, etc., and taught Brahmā the Vedas. Knowledgeable of the ends, he dispelled *māyā* with his *svarūpa-śakti*. 300 All these deeds are his *taṭastha-lakṣaṇa*, and in this way the seers knew the other *avatāras*. 301 At the time of *avatāra* he is perceived in the world; and some recognize Īśvara by these two *lakṣaṇas*."

302 Sanātana continued, "On whom are the signs of Īśvara, the yellow color, the deeds, the giving of *prema* and *saṃkīrtana*, 303 he is certainly the *avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa in the Kali age. Speak more deeply, that my doubt be dispelled." 304 Prabhu replied, "Abandon your trickery, O Sanātana; hear the description of the *śaktyāveśa-avatāra*.

305 The *śaktyāveśa-avatāras* of Kṛṣṇa are innumerable; let me give a survey of the chief amongst them. 306 *Śaktyāveśa* is of two kinds: primary and secondary. '*Avatāra*' is by means of manifest *śakti*; '*vibhūti*' is by a hint of it. 307 Sanaka and the rest, Nārada, Pṛthu, Paraśurāma, and Brahmā in *jīva*-form are the names of the *āveśa-avatāras*. 308 And Śeṣa in Vaikuṇṭha and Ananta, who holds the world—these are primary *āveśa-avatāras*; there is no end to elaborating on them. 309 Sanaka and the others are [infused with] *jñāna-śakti*, Nārada with *bhakti-śakti*, Brahmā with the *sṛṣṭi-śakti*, and Ananta with the *bhūdhāraṇa-*

Śloka 59. See 2.8.*śl*.51; 2.25.*śl*.39.

298. *Para*: "greatness, exaltation"; *satya*: "truth."

299. These are the *taṭastha-lakṣaṇas*. Being omniscient, he knew what effect would result from what cause. *Artha*: ends.

301. I.e., at that time he appears to human eyes.

304. [Sanātana appears to be pressing Caitanya to admit that he is the *avatāra* for the Kali age, but Caitanya resists. TKS] The *śaktyāveśa-avatāras* are described in the next several verses. The term means one who is possessed or absorbed (*āveśa*) by the manifest *śakti*. The two degrees are defined by the degree of *śakti* in each.

306. *Vibhūti*: majesty, glory, used here to denote the secondary type of *śaktyāveśa*, which has only a hint of *śakti*, while primary *avatāra* has it fully. Cf. 1.10.54.

309. *Sṛṣṭi*: creation; *bhūdhāraṇa*: holding the world.

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śakti. 310 In Śeṣa is the *svasevana-śakti*, and in Pṛthu is the *pālana-śakti*. In Paraśurāma is the heroic *śakti* of destroying evil-doers.

Śloka 60. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta, pūrva-khaṇḍa* 1.18:
Where Janārdana is absorbed into his parts, *jñāna-śakti* and the rest, all those very great *jīvas* are known as *āveśa-avatāra*.

311 *Vibhūtis* are described in the eleventh chapter of the *Gītā*, where the *bhāvāveśa-śakti* of Kṛṣṇa pervades the world.

Śloka 61-62. *Bhagavad Gītā* 10.41-42:
61 Those objects which are full of majesty, blessed, and mighty, you will know all those to be sprung from parts of my glory. 62 O Arjuna! What is the point of your knowing much about all such matters? I, by one single part, support this whole universe!

312 Thus the *śaktyāveśa-avatāras* have been spoken of; now hear a description of the *dharma* of boyhood and youth.

313 Vrajendranandana is the holder of the *dharma* of the crest-jewel of young manhood when he decides to make his *līlā* manifest. 314 First he causes to be manifested his mother and father and *bhaktas*; afterwards he becomes manifest in succession in his birth and other *līlās*.

Śloka 63. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*dakṣiṇa-vibhāga, vibhāva-laharī*] 2.1.63:
Whatever his age, he is the refuge of the *bhakti-rasa* of all, the source of *dharma*, possessing the eternal *līlā* and *vilāsa*, and this he does as a youth.

315 As many *līlās* as there are—the killing of Pūtanā and the rest—every moment he manifests progressively all these eternal *līlās*. 316 Brahmā-worlds are

310. Sva-sevana: service of self, or here, Bhagavān; *pālana*: protection, upholding.
Śloka 62. See 1.2.*śl*.7; 2.20.*śl*.24.
313-14. [The theological proposition that Kṛṣṇa comes to earth preceded and accompanied by his heavenly retinue (*nitya parikara*), provides the basis for the popular *pañca-tattva* and *dhāma* incarnation theories. See *GGUD*. TKS]
315. I.e., when a *līlā* such as the killing of Pūtanā is finished in one Brahmā-world, or better, becomes unmanifest, that same *līlā* becomes manifest in another Brahmā-world; Brahmā-worlds are infinite, and so is each *līlā*. [The implications of this statement bear directly on the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava concept of time and eternity, and the *sādhanas* practiced by adept devotees to tap into

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infinite—there is no counting of them; and each *līlā* is manifested in each Brahmā-world. 317 In this way all the *līlā*s [are manifested], like the streams of the Gaṅgā; Vrajendrakumāra manifests them all. 318 Progressively the boyhood, youth, and adolescence are reached; in his eternal condition of youth he has the *rāsa* and other *līlā*s. 319 All the *śāstra*s speak of the eternal *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa; we cannot understand. How can the *līlā* be eternal? 320 If I give an example, then people will understand. The Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* is eternal—and the proof of it is in the wheel of the planets. 321 In the wheel of planets the sun travels night and day, and crosses over the seven islands and seas and gradually returns. 322 In a night and a day is the quantity of sixty *daṇḍa*s, which in measurement are three thousand six hundred *pala*s, 323 and the *kramodaya* is sixty *pala*s from sunrise, and that is one *daṇḍa*, and eight *daṇḍa*s make up a *prahara*. 324 One, two, three, and at the end of the fourth *prahara*, the sun sets; and when four *prahara*s of the night have passed, again the sun rises. 325 Thus is the circle of the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* in the fourteen *manvantara*s; it returns gradually, pervading the circle of Brahmā-worlds. 326 A hundred and twenty-five years was the manifest *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa; and there he had *vilāsa* in Vrajapura. 327 The wheel of that *līlā* returns like a wheel of fire; thus all *līlā*s gradually take place in all the Brahmā-worlds. 328 His birth, boyhood, adolescence, and youth are manifested; he has *vilāsa* from the initial killing of Pūtanā, to the final battle with clubs. 329 There are locations for certain *līlā*s in certain Brahmā-worlds, and because of this the *āgama*s and *purāṇa*s say 'eternal *līlā*.' 330 The places Goloka and Gokula are all-pervasive, like Kṛṣṇa; at the wish of Kṛṣṇa they appear in the Brahmā-worlds. 331 Thus he has eternal activities in Goloka, and he is progressively manifested in the Brahmā-worlds. 332 In Vraja Kṛṣṇa manifested most fully all his divine qualities; in the two citadels more fully, and in Paravyoma fully.

these *līlā*s, all of which are constantly and simultaneously occurring. It suggests that when devotees "witness" events in the life of Kṛṣṇa—through drama, dream, recitation, or yogic practice—they are in fact literally watching and/or participating in Kṛṣṇa endless acts. See Dimock, "On *Māyā*," *Journal of Religion* 71, no. 4 (Oct. 1991): 523-37. TKS]

319-20. Nitya: eternal; literally daily, or constantly recurring. See commentary to v. 315 above.

321-25. [This breakdown of the diurnal cycle is central to the devotional practice of observing the *aṣṭakālīya-līlā* of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, i.e., the activities in each of the eight watches (*praharas*) of the day. TKS]

328. He killed the demoness Pūtanā in his babyhood by sucking her life from her; and in his last *līlā* he disposed of the Yādavas, and himself disappeared or died.

329. Nitya: eternal.

332. Purī: citadel, i.e., Mathurā and Dvārakā.

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Śloka 64-66. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*dakṣiṇa-vibhāga, vibhāva laharī*] 2.1.221-23:

64 Hari is praised as triple—as full, rather full, and most full—by the words *śresṭha*, *madhya*, and *ādi*, in the *nāṭya-śāstras*. 65 By wise men, when his qualities are fully manifested he is called most full; when his qualities are incompletely manifested he is called fuller; and when they are little seen, he is called full. 66 The most full Kṛṣṇa is manifest in the ultimate Gokula; his more full and full [manifestations] are in Dvārakā and Mathurā.

333 There is one Kṛṣṇa in Vraja, and he is fullest Bhagavān; all his other *svarūpas* are called fuller and full. 334 Thus briefly I have spoken of the description of the *svarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa; Ananta could not detail the matter fully. 335 The *svarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa is infinite, there is no calculating it; I have surveyed it as [one looks at] the moon through branches. 336 He who reads or hears this is fortunate, for he has some knowledge of the *svarūpa-tattva* of Kṛṣṇa."

337 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

335. See commentary to v. 216 above.

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Madhya Līlā
Chapter 21

Śloka 1.

I bow down to Śrī Caitanya, the seeker for the poor and lowly, the refuge of those without refuge, and I write of a little portion of his majesty and his sweetness, which effects fortune.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and the host of Gaura-*bhakta*s.

2 [Caitanya continues:] "The place Paravyoma is the *dhāma* of all the *svarūpa*s, and each has his own Vaikuṇṭha—there is no counting them. 3 The extent of each Vaikuṇṭha is a hundred thousand *ayuta*s of lakhs of crores of *yojana*s. 4 All the Vaikuṇṭhas are pervaded by *cit* and *ānanda*, and their retinues are all full of the six divine qualities. 5 And that of which these endless Vaikuṇṭhas are but single countries, who can describe that Paravyoma? 6 And that of which the endless Vaikuṇṭhas and Paravyoma are but lotus petals, above all these, is the Kṛṣṇa-loka, which is counted as '*karṇikāya*.' 7 Such is the place, and the *avatāra*s, of the six divine qualities; Brahmā and Śiva do not gain the end of it, nor does the worthless *jīva*.

Śloka 1. See 1.7.*śl.*1.

3. Ayuta: ten thousand; lakh: one hundred thousand; crore: ten million; *yojana*: about eight miles. [The total is 10^{15} *yojana*s or 80 quadrillion miles. TKS]

5. Deśa: country, is of indefinite size, and in fact is a relative word; it obviously here suggests that these countries, "*deśa*s," are small parts of the whole.

6. Karṇikā is the central bud of the lotus; the endless Vaikuṇṭhas, etc., are the petals surrounding it.

7. Bhagavān is possessed of the six divine qualities, and so are his *dhāma* and his *avatāra*s and all that is associated with him: they are extensions of himself.

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Śloka 2. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.14.21:
O pervader of the world, *bhagavān*, *paramātman*, *yogeśvara*! Oh! When you play, spreading out your *yoga-māyā*, then how can men know all your play—where, in what way, how many, and when—in the three worlds?

8 In this way are the divine true qualities of Kṛṣṇa infinite; Brahmā, Śiva, Sanaka and the rest cannot gain the end of them.

Śloka 3. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.14.7:
Who are able to count all the qualities of you, who descend for our good, the very soul of qualities, who can in time count the atomic parts of the earth, the dew-drops in the air, and the motes in sunbeams?

9 Brahmā and the rest aside, Ananta with his thousand mouths, in ceaseless song, could not exhaust his qualities.

Śloka 4. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.7.42:
These elder brothers of yours, the *munis*, and even I do not know the limits of the *māyā*-power of the *puruṣa*, to say nothing of others. The *ādi-deva* Ananta-deva, with his thousand mouths singing his qualities, even now has not found their limit.

10 And those too aside, Kṛṣṇa the crest-jewel of all knowledge, does not find the limit of his own qualities, being thirsty for them.

Śloka 5. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.87.41:
Lord, even the lords of heaven do not reach your limit; even you, infinite, concealing within yourself all the Brahmā-worlds, which wander about in time like particles of dust in the sky with the wind; all the *śrutis*, in poverty of knowledge, are successful [only] in expressing contradictions about you.

11 And those too aside, when the *avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa takes place in Vraja, by discussion of his activities the mind does not reach the shore. 12 He made the visible and invisible creations in one moment, the endless Vaikuṇṭhas and

Śloka 5. *Dyupatayah*: lords of heaven.

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Brahmā-worlds, each with its own lord. 13 There is nothing else like this, and hearing of it is wonderful; the very hearing of it cleanses the mind. 14 The word of Śukadeva is 'by the calves of Kṛṣṇa which are numberless'; how many *gopas* were the companions of Kṛṣṇa—I do not know the number. 15 Each *gopa* tended one calf, and their number is a crore of *arbbudas* of *padmas* of *śaṅkhas*. 16 Canes and flutes and bamboo staffs and conches and clothes and ornaments—I cannot write how many the *gopas* had. 17 And in all these was the four-armed lord of Vaikuṇṭha, and the Brahmā of each of the Brahmā-worlds praises him. 18 From the body of a single Kṛṣṇa all of these were manifested; and in an instant all enter that body again. 19 Seeing this, Brahmā was astonished and charmed; and uttering praises, after that he decided: 20 He who says 'I know all the glory of Kṛṣṇa,' let him think so; I do not perceive it in body or in mind. 21 This is the ocean of nectar of your infinite glory, and I do not realize a drop of it in speech or in mind.

Śloka 6. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.14.38:
Prabhu, let those knowledgeable people know; what is the good of long speeches? I do not perceive your greatness in mind or in body or in speech.

22 Place too the greatness of Kṛṣṇa aside—who can know it? See the wonderful glory of the place Vṛndāvana. 23 In the *śāstras* it is said that Vṛndāvana is sixteen *krośas*. Yet in one part of it appear Vaikuṇṭha and the Brahmā-worlds. 24 The glory of Kṛṣṇa is endless—there is no counting of it. But let me survey it, like the moon through branches."

25 Speaking of its glories made swell up the sea of the glories of Kṛṣṇa, and the mind and the senses of Prabhu drowned in it, and he became senseless. 26 He recited this *śloka* of the *Bhāgavata*, and to taste its meaning he himself expounded it in joy.

14. Part of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.12.3.

15. *Arbbuda*: one hundred millions; *padma*: ten billions; *śaṅkha*: one hundred billions.

16. Rādhāgovinda Nātha defines *dala* as a kind of bamboo. The canes are *betra*, a rod used for driving cattle.

Śloka 6. See 2.21.*śl.*16.

23. *Krośa*: approximately two miles.

24. For this unusual expression, see the commentary to 2.20.216.

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Śloka 7. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.2.21:
Who himself is great without equal, the lord of the three, who has attained all works by the fortune of his own majesty, and who is worshiped with sacrifice by the long-lived protectors of the world, and whose feet are praised by a crore of crowns.

27 Kṛṣṇa is the highest Īśvara, *svayaṃ bhagavān*; there is none greater, none equal, no other like him.

Śloka 8. *Brahma Saṃhitā* 5.1:
Kṛṣṇa is the highest Īśvara, the embodiment of *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*, beginningless, yet the beginning of all things, Govinda, the cause of all causes.

28 Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Hara—these were the initial creations of Īśvara; the three carry out the commands of Kṛṣṇa, for Kṛṣṇa is the highest Īśvara.

Śloka 9. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.6.32:
I create enjoined by him; Hara, controlled by him, destroys; he, possessing the three *śaktis*, in the form of *puruṣa*, sustains the universe.

29 This is the ordinary meaning '*tryadhīśvara*'; hear now some additional meanings of it. There are three *puruṣa-avatāras*, who are causes of the world. 30 Mahāviṣṇu, Padmanābha, and Kṣīrodakasvāmī—these three are indwelling in all things, gross and subtle. 31 The refuge of all of them is the lord of the world. And they are all fractions of parts, and Kṛṣṇa is lord over them.

Śloka 10. *Brahma Saṃhitā* 5.48:
I worship that Govinda, the *ādi puruṣa*, for the duration of whose breath

Śloka 7. Lord of the three: see below, v. 28 ff.
Śloka 8. See 1.2.*śl.*17; 2.8.*śl.*29; 2.20.*śl.*19.
28. Kṛṣṇa is the lord of the three: Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva (Hara), for they carry out his commands; the word is *tryadhīśvara*, and Kṛṣṇadāsa unpacks it further.
Śloka 9. See 2.20.*śl.*47.
30. Mahāviṣṇu: Kāraṇārṇavaśāyī; Padmanābha: Garbhadaśāyī, from whose navel the lotus grew, the birthplace of Brahmā; Kṣīrodakaśāyī is Kṣīrodakasvāmī. Kṛṣṇa is lord also of these three. The final meaning of "lord of the three" is explained in v. 32 ff. See 2.20.221-54.
Śloka 10. See 1.5.*śl.*8; 2.20.*śl.*39.

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the lords of the Brahmā-worlds that are born from his pores live, and of whom Mahāviṣṇu is a special fraction.

32 This is the middle meaning; hear now the essential one. There are three dwelling places of Kṛṣṇa which are celebrated in the *śāstras*. 33 The innermost one is Goloka, Śrī Vṛndāvana, where his mother and father and friends stay eternally. 34 It is a storehouse of grace and sweetness and gentleness and the rest, where his hand-maiden is *yoga-māyā*, and where take place the most wonderful of all *līlās*—*rāsa* and the rest.

Śloka 11.

Tender in masses of compassion, filled with qualities of sweetness and majesty, the son of the king of Vraja triumphs, and no hint of worry besets us.

35 Beneath it is Paravyoma, the name of the place of Viṣṇu, and the place of the infinite *svarūpas*—Nārāyaṇa and the rest. 36 This is the middle abode of Kṛṣṇa, the storehouse of his six divine qualities, where his infinite *svarūpas* play. 37 Here are the infinite Vaikuṇṭhas, the parts of the storehouse; here his retinue is, filled with the six divine qualities.

Śloka 12. *Brahma Saṃhitā* 5.43:

He is in his own place, called Goloka; below it are the places of the *devīs*, the Maheśa-*dhāma*, and the Hari-*dhāma*, and in them he has established great glory—I worship that *ādi puruṣa*, Govinda.

Śloka 13-14. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*, *pūrva-khaṇḍa* 5.247-48 [quoting *Padma Purāṇa*]:

13 There is a sky-river, pure, flowing with waters sprung from the sweat of the body of the Vedas, between Pradhāna and Paravyoma. 14 On the

32. [The expression "middle meaning" (*artha madhyama*) is somewhat ambiguous, for it could be interpreted as "the meaning of the middle," because of vv. 35-37, *śl.*13-14, which describe Parvyoma in nearly identical terms. TKS]

34. Kṛṣṇa is the container of *śaktis*, and *yoga-māyā* is a *śakti*; she is thus personified as his hand-maiden.

Śloka 12. Maheśa-*dhāma*: the place where the queens are, Paravyoma, full of all divine majesty, but not the sweetnes of Vṛndāvana.

Śloka 14. See 2.21.*śl.*17.

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farther bank of [the river] is Paravyoma, with the glory of Tripād, eternal, immortal, infinite, unending, perpetual, the most high place.

38 Beneath it is the outer dwelling, on the shore of Virajā, where Brahmā-worlds are, and boundless places. 39 Its name is 'Devī-*dhāma*,' where *jīvas* dwell, where *māyā* remains as a maid-servant, preserving the fortune of the world. 40 Kṛṣṇa is the supreme lord of these three *dhāmas*; but Goloka and Paravyoma are apart from material nature. 41 They are the *dhāmas* where *cit-śakti* reigns, and they are called '*tripādaiśvarya*'; and where *māyā* reigns, the word '*ekapāda*' applies.

Śloka 15. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*, *pūrva-khaṇḍa*, 5.286:
Because it is the *dhāma* of him of *tripād* glory his place has become *tripād*; and for that reason, the glory of all that relates to *māyā* is called *pādātmikā*.

42 The *tripāda* glory of Kṛṣṇa is incommunicable by speech; but hear the description of the *ekapāda* glory.

43 As many Brahmās and Rudras as there are in the innumerable Brahmā-worlds, they are considered as the '*ciraloka-pālas*.' 44 One day in Dvārakā, a Brahmā came to see Kṛṣṇa, and the guard at the door informed Kṛṣṇa of this. 45 And Kṛṣṇa said, 'What Brahmā is it? What is his name?' And the guard went and asked the Brahmā again. 46 Brahmā was astonished, and said to the guard, 'Go and tell him that the father of Sanaka, the four-faced one, has come.' 47 So the guard informed Kṛṣṇa of this, and brought Brahmā in, and Brahmā made obeisance at Kṛṣṇa's feet. 48 And Kṛṣṇa having honored and done *pūjā* to him, asked him, 'For what have you come here?' 49 Brahmā said, 'Afterwards, I shall make a request of you. But there is a question in my mind, and that you can dispel. 50 What did you mean when you asked "Which Brahmā?" Are there

38. Virajā: the sea or river of causation. On its shore is the material world, where *jīvas* dwell.

39. Jagalakṣmī rākhi: "preserving the fortune (or prosperity) of the world"; this is Viśvanātha's interpretation. Rādhāgovinda Nātha comments further that "prosperity" means the search for material happiness and welfare, which is the condition of the *jīva* who is sunk in *māyā*.

41. If divinity or majesty is three-fold (*tripādaiśvarya*) in Goloka and Paravyoma, it is only one third that (*ekapāda*) in the material world.

Śloka 15. Pādātmikā: ekapāda.

43. Ciraloka-pāla: perpetual guardians of the directions; these are usually lesser deities. The story which follows demonstrates that.

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other Brahmās than I in the world?' 51 When he heard this, Kṛṣṇa smiled, and then sat in meditation, and innumerable Brahmās came there; 52 some had a hundred, or twenty, or a thousand, or an *ayuta*, or a lakh of faces, and some a crore of *arbbuda*s of faces, and those of some could not be counted. 53 And Rudras came, with lakhs of crores of faces, and Indras came with lakhs of crores of eyes. 54 And when he saw these, the four-faced Brahmā was overcome; he was like a rabbit in the midst of a herd of elephants. 55 And all the Brahmās came to the stool in front of the feet of Kṛṣṇa, and bowing there, they touched their crowns to that stool at his feet. 56 No one is able to write of the unknowable *śakti* of Kṛṣṇa; as to many Brahmās as there are, he showed that many *mūrti*s, but in only one body. 57 And from the assembly of crowns lowered to the feet of Kṛṣṇa there rose up a sound, as if the crowns were praising the pilgrimage place of his feet. 58 And with palms together the Brahmās and Rudras and the rest praised him, 'You have been most merciful, Prabhu. For you have shown us your feet. 59 Our fortune is great, for you have agreed to call us servants. Whatever command you have, that we take upon our heads.' 60 And Kṛṣṇa replied, 'It was in my mind to see you all, and for that I summoned you all here. 61 May you all be at peace, and have no fear of demons.' And they said, 'By your grace, victory is everywhere. 62 Recently there was one who was a burden to the earth, and becoming incarnated you slew him.' 63 Dvārakā and the others are all-pervading, and this is the proof of that: 'Kṛṣṇa is in my Brahmā-world'—this is the perception of everyone. 64 With Kṛṣṇa they experienced the glory of Dvārakā, and though all were together in one place, one did not see the other. 65 Then Kṛṣṇa bade farewell to all the Brahmās, and all, bowing to him, went to their own places. 66 When he saw this, the four-faced Brahmā was astonished, and coming to the feet of Kṛṣṇa he made obeisance. 67 And Brahmā said, 'That of which I was certain before, I have seen an example of today.'

52-53. See commentary to vv. 3, 15, above, for the explanation of numbers.

56. For each of the Brahmās who came, there was one *mūrti* of Kṛṣṇa, so that each Brahmā thought that he was bowing to and conversing with Kṛṣṇa alone; but, as we have seen before, it is Kṛṣṇa's power to do this, his essential self remaining one and unchanged.

62-63. Each Brahmā thought that Kṛṣṇa had become incarnated in his Brahmā-world alone, and had slain a demon there; the Dvārakā-*hlā*, in which demons were slain, is thus shown to take place in all the Brahmā-worlds.

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Śloka 16. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.14.38:

Prabhu, let those knowledgeable people know; what is the good of long speeches? I do not perceive your greatness in mind or in body or in speech.

68 And Kṛṣṇa said, 'This Brahmā-world is fifty crores of *yojanas*, and in it you of the four faces are most insignificant. 69 Some Brahmā-worlds are a hundred crores, and some a lakh of crores, and some a *niyuta* of crores, and some a crore of crores. 70 And according to the Brahmā-worlds are the faces and bodies of the Brahmās; I protect the Brahmā-worlds in this way. 71 This is still not the extent of the glory of the *ekapāda*; so who could measure the glory of the *tripād*?'

Śloka 17. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*, *pūrva-khaṇḍa*, 5.248 [quoting *Padma Purāṇa*]:

On the farther bank of [the river] is Paravyoma, with the glory of Tripād, eternal, immortal, infinite, unending, perpetual, the most high place.

72 Then Kṛṣṇa bade farewell to Brahmā. The glory of the true form of Kṛṣṇa cannot be known.

73 But there is another, deeper meaning in the word '*adhīśvara*.' And by the word '*tri*' is meant the three places of Kṛṣṇa. 74 Goloka means Gokula, Mathurā, and Dvārāvatī, and in these three places Kṛṣṇa dwells naturally and eternally. 75 These three *dhāmas* are full of full divinity and are intrinsic, and the supreme lord of the three is Kṛṣṇa, *svayaṃ bhagavān*. 76 I mentioned before all the *dik-pālas* of the Brahmā-worlds, and the *ciraloka-pālas* of the hidden infinite Vaikuṇṭhas. 77 The crowns of all of them are before the pilgrimage-place of the feet of Kṛṣṇa, and when they bow, their jewels touch the *pīṭha*; 78 and from the jewels touching the *pīṭha* rises up a jingling sound, and it seems that the crowns are praising the *pīṭha*. 79 Kṛṣṇa is shining eternally in his own *cit-śakti*, and the name of this glory of his *cit-śakti* is 'the six divine attributes.' 80 He is *svārājya-lakṣmī*, and eternally fulfills all desires. And thus the Vedas call

Śloka 16. See 2.21.*śl.*6.

69. Niyuta: one million. See also commentary to v. 3, 15.

Śloka 17. See 2.21.*śl.*14.

75. Antaraṅga: intrinsic.

77. Pīṭha: lit., seat; here the low stool at Kṛṣṇa's feet.

80. Svarājya-lakṣmī: "prosperity which is fulfilled independently": i.e., he fulfills his own desires by his own *śakti*.

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him *svayaṃ-bhagavān*. 81 The divinity of Kṛṣṇa is endless, a sea of nectar. One cannot immerse one's self in it, but can only touch a drop of it."

82 While he was speaking of the majesty, Kṛṣṇa bloomed in Prabhu; his mind tasted the sweetness, and he recited a *śloka*.

Śloka 18. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.2.12:
To show his own *śakti* of *yogamāyā*, appropriate to his mortal *līlā*, and the highest condition of his awe-inspiring grandeur, he revealed himself, his jewel-body decorated with jewels.

83 "Such was the play of Kṛṣṇa,
his human *līlā* the greatest of all,
his *svarūpa* in human body;
in *gopa*'s dress, flute in his hand,
of new youth, master of the dance,
appropriate to his human *līlā*.

84 Hear, O Sanātana, of the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa's form.
One particle of that form
drowns all the three worlds,
and attracts all living things. [refrain]

85 *Yogamāyā* the *cit-śakti*,
transformation of pure being,
to show his *śakti* among men,
this jewel of beauty,
profound wealth of *bhaktas*,
was manifested from the eternal *līlā*.

86 Seeing his own form,
Kṛṣṇa was astonished,
and desire rose in his mind to taste it.
Whose name is "self-fortuned,"

82. See commentary to *śloka* 1 above.

85. BhP 10.29.1; Sanātana Gosvāmin's *Bṛhadvaiṣṇavatoṣaṇī* commentary on this *śloka*, defines *yogamāyā* as *cit-śakti*. This should not be confused with *māyā-śakti*, which is extrinsic.

86. [Cf. the "three desires" of Kṛṣṇa as the primary cause of his descent to earth as Caitanya, 1.4.89-178. TKS]

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the place of qualities of beauty and the rest,
this beauty is his eternal *dhāma*.

87 His body a jewel to jewels,
graceful in *tribhaṅga* pose,
above it his brows, like bows, dancing.
Arrows from the corners of his slanting eyes,
fixed firmly to his bow,
pierce the hearts of Rādhā and the *gopīs*.

88 [In] crores of Brahmā-worlds and Paravyoma,
what *svarūpas* are there,
their hearts are stolen by his power.
Crown-jewels of truth to wifely vows,
as the Vedas call them,
those *lakṣmīs* are attracted.

89 Mounting the chariot of the minds of the *gopīs*,
he charmed the mind of Manmatha,
and thus is called "the charmer of Madana."
Conquering the pride of the five-arrowed one,
he is himself the new Kandarpa,
as he has *rāsa*-[*līlā*] with the *gopīs*.

90 With his companions like himself,
he plays while tending cows,
spontaneous is his sport in Vṛndāvana.
Hearing the sound of his flute,
living things, moving and unmoving,
shed streams of tears, and tremble and thrill.

91 His pearl necklace is a row of herons,
his peacock-tail crown a bow of Indra,
his yellow garment a flash of lightning.
Kṛṣṇa the new raincloud,
above the crops of the earth,
rains down streams of the nectar of his *līlā*.

88. Svarūpa: Nārāyaṇa and the rest in Paravyoma, Matsya and the other *avatāras* in the Brahmā-worlds.

89. Manmatha, Madana, Kandarpa: Kāmadeva; Madanamohana: charmer of Madana, i.e., Kṛṣṇa.

91. Bow of Indra: the rainbow. "Kṛṣṇa . . ." or: "dark as the new raincloud." Kṛṣṇa is frequently compared to the first clouds of the monsoon, bringing fertility and joy.

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92 His divine essence is sweetness,
he propagated it in Vraja,
and Śuka, the son of Vyāsa,
from place to place in the *Bhāgavata*
has described it for us;
and *bhaktas* who hear there are enchanted."

93 While speaking of the *rasa* of Kṛṣṇa
overcome with *prema* he recited a *śloka*,
and in *prema* held Sanātana's hand.
The *gopīs*' fortune and Kṛṣṇa's qualities,
he did describe, controlled by the *bhāva*
of the women of Mathurā."

Śloka 19. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.44.14:
What great austerities have the *gopīs* performed, that they ceaselessly drink the full form of the beauty of Kṛṣṇa with their eyes? There is no beauty greater than his; it is complete, and renews itself at every moment; it is the only refuge of majesty, of beauty, of fame; it is most hard to attain.

94 "The sea of the nectar of youth,
its waves the essence of beauty,
and in it is a whirlpool spouting *bhāva*.
Whirlwinds of the sound of the flute:
the leaves and grass of the hearts of women
drown there, never to rise again.

95 O *sakhi*! What austerities did the *gopīs* perform?
The sweetness of the form of Kṛṣṇa
they drink and drink and fill their eyes,
and make praiseworthy their births, bodies, hearts. [refrain]

96 There is no other sweetness
as lofty as this,
in the qualities of the *svarūpas* in Paravyoma.

92. Mādhurya: sweetness.
Śloka 19. See 1.4.*śl.*24.

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He who is the container of all *avatāras*,
the lord of Paravyoma,
such sweetness is not in that Nārāyaṇa.

97 That lovely woman present there,
most beloved of Nārāyaṇa,
who deserves the worship of *pativratās*,
even she, in lust for his sweetness,
abandoned all enjoyment and desires,
and taking a vow, did penance.

98 He is the essence of that sweetness,
there is no other goal than that;
he is the container of the qualities of sweetness and the rest.
And in all manifestations,
qualities given by him appear,
and these are known by action.

99 Mirror of the *gopī-bhāva*,
appearing new in every moment,
before them is the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa.
Both jostle one another,
and grow, heads not bent down,
and the expanse of both is ever new.

100 *Karma*, *japa*, *yoga*, *jñāna*,
vidhi-bhakti, *tapas*, and *dhyāna*—
from these his sweetness is hard to obtain.
Only in the *rāga-mārga*,
by worshiping Kṛṣṇa in passion,
does one gain Kṛṣṇa's sweetness.

97. The couplet describes Lakṣmī; see ante, 2.14.120-125.

98. Goal: *siddhi*, that which is gained through penance and austerity. "Known by action" means that his sweetness is known by Lakṣmī's austerity and penance, which she would not have undertaken were he resistible.

99. The line means that the joy of Kṛṣṇa and that of the *gopīs* are like mirrors facing one another: each reflects the other to infinity; the *gopīs*' love for Kṛṣṇa gives him pleasure, and this pleasure causes the *gopīs* added pleasure, and so on.

100. *Japa*: the muttering of *mantras*; *vidhi-bhakti*: following the prescriptions of the *śāstras*; *tapas*: asceticism; *dhyāna*: meditation. The *rāga-mārga* is that condition of the *bhakta* after he has passed beyond ritual activity and has taken on a permanent relation to Kṛṣṇa.

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101 That form, the refuge of Vraja,
full of sweetness and divinity,
is the treasury of jewels and divine qualities.
Others may have greatness and excellence,
and divinity given by Kṛṣṇa;
but Kṛṣṇa is the container of parts, the refuge of all things.

102 Beauty, modesty, compassion,
fame, steadiness, skilled intelligence—
all these are established in Kṛṣṇa.
As giver of nobility and sweetness,
there is none equal to Kṛṣṇa;
Kṛṣṇa conquers the world.

103 Various people seeing Kṛṣṇa
condemned the blinking of their eyes,
as the *gopīs* in Vraja blamed Vidhātā."
So reciting all those *ślokas*,
Mahāprabhu expounded their meanings,
and in delight he tasted their sweetness.

Śloka 20. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 9.24.65:
Men and women, having drunk with their eyes the face of him filled with eternal rejoicing, smiling with wonderful delight, adorned with crocodile-shaped earrings, his cheeks glowing, and being delighted by this [sight], are not satisfied, and are angry at the brevity of the time.

Śloka 21. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.31.15:
When you wander in the forest in the daytime, to those who gain no sight of you a half a moment is an age. And those who do see, with faces turned upward, your charming curly locks of hair [must say], 'He who has made lashes upon our eyes is surely most unskilled.'

104 "The form of the *mantra kāmagāyatrī*
is the true form of Kṛṣṇa;

101. Aṃśī: container of parts (*aṃśa*).
103. I.e., while their eyes were closed in blinking, they could not see Kṛṣṇa.
Śloka 21. See 1.4.*śl.*21.
104. The *kāmagāyatrī* is: *kāmadevāya vidmahe puṣpavāṇāya dhīmahi tanno'naṅgaḥ pracodayāt*: "We meditate on the god of love, whose arrows are flowers, so that the bodiless one may compel

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there are twenty-four and a half syllables in it.
Those syllables are moons,
and rising in Kṛṣṇa,
they fill the three worlds with desire.

105 O *sakhi*! The face of Kṛṣṇa is the lord of moons.
The body of Kṛṣṇa is on the lion-throne,
sitting in royal command.
And with him is an assembly of moons. [refrain]

106 His two cheeks are very bright,
conquering the jewel-mirror,
I know those two as full moons.
His forehead is the half moon of *aṣṭamī*,
on it the dot of sandalwood
seems like a full moon.
107 The nails of his hands are an array of moons,
dancing on his flute,
and their song is the rhythm of the flute.
His toenails are moons
which dance below,
and their song is the sound of the *nūpura*.
108 His crocodile earrings dance,
the lotus of the *līlā* of his eyes,
the king of playfulness ever makes them dance.
His brows a bow, his nose the arrow,
his ears the bow-string;
the targets, the women, are pierced.
109 The great dance of this moon,
this cluster of a multitude of moons,
distributes his own nectar at a price.

it." "Rising in Kṛṣṇa": this can also be interpreted as saying that the *mantra* is Kṛṣṇa, the moon, and uttering the *mantra* can make Kṛṣṇa rise, or appear to one. This is in fact the usual function of a *mantra* (see *PHM*, 228-30, 235-45). "Desire" here, all the commentators are quick to point out, is desire for Kṛṣṇa.

106. Aṣṭamī: the eighth day of either fortnight, when the moon would be half.

107. Nūpura: jingling anklets.

109. Hāṭa: multitude, also means weekly or periodic market, which makes the next line clear.

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With the nectar of the moonlight of his smile,
with the nectar of his lips,
he nourishes all the world.

110 The vast long-drawn dawn;
reeling with the wine of Madana,
are his ministers, these two eyes,
that residence of the play of beauty,
longed for by human eyes,
is the face of Govinda, full of happiness.

111 By the fruit of the collection of merit,
who gets the sight of that face,
how can he drink it with [only] two eyes?
Greed and thirst grow twice over,
and not being able to drink, grief grows in the mind,
and in sorrow he prays to Vidhātā:

112 'You did not give us a lakh of crores,
but gave to all two eyes,
and make them hide for moment [in blinking].
Vidhātā is harsh, a wealth of asceticism,
his heart is devoid of *rasa*.
he does not know the right way to create.'

113 To him who will see the face of Kṛṣṇa,
he gave only two eyes;
Vidhātā was so inconsiderate.
Had he consulted me,
he would have made a crore of eyes,
and then he would be a proper creator.

114 The sea of the sweetness of the body of Kṛṣṇa,
his face a moon of sweet nectar,
in the moonbeam of his smile is great sweetness.

110. The eyes of Kṛṣṇa are still being described, and the image is very complex. They are large and long, marks of beauty; they are red as the dawn, from dallying all night with the *gopīs*, and from drinking the wine of Madana, the god of love; they also are reeling from that wine, moving around unsteadily, which is another attractive feature for eyes. In addition they are ministers (in v. 108 Kṛṣṇa was described as the king of playfulness), and drinking is something that courtiers are inclined to do.

114. These three: the sweetness of the body of Kṛṣṇa, the sweetness of his face, and the sweetness of his smile.

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My heart is struck by these three,
and longs to taste them."
and, moving his hands, he recited a *śloka*.

Śloka 22. Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala's *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* 1.92:
The body of the lord is the sweet of the sweet; his face is the sweet of the sweet of the sweet, and his gentle honey-fragrant smile is the sweet of the sweet of the sweet of the sweet.

115 "O Sanātana, Kṛṣṇa's sweetness is a sea of nectar.
My heart is feverish,
and I want to drink it all,
but the accursed physician gives me not a drop. [refrain]

116 The body of Kṛṣṇa is a city of beauty,
more sweet than sweetness,
his face is like a moon upon it.
Sweeter than sweetness,
and sweeter still than that,
filled with the radiance of his smile.
117 Sweeter than sweetness,
and sweeter still than that,
and sweeter still than even that,
one particle of himself
pervades all the three worlds;
it flows in the ten directions and fills them all.
118 The moonbeams of his smile are like pure camphor,
entering the honey of his lips,
and that honey intoxicates the three worlds.
The holes in his flute are the sky,
its sound qualities enter,
and are transformed into music.
119 That music runs to the four directions,
and goes to the various worlds and Vaikuṇṭhas,
and enters with force the ears of the world.

Śloka 22. See 2.23.*śl.*17.
118. The *guṇa* of the element "sky" is sound; "music" is *dhvani*, which is also "sound," perhaps implying a harmonic of various levels of reverberation.

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All are drunken,
and forcibly seized,
especially young women.
120 The sound is greatly arrogant,
and the vows of chaste women are broken;
it snatches them by force from the laps of their husbands.
The *lakṣmīs* of Vaikuṇṭha
are attracted by it,
and to these, what are the *gopīs*?
121 The knots of clothing are loosened before the lord,
they leave their housework,
and are dragged to the place of Kṛṣṇa.
Fear and modesty, the *dharma* of social behavior—
all knowledge of that is gone,
and thus all the women dance.
122 Dwelling within their ears,
and always by itself bursting there,
it allows no other sound to enter.
The ears hear no other sound,
they forget others, and what others say to them,
this is the way of the flute of this Kṛṣṇa."
123 And again he spoke, regaining normal consciousness,
"While speaking certain things I say other things;
The grace of Kṛṣṇa is upon you.
My mind has wandered;
he who is the divine sweetness himself,
has spoken to you through my mouth.

124 I am mad; while saying one thing I say other things; I drift in the stream of the nectar of the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa." 125 Then Prabhu remained silent for a moment, and when he had gathered himself together again he spoke to

120. It is a common poetic conceit that if those sophisticated and knowing queens are drawn from their vows to fall in love with Kṛṣṇa, what chance have the simple cowherd girls of Vṛndāvana?

121. Pati: lord, which can also mean "husband" or "lover."

123. Caitanya says to Sanātana: Kṛṣṇa has spoken to you through me; I have been raving, and what I have said it was not my intention to say. *Bāhya jñāna*: external or normal waking consciousness.

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Sanātana. 126 There was more of the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa in the mouth of Mahāprabhu, and he who hears this floats in the happiness of *prema*.

127 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

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Madhya Līlā
Chapter 22

Śloka 1.

By whom this most profound *bhakti* was manifested in the Kali age, I bow down to that Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, an ocean of mercy.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya and to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 [Caitanya continued,] "Thus has been explained the truth about *sambandha*; according to the instructions of the Vedas and *śāstras*—Kṛṣṇa is the single essence. 3 Now listen and let me tell of the characteristics of the *abhidheya*, from which we gain Kṛṣṇa, and the wealth of the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa. 4 All the *śāstras* speak of Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti* as the *abhidheya*; thus the sages have ascertained.

Śloka 2.

Mother Śruti was asked, and responded, concerning the manner of worship of you. The words of the mother were also those of Sister Smṛti, and all the *purāṇas*, etc., which as kinsmen follow it. O holder of the flute! thus you alone are truly known as the refuge.

5 The truth of non-dual knowledge is that Kṛṣṇa is *svayaṃ bhagavān*, situated in the form of *svarūpa-śakti*. 6 His own *aṃśa* and separated *aṃśas* permeate

2-3. Sambandha was outlined in chapters 2.20-21. *Abhidheya* (*bhakti-sādhana*) is the subject of this entire chapter.

5. See ante, 2.20.131. Another possibility: his place is in his *svarūpa* and in his *śaktis*. The latter would mean that he is in Rādhā, the manifestation of *hlādinī-śakti*, in *jīvas*, as manifestations of his *jīva-śakti*, in Nanda and Yaśodā as manifestations of his *sandhinī-śakti*, etc. *Tattva*: truth, i.e., the distinguishing feature(s) of something, quiddity or "thatness," what makes a thing what it is.

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and sport in the infinite Vaikuṇṭhas and Brahmā-worlds. 7 The permeation of his own *aṃśa* is the *caturvyūha*s and the *avatāra*s, and the separated *aṃśa*s, the *jīva*s, are among his *śakti*s. 8 These separated *aṃśa*s, *jīva*s, are of two kinds: one is eternally free, and the other is habitually bound in *saṃsāra*. 9 The eternally free always have their faces turned upward toward the feet of Kṛṣṇa; they are called 'Kṛṣṇa's followers,' and they enjoy the happiness of service. 10 Those habitually bound ones always have their faces turned away from Kṛṣṇa; they suffer continual passage through *saṃsāra*, and the miseries of hell. 11 Because of their faults, the *piśācī*s of *māyā* torment them; they afflict them deeply, immersing them in the spiritual and the other torments. 12 They are slaves to lust and anger, and receive the blows of their feet. And if in their wanderings they find a holy man-physician, 13 by the *mantra*s of his commands they drive the *piśācī*s away. And they gain Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti* and then go near Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 3. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*paścima-vibhāga, prītibhaktirasa-laharī*] 3.2.25:

I have received many kinds of evil commands from desire and the rest,
but I have not obeyed them; but they have not been kind to me, and
neither compassion nor shame has come to me; O eternal Yadupata,
now I have come to realize that having left behind me all those things,
I have gained you, the refuge, the fearless one; take me as your servant.

14 So Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti* is primary among *abhidheya*s. *Karma*, *yoga*, and *jñāna*—these look toward the face of *bhakti*. 15 But all these *sādhana*s yield most worthless fruit, for without Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti* they have not the power to give.

7. The *caturvyūha* and the *avatāra*s are called his "own *aṃśa*" (*svāṃśa*); the *jīva* too is an *aṃśa* of Kṛṣṇa, but the two are not identical. The *caturvyūha* are *aṃśa*s of the *svarūpa*; all are full of *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*. The *jīva* however is not an *aṃśa* of the *svarūpa*; it is not a function of the *svarūpa-śakti*, but of the *jīva-śakti*, which is *taṭasthā*. Rādhāgovinda Nātha defines "separated *aṃśa*" (*bibhinnāṃśa*) as that which has a quality of separateness from the *svāṃśa*: the *jīva*. 2.20.153, 212-89 address the concept of *svāṃśa*.

8. Nitya-mukta: eternally free.

10. [*Nitya-saṃsārī*: habitually bound to the rounds of existence. The "eternally free" (*nitya-mukta*) of the preceding verse are forever turned toward Kṛṣṇa with no possibility of relapse. The "habitually bound" (*nitya-saṃsārī*), however are not irrevocably lost, as seen in vv. 12-13 below. TKS]

11. Piśāci: demons or malevolent spirits.

14. They look toward the face of *bhakti* to find help, for by themselves these are not efficacious. See *Nārada-pañcarātra* 4.2.17-20.

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Śloka 4. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.5.12:

Naiṣkarmya, even when unattached and pure, when it is devoid of emotion for God, does not gain the full glory. The less so *karma* which is always bad, and even that *karma* which is selfless, if it is not offered to Īśvara.

Śloka 5. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.4.17:

There are ascetics of great power, and generous men, and those who have offered the sacrifice, and *yogin*s, and those who know the *mantra*s, and those who do all good deeds, but if they do not offer these to him, they will gain no auspicious result; that is the famous blessing, and I bow to it.

16 *Jñāna* alone, without *bhakti*, cannot give *mukti*; but for those whose faces are turned toward Kṛṣṇa, that *mukti* comes about without *jñāna*.

Śloka 6. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.14.4:

O all-pervading one, to those who, abandoning *bhakti* to you as the way of realization, toil in the acquiring of wisdom, nothing else remains but anguish; they are like threshers of solid chaff.

Śloka 7. *Bhagavad Gītā* 7.14:

This my divine *māyā*, consisting of [the three] *guṇa*s, is certainly hard to escape. Those who take refuge in me can overcome this *māyā*.

17 The *jīva* forgets that he is the eternal servant of Kṛṣṇa; and it is because of that fault that *māyā* seizes him by the throat. 18 For him who worships Kṛṣṇa and serves the *guru*, the trap of *māyā* flees away, and he gains the feet of Kṛṣṇa. 19 If one who is a believer in the four *varṇa*s does not worship Kṛṣṇa, though he does his own work, he is plunged into hell.

Ślokas 8-9. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.5.2-3:

8 By means of the *guṇa*s, each of the four *varṇa*s, twice-born and the rest, are born respectively from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet of the

Śloka 4. Naiṣkarmya: abstinence from acts and their consequences.
Śloka 6. See 2.24.*śl.*46; 2.25.*śl.*2.
Śloka 7. See 2.20.*śl.*12; 2.24.*śl.*45.
19. "His own work": *svakarma*, the work appropriate to his *varṇa*; some MSS read *svadharma*.
Śloka 8. See 2.22.*śl.*52; 2.24.*śl.*48.
Śloka 9. See 2.22.*śl.*53.

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puruṣa, together with the *āśramas*. 9 Those among them who do not worship the Īśvara-*puruṣa* as their own fathers, and despise him, are hurled from their own places and fall below.

20 The *jñānīs* consider, 'we have gained the condition of the *jīvan-mukta*'; but in truth, perception is not pure without Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*.

Śloka 10. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.2.32:
Lotus-eyed one, those who, devoid of *bhakti* towards you and therefore of impure mind consider themselves as free, with great difficulty gain the high place, and having disrespect for your feet, they fall from there.

21 Kṛṣṇa is like the sun, *māyā* is the darkness; wherever Kṛṣṇa is, *māyā* does not control that.

Śloka 11. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.5.13:
Those who are ashamed to remain on the path of the vision of him, confused by *māyā*, those of slow intelligence say 'Me, mine.'

22 'Kṛṣṇa! I am yours!'—if one says this once, Kṛṣṇa rescues him from the bondage of *māyā*.

20. The *Vedāntasāra* defines a *jīvan-mukta* as one whose ignorance, and deeds proceeding from ignorance, have disappeared, and for whom no bonds remain, tying him to the things of the world; one who is freed from the world while he is still living. This is also the statement of *śloka* 10 below; Viśvanātha has commented on that *śloka* that when indifference to the world is gained by asceticism and renunciation, one sees even the image, the *vigraha*, as being made up of *māyā*, and this is "disrespect" for the deity. *Jīvan-mukti* is gained by *jñāna*, and there are three types of followers of the *jñāna-mārga*: those who accept the supreme *brahman* as having form, and the *vigraha* as full of *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*, and with *bhakti* desire union with him; those who do not accept that *brahman* has form and qualities (their *sādhana* is worthless, according to the *bhakti-śāstras*); and those who regard *brahman* as having form and qualities, but consider the *vigraha* as *māyā*. The first and third of these have possibilities of *bhakti*, the third only if it is recognized that the form and qualities are not material *guṇas*, but made up of *cit*.

Śloka 10. See 2.24.*śl.*40; 2.24.*śl.*47; 2.25.*śl.*3.

Śloka 11. Even those who are on the right path can be so confused by *māyā* that they mix reality with egoism, and consider that the self and the satisfaction of the self are the ends of life. The truth is that the *jīva* is not his own, but as in v. 22., the *jīva* is Kṛṣṇa's; the *jīva* must recognize this fact and confess it. See also ante, v. 17: the *jīva* is the eternal servant of Kṛṣṇa; that is his true condition.

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Śloka 12. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin's *Haribhaktivilāsa* 11.397 [quoting *Rāmāyaṇa*]:
He who, seeking refuge, prays only once 'I am yours', I give him always freedom from fear—this is my vow.

23 Those who are desirous of *bhukti*, *mukti*, or *siddhi*, if they are wise, worship Kṛṣṇa, profoundly immersed in *bhakti*.

Śloka 13. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.3.10:
One who is desireless, or one who desires everything, or one who is desirous of *mokṣa*, if he is wise, worships the *parama-puruṣa* with strong and deep *bhakti*.

24 He who is desirous of other things, if he worships Kṛṣṇa, even though he might not ask for them, Kṛṣṇa grants him his own feet. 25 Kṛṣṇa says, 'He worships me, he asks for the happiness of material things; abandoning nectar, he asks for poison, this is most stupid. 26 How can I, knowing this, give worldly things to this fool? Giving him the nectar of my own feet, I shall make him forget material things.'

Śloka 14. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 5.19.26:
It is true that being prayed to, he grants desired objects to men; but he is not the giver of objects, because even after that, [man] is desirous of more. To those who have no selfish desires, and to those who worship, he himself grants the shoots of his own feet by which all desires are obscured.

27 He who worships Kṛṣṇa in regard to desires, gains [them] in the Kṛṣṇa-*rasa*; and abandoning his desire he longs to become a servant of Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 15. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*uttara-vibhāga*, *vīrabhaktirasa-laharī*] 4.3.44 [quoting *Haribhaktisudhodaya* 7.28]:
I was desirous of position, and performed austerities. Then I found you, obscure even to Indra and the *devas* and the *munis*. It was as if while

23. Bhukti: the enjoyment of heaven, which comes from meritorious action, the *karma-mārga*; *mukti*: release or liberation, the result of following the *jñāna-mārga*; *siddhi*: the attainment of powers (see 2.19.132 commentary), the result of following the *yoga-mārga*.
Śloka 13. See 2.24.*śl.*28; 2.24.*śl.*72.
Śloka 14. See 2.24.*śl.*32; 2.24.*śl.*74.
Śloka 15. See 2.24.*śl.*82.

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searching for glass, I found a divine jewel. Lord, I am crowned with success, and I have not even prayed for a boon.

28 While wandering in *saṃsāra*, some fortunate ones are saved, just as a stick in the current of a river sometimes strikes the bank.

Śloka 16. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.38.5:
No, it cannot be that a low man like me sees Acyuta; but some, sometimes, drifting in the river of time, are rescued.

29 Certain ones, fortunate, look forward to the destruction of *saṃsāra*; and then, in the company of holy men, love for Kṛṣṇa grows.

Śloka 17. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.51.52:
O Acyuta! when the wandering person reaches the end of his suffering in the world, then he goes with true men. When the company of true men is gained, the only way of holy men to the lord of high and low, the proper attitude toward you is born.

30 If Kṛṣṇa is gracious to some fortunate one, he himself teaches in the form of the indwelling *guru*.

Śloka 18. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.29.6:
Lord, not in a lifetime as long as Brahmā's do the poets diminish in their ample joy as they dwell upon your feats. O lord! You are embodied in the *ācārya* or temple, internal and external; you drive off and make distant inauspicious things of the embodied, and make manifest your own cause.

31 If one is a believer in the *bhakti* of Kṛṣṇa, in the company of holy men, the fruit of *bhakti* is *prema*, and *saṃsāra* is destroyed.

Śloka 19. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.20.8:
There are those people who by some good fortune become believers in me by talking of me and so on, but they are not indifferent to the world nor completely devoted; their *bhakti-yoga* is ultimately successful.

Śloka 17. See 2.22.*śl.*36.
Śloka 18. See 1.1.*śl.*19.

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32 *Bhakti* does not come about by any *karma*; except for grace of great men, Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti* remains at a distance, and *saṃsāra* is not destroyed.

Śloka 20. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 5.19.12:
O Rahūgaṇa, not by asceticism, nor by injunction, nor by charity, nor by doing the duties of a householder, nor following the Vedas, nor by worship of water or fire or sun, is he to be gained.

Śloka 21. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 7.5.32:
This mind does not touch the foot of the great-striding one—the purpose of which is the disappearance of disaster—until it has chosen consecration by the dust of the feet of the great ones who are without possessions.

33 All the *śāstras* repeat 'the company of *sādhus*, the company of *sādhus*.' By the merest fraction of company with *sādhus*, all is attained.

Śloka 22. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.18.13:
By the merest association with the companions of Bhagavān, [that which is gained] we cannot compare to heaven, nor can we compare it to freedom from the rounds of rebirth, what can I say of its blessing to mankind?

34 Kṛṣṇa, full of mercy, showed [it] to Arjuna, and by his counsel he preserved the world.

Ślokas 23-24. *Bhagavad Gītā* 18.64-65:
23 Let me repeat the most mysterious truth, and listen to my words. You are profoundly dear to me, and so I speak, for your benefit.
24 Dedicate your mind to me, become my *bhakta*, worship me, bow down to me, and you shall come to me. This I promise you as truth: you are beloved of me.

35 His previous commands had been about the Vedic *dharma*, *karma*, *yoga*, and *jñāna*; and having finished those, he gave this instruction. 36 If *bhaktas*

Śloka 21. See 2.25.*śl.*16.
35. His: Kṛṣṇa's instructions in the *BhG*.
36. *Karma* here seems to include the sixty-four devotional acts of *vidhi-bhakti*; this is suggested

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believe, by the power of this instruction, then they abandon all *karma* and worship Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 25. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.20.9:
You shall work until a condition of renunciation arises, or until faith, in listening, etc., to my story, is born in the heart.

37 By the word 'faith,' he means a very profound belief, and if one performs Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*, all *karma* is [automatically] performed.

Śloka 26. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 4.31.14:
As trunk, branches, and twigs are nourished by water poured at the foot of the tree, and as all the senses [are satisfied] by the offering of the the *prāṇa*, so worship to all [the gods] is the worship of Acyuta.

38 One who has faith is the chief of *bhaktas*; the gradations of faith are: highest, middle, and least. 39 He who has profound faith is very learned in the *śāstras*, is the 'highest of adepts'; he is rescued from *saṃsāra*.

Śloka 27. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.17:
He who is learned in the *śāstras* and logic, and who in all ways has profound certainty, who is the adept of the greatest faith, he is called a *bhakta*.

40 He who has profound faith but does not know the injunctions of the *śāstras*, he is greatly fortunate, and is called 'middle adept.'

Śloka 28. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.18:
He who is not skilled in the *śāstras* and the rest, but who has faith, he is called the middle adept.

by *śloka* 25, which specifically mentions *sravaṇa* (listening to the *BhP*) and *kathā* (stories of Kṛṣṇa), which are among the sixty-four. See below vv. 60-73.

Śloka 25. See 2.9.*śl.*23.

37. The reference is to *śloka* 25. Faith is *śraddhā* and "profound belief" is *viśvāsa*. In *bhakti*, when the ultimate condition is reached, all action is proper action.

Śloka 26. Prāṇupohāra: offering of the *prāṇā*.

39. Adhikārī: adept. This is used consistently in the following passage.

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41 He whose faith is immature, he is called 'least'; gradually that *bhakta* will become highest.

Śloka 29. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.19:
He whose faith is tender is called *kaniṣṭha* adept.

42 *Bhaktas* are greater or lesser according to their greater or lesser *rati* and *prema*; in the eleventh *skandha* [of the *Bhāgavata*] the signs of it have been given.

Ślokas 30-32. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.2.45-47:
30 He who sees his own god in all things of the earth, and sees all things as in his own *bhagavān*, he is the greatest of *bhāgavatas*. 31 He who practices love for the lord, friendship for dependents, compassion for children, and indifference to enemies, he is 'the middle one.' 32 He who worships Hari in pictures, with faith, but does not do *pūjā* to other *bhaktas*, he is called the *prākṛta bhakta*.

43 In the bodies of Vaiṣṇavas are all the great qualities; all the qualities of Kṛṣṇa pervade Kṛṣṇa-*bhaktas*.

Śloka 33. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 5.18.12:
Who has absolute *bhakti* toward Kṛṣṇa, the group of gods possessed of all qualities dwell in him. But how [could this be] the virtue of the great person who is devoid of *bhakti* to Hari, who runs outside with a desire for the unreal?

44 All these qualities are the signs of a Vaiṣṇava; to tell them all cannot be done, so I make a survey: 45 compassion, doing no injury or malice, the essence of truth, treating everything equally, freedom from fault, generosity, gentleness, purity, indifference to the world, 46 benefaction to all, peacefulness, having

41. Kaniṣṭha: least.
Śloka 30. See 2.8.*śl.*52; 2.25.*śl.*25.
Śloka 33. See 1.8.*śl.*5.
45. Nirdoṣa: freedom from fault. *Doṣas* can be of a great many kinds, but among them there are eighteen major ones: infatuation, lassitude, error, cruel anger, desire of a kind that will cause unhappiness to others, fickleness, drunkenness, malice, grief because of injury, fatigue, untruth, wrath, expectation, error about the nature of the world, inequality (or seeing things as being unequal), and reliance on others.

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refuge only in Kṛṣṇa, freedom from passion or desire, freedom from longing, being steadfast, having conquered the six passions, 47 eating moderately, abstinence, honoring all things, not having pride in self, gravity, mercy, friendliness, poesy, skill, and silence.

Śloka 34. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.25.21:
Sādhus are forgiving, compassionate, friends of all living things, have no enemies, are peaceful, and ornaments to holy men.

Śloka 35. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 5.5.2:
The service of great ones is called the door of *mokṣa*; association with women is the door to darkness. Those whose minds see sameness, and who are peaceful, devoid of anger, and compassionate, and who do good actions, they are great ones.

48 So the root of the birth of Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti* is association with holy men, and that again is the primary part of the birth of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*.

Śloka 36. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.51.52:
O Acyuta! when the wandering person reaches the end of his suffering in the world, then he goes with true men. When the company of true men is gained, the only way of holy men to the lord of high and low, the proper attitude toward you is born.

Śloka 37. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.2.30:
Thus, O blameless ones! I ask from you [the way] to spiritual prosperity. In this *saṃsāra*, association with holy men even for a half a moment is the effective way for mankind.

Śloka 38. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.25.24:
Such tales, full of the knowledge of my greatness, are heard from the exalted company of holy men, and are potions to my heart and ear. By cultivating such discourse, *śraddhā*, *rati*, and *prema-bhakti* will quickly proceed on the way to highest bliss.

46. "The six" enemies are listed as either desire, anger, greed, infatuation, drunkenness, and malice, or as hunger (desire), thirst, lassitude or exhaustion, illness, grief, and infatuation.
Śloka 36. See 2.22.*śl.*17.
Śloka 38. See 1.1.*śl.*29; 2.23.*śl.*7.

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49 Abandoning the company of untrue people—these are the actions of a Vaiṣṇava. And one who keeps the company of women is unholy and is not a *bhakta* of Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 39. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.31.35:

As from association with women and from association of those who associate with women, man is fruitlessly deluded, which does not arise from association with others.

Ślokas 40-41. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.31.33-34:

40 As from association with whom truth, purity, compassion, silence, wisdom, modesty, beauty, fame, patience, tranquility, self-control, prosperity are destroyed, 41 you should not keep company with unholy people: those who are restless [in desire], foolish, impure, whose self is split up, and those who, like deer, sport with women.

Śloka 42. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin's *Haribhaktivilāsa* 10.224 [quoting *Kātyāyana-saṃhitā*]:

Being in the middle of a cage of flames of fire is preferable to the pain of association with those whose faces are averted from thinking on Śauri.

Śloka 43.

One should nowhere look toward men of tiny virtue, who are devoid of *bhakti* for Bhagavān.

50 Abandoning all this and the *varṇāśrama-dharma*, one should become indifferent to the world and take refuge only in Kṛṣṇa.

49. The line could also read: "These are the actions of a Vaiṣṇava—abandoning the company of untrue people: those who associate with women, with non-holy men, and with non-*bhaktas* of Kṛṣṇa." Viśvanātha, commenting on this, says that this applies to one's own wife as well, and it seems as if he practiced what he preached (see *PHM*, 156). Pronouncements of this sort cause the apologists endless trouble, however, for the question is whether or not all those followers of Caitanya, Śivānanda Sena and others (including Advaita and later Nityānanda), who were householders and obviously had wives, were unholy (*asādhu*). Rādhāgovinda Nātha's comment is perhaps typical: the meaning here is not anyone who has anything to do with women, but those who are particularly attracted and attached to women. The Vaiṣṇava householders could associate with women without being attached to them.

Śloka 42. Also found in Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.111.

Śloka 43. The *śloka* is Kṛṣṇadāsa's own.

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Śloka 44. *Bhagavad Gītā* 18.66:
Abandon all the Laws and instead seek shelter with me alone. Be unconcerned, I shall set you free from all evils.

51 He is affectionate to his *bhaktas*, all-knowing, powerful, and generous; leaving this Kṛṣṇa and worshiping someone else is not wise.

Śloka 45. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.88.26:
What wise man will go for shelter but to you, who are loving to your *bhaktas*, true-spoken, friendly, grateful? You, who neither increase nor decrease, grant to the man of pure heart, the worshiper, all desired things, even yourself.

52 If the wise man knows the qualities of Kṛṣṇa, he abandons all others and worships him; Uddhava is the proof of this.

Śloka 46. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.2.23:
How wonderful, that he whom the evil Vakī desired to kill by causing him to suck at her nipples smeared with poison, obtained the way appropriate to a wet-nurse, should I take refuge in anyone merciful other than him?

53 One sign of him who is free from attachment, who has taken refuge [in Kṛṣṇa], is that the dedication of self has entered within him.

Śloka 47-48. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin's *Haribhaktivilāsa* 11.417-18 [quoting an unidentified Vaiṣṇava *tantra*]:
47 Of desire to serve, by the abandonment of antagonism, by the faith that 'he will protect me' and accepting him as the protector, by the dedication of the self and compassion, these are the six modes of refuge.
48 'I am yours'—by saying this in speech, and by knowing it with the mind, and taking refuge in his place with the body, the man who has taken refuge experiences bliss.

Śloka 44. See 2.8.*śl*.7; 2.9.*śl*.22.
Śloka 46. Vakī: Pūtanā. Way of a wet-nurse: Kṛṣṇa sucked away her life; see *BhP* 10.6.3-18. These are the words of Uddhava.

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54 He who takes refuge and dedicates himself to Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa makes him like himself, in due time.

Śloka 49. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.29.34:
When a mortal leaves all *karma* and dedicates himself to me, then I wish to change him; he gains immortality and is fit to become [like] myself.

55 And now, O Sanātana, hear the characteristics of *sādhana-bhakti*, from which is gained the great wealth of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*.

Śloka 50. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga*, *sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.2:
The name *sādhana* refers to that by which the object to be realized is apprehended and produced. This object is the manifestation in the heart of an eternally pure emotion.

56 The performance of *śravaṇa* and the rest—these are the *svarūpa*-signs of it; the wealth of *prema* is born in the *taṭastha* signs. 57 Kṛṣṇa-*prema* is eternal and is perfect—it is never 'to be attained,' and in the pure mind *śravaṇa* and the rest arise.

58 This *sādhana-bhakti* is of two kinds: one is *vaidhī-bhakti*, and the other is *rāgānugā-bhakti*. 59 People without *rāga* worship according to the injunctions of the *śāstras*; this is called *vaidhī-bhakti*, and all the *śāstras* celebrate it.

54. Like himself: the question is, by definition of the *advaya-jñāna tattva*, Kṛṣṇa's knowing himself as totally without a second, there can be no one or no thing identical with him; what then does "like" mean? According to *śloka* 29, one such similarity is immortality: Viśvanātha comments that such a man becomes a *jīvan-mukta*.

Śloka 49. See 3.4.*śl.*9.

56. For *svarūpa* and *taṭastha-lakṣaṇa*, see 2.20.295-296. That which is internal and essential to something is *svarūpa*; *śravaṇa* and the rest of the types of *vidhi* actually constitute *sādhana-bhakti*, and thus can be termed internal to it. That which can be deduced about the nature of something from its external effects is *taṭastha*; Kṛṣṇa-*prema* is the result of *sādhana-bhakti*, and thus its *taṭastha-lakṣaṇa*.

57. I.e., it is never in process, but is an eternal condition, as a function of *hlādinī-śakti*. This is not to say that the *jīva* can never attain it; the *jīva* is in fact, assuming that it is properly oriented toward Kṛṣṇa in the first place, by its true nature a servant of Kṛṣṇa (ante, v. 17); but its mind is spoiled and muddled by *māyā*, and does not recognize its true condition. When the mind is purified, by association with *sādhus* and the rest, attraction toward Kṛṣṇa increases and the acts of *sādhana-bhakta*, such as *śravaṇa*, are performed naturally.

59. *Rāga*: a longing so passionate and profound that the heart is restless until the longed-for

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Śloka 51. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.1.15:
Therefore, O Bhārata! If *mokṣa* is desired, Bhagavān Hari, the soul of all, Iśvara, should be praised and celebrated and meditated on.

Śloka 52-53. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.5.2-3:
52 By means of the *guṇas*, each of the four *varṇas*, twice-born and the rest, are born respectively from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet of the *puruṣa*, together with the *āśramas*. 53 Those among them who do not worship the Īśvara-*puruṣa* as their own fathers, and despise him, are hurled from their own places and fall below.

Śloka 54. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.8 [quoting *Padmottara Purāṇa* 72.100]:
Viṣṇu is always to be remembered, and should never be forgotten. All the injunctions and prohibitions of the *śāstras* are servants of these two.

60 *Sādhana-bhakti* is of various parts, and is widely diffused; let me speak briefly of some of the essential parts of *sādhana*. 61 Having refuge at the feet of the *guru*, [taking the] *dīkṣā mantra*, serving the *guru*, conversation and learn-

object can be attained. Rādhāgovinda Nātha, sharing Kṛṣṇadāsa's fondness for food, makes the distinction by the following charming analogy: *rāgānuga-bhakti* is like the cooking of a wife or mother: she is not satisfied unless the son or husband is made happy, and she feeds and serves him out of pure love. The hired cook might be as skilled, but he cooks and serves because that is what he has been hired to do; he also seeks to satisfy his employer, but because if he does not do so he will be fired.

Śloka 52. See 2.22.*śl*.8; 2.24.*śl*.48.

Śloka 53. See 2.22.*śl*.9.

60-73. The sixty-four kinds of *sādhana-bhakti* are enumerated. At this point the distinction between *vaidhī* and *rāgānuga* is two-fold and mildly confusing. In one sense *rāgānuga* follows upon *vaidhī* (*VFM*, 130): by following these sixty-four enjoined acts, one attains a spontaneous state of *rāgānuga* (see below, v. 85), in which one realizes one's proper and true relationship to Kṛṣṇa. From this point of view, the injunctions are no longer necessary. But this does not necessarily mean that one dispenses at this point with these acts; theoretically, of course, one could do so. But in fact it is the motivation which has changed; one continues these ritual performances, but now not because the *śāstras* say to do so, but out of love and devotion. The acts themselves are natural to one's changed condition. It should be pointed out that the first twenty of these are considered the doorway to *bhakti*, ten prescriptions and ten proscriptions. If these are not accepted and completely absorbed, no further progress can be made.

61. *BhP* 11.20.17: it is the *guru* who takes one to the other shore of *saṃsāra*, where Bhagavān can be gained. The Vaiṣṇavas are very particular about the *guru*, and several things might be noted. First, he must be a Vaiṣṇava (*HBhV* 4.144); he must himself have tasted *rasa*, or how can he direct

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ing about true *dharma*, and following along the way of *sādhus*, 62 abandonment of enjoyment in love for Kṛṣṇa, dwelling at the pilgrimage places of Kṛṣṇa, acceptance only of what is necessary for living, fasting on the Ekādaśi, 63 the worship of *dhātri* and *aśvattha* [trees], cows, *brāhmaṇas*, and Vaiṣṇavas, and renunciation and keeping at a distance the offences to *nāma* and *sevā*. 64 One should not take too many pupils, and should avoid association with non-

others to do so? Secondly, one should examine the *sampradāya* the prospective *guru* belongs to. The tradition must be appropriate to the Gauḍīyā order. Thirdly, one should see that the *sampradāya*, and the individual characteristics of the *guru*, are appropriate: the *bhāva* of the *guru* must be that of oneself, i.e., if one wants to worship in the *vātsalya-bhāva*, the *guru* should be of that *bhāva* as well. Fourthly, the *guru* should be learned in the *śāstras* (including the *tantras* and *āgamas*), and be clever in the interpretation of them. Fifthly, he must have the signs of a great devotee; and one's mind and heart must be immediately attracted to him. And finally, if anyone does mistakenly take as a *guru* a non-Vaiṣṇava, immediately upon discovering this he should go and take *dīkṣā* from a Vaiṣṇava. The *dīkṣā-mantra* is the individual ritual formula given by the *guru* to his disciple; it infuses the power of the *guru* into the disciple, and the disciple repeats and meditates on his *mantra*; one must take *dīkṣā* before proceeding further.

Serving the *guru* is of two kinds: first, when the *guru* is present, doing *pūjā* to him with flowers, sandalwood, etc., and doing all services for him with love. And secondly, when he is not present, thinking about him and offering flowers, etc., before his picture. One should not feed the *guru* anything but *prasāda*; one should not think of the *guru* as an ordinary man, but as a servant of Kṛṣṇa or Caitanya, already in a state of grace. "True *dharma*" can either be the *dharma* of truth, or true men, *sādhus*, or it can be the *dharma* of him who is true, Kṛṣṇa. "The way of *sādhus*" can also be either literal or figurative.

62. "Fasting": on the Ekādaśi (the eleventh day of either fortnight) is absolutely enjoined for all Vaiṣṇavas of all castes and both sexes. It is said that on that day *pāpa* enters into all food. Rādhāgovinda Nātha: *upavāsa* means not only fasting, but living (*vāsa*) near (*upa*) the deity.

63. Dhātri is the myrobalan tree; *aśvattha* is the peepul tree. There are thirty-two types of *sevā-aparādha* ("offences to service") usually listed, and they are: riding in a cart, getting into a palanquin or going to the temple in leather or wooden sandals, not observing the feast days, not making *pranāma* (obeisance) in the presence of the image, making obeisance when in an impure condition, making *pranāma* with one hand, improper circumambulation of the image (one should keep the image to the right), stretching out one's feet before the image, squatting before it, telling lies before it, speaking in a loud voice before it, having conversation with someone else before it, weeping before it, quarreling before it, kindness to anyone, or cruelty to anyone, before it, abuse of another before it, praise of another before it, speaking crudely or erotically before it, breaking wind in its presence, not supplying the best materials available for worship, eating unknown foods, not offering the deity fruits and vegetables as soon as harvested, giving to someone other than the deity the best part of an offering, sitting behind the image's back, salutation or obeisance to another man before the image, remaining silent if the *guru* asks a question, praising one's self, and abuse of the deity. The *Varāha Purāṇa* adds a few more proscriptions: eating rich foods, touching the image in a dark house, going near the image in violation of rules, accepting food contaminated by dogs, breaking silence after having sat for *pūjā*, or getting up to defecate after sitting for *pūjā*, offering *pūjā* with wilted flowers, burning of incense before having offered perfume and garlands, not cleaning the teeth, not cleaning the self after sexual intercourse, touching a menstruating woman, touching

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Vaiṣṇavas, and should renounce commentary and concern with art and with many books; 65 [one should] consider loss and gain as the same, and not being conquered by grief and such; nor should one condemn other *śāstras* and other gods. 66 One should not listen to reviling of Viṣṇu or of Vaiṣṇavas, nor to idle gossip, nor give anxiety in mind or word to any living thing. 67 Listening, praise, remembering, worship, obeisance, service, servanthood, friendship, and self-dedication, 68 singing and dancing before [the image], *vijñapti*, and prostration before it, elevation of the image, following the image, and going to pilgrimage places, 69 circumambulation, the recitation of praises, *japa*, and *saṃkīrtana*, [worship with] incense and perfume and garlands, and the eating of *mahāprasāda*, 70 [observing] the *ārati*, the great festivals, and having *darśana* of the holy image, the giving of that which is dear to one, meditation, and service of that which is his. 71 'That which is his' is *tulasī*, Vaiṣṇavas, Mathurā, and the *Bhāgavata*: service of these four is desired by Kṛṣṇa. 72 And dedication of all efforts to Kṛṣṇa, the witnessing of his grace, and [celebration] with the *bhaktas* of his birthday and other great festivals; 73 in all things taking refuge [in him], and the observation of the Kārttika and other *vratas*. These sixty-four parts are the highest greatness. 74 Association with *sādhus*, *nāma-kīrtana*,

the lamp, touching a corpse, wearing blood-stained or unclean clothes, looking at a dead man, breaking wind, being angry, going to the burning ground, taking *gāñjā*, eating opium, and massaging with oil. There are various others listed in various texts.

There are ten main types of *nāma-aparādha* ("offences to the name"): abuse or vilification of holy men, considering the name, *rūpa*, and *līlā* of Śiva as separate from those of Viṣṇu, scorn or disrespect for the *guru*, condemnation of the Vedic and other *śāstras*, considering the power of the name as imaginary, the use of the name for wrong-doing or in sinful situations, to consider the results of *dharma*, sacrifice, renunciation, etc., as equal to those of the use of the name, carelessness in taking the name or listening to it, not giving primacy of thought to the greatness of the name, especially while listening to it, and giving instruction to one who is not attentive, inclined properly, or faithless. See *HBhV* 11.282-286.

67. Dāsya: service: fanning the image, preparing his bed, cleansing the temple, gathering flowers and *tulasī*, etc.

68. Vijñapti: expressions of the relationship of the self to the deity. These are of three kinds: expression of love, expressions of humility, and expressions of longing and desire for the happiness of the god.

69. Japa: uttering the *mantra* or the name of the deity, though under the breath so that no one else can hear.

72. Tatkṛpāvalokana: witnessing; seeing the grace and mercy of Kṛṣṇa in all things.

73. Kārttika is a special month for Vaiṣṇavas, and during this month various kinds of *vratas* or vows and worship are undertaken; Rādhāgovinda Nātha comments that *bhakti*, which is hard to gain, is gained easily if one serves Kṛṣṇa at Mathurā only once during this time. Actually, to this point only fifty-eight types of *sādhana* have been mentioned. Rūpa's *BhRS* [*pūrva-vibhāga*, *sādhanabhakti-laharī*] lists the other six (the list starts with 1.2.72): putting the signs of the Vaiṣṇava

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listening to the *Bhāgavata*, dwelling at Mathurā, and the service, in faith, of the sacred image— 75 these five are the best of all the *sādhanas*. And in the merest association with these five, Kṛṣṇa-*prema* is born.

Ślokas 55-56. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.90-92:

55 Love in the service of the feet of the holy image, with special faith, delighting with *rasikas* in the content and name of the *Bhāgavata*, 56 association with a *sādhu*, whose type of loving nature is better than one's own, praising of the name, living in the area of Mathurā.

Śloka 57. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.238:

These five are hard to know and of wondrous power; let there be faith in the five, for even the slightest relationship with them leads to the rise of *bhāva* in the hearts of the good.

76 Some follow one *aṅga*, and some follow many *aṅgas*; and if they are firm, the wave of *prema* rises up. 77 Many *bhaktas* gain perfection through one *aṅga*.

Śloka 58. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.265 [quoting Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 53]:

Parīkṣit, by listening about Viṣṇu, Vayāsaki by *kīrtana*, Prahlāda by remembering, Lakṣmī by serving his feet, Pṛthu by *pūjā*, Akrūra by obeisance, Kapipati by being a servant, Arjuna by friendship, and Vali by the total dedication of self, were fulfilled; all of them gained Kṛṣṇa in the highest way.

on the body (i.e., the *tulasī*-garland, *tilakas* on the twelve parts of the body, as previously mentioned), writing the letters of the name of Hari on the body, drinking the nectar of the feet (i.e., the water used to wash the feet of the image), touching the image, acceptance of the garlands worn by the deity, and association with holy men who are of like heart and mind (the latter being emphasized above in vv. 31-54).

Śloka 57. See 2.24.*śl.*71.

76. These sixty-four acts (lit. limb, *aṅga*) are called the *cātuḥṣaṣṭi-aṅga*; according to one's taste and inclination, one can put more emphasis on one or on several than on the others; but the last five are the most efficacious.

77. Occasionally Kṛṣṇadāsa, when he is about to demonstrate a point by a *śloka*, gives a Bengali singlet as introduction, as here.

Śloka 58. Vayāsaki: Śukadeva; Kapipati: Hanumān. The stanza is unattributed in Rūpa's text.

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78 Amvarīṣa and others were *bhaktas* who followed several branches.

Ślokas 59-61. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 9.4.18-20:

59 He employed his mind on the lotus feet of Kṛṣṇa, his speech in descriptions of the qualities of Vaikuṇṭha, his hands in the cleansing etc., of the temple of Hari, his ears in purifying words about Acyuta, 60 his eyes in the sight of the place and the image of Mukunda, his own limbs touching the bodies of [Kṛṣṇa's] servants, his nose in the fragrance of the touch of his lotus feet, his tongue with that which had been offered to [Kṛṣṇa] with the *tulasī*, 61 his feet on following the path of Hari, his head with obeisance to the feet of Hṛṣīkeśa, and his desires—not desires for worldly things—in servitude, and from it came love for him of highest fame.

79 He abandoned *kāma* and worshiped Kṛṣṇa, honoring the instructions of the *śāstras*. If this is done there is never any debt to the *devas*, or the *ṛṣis*, or to ancestors, etc.

Śloka 62. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.5.41:

O king! He who abandons the performance of duties and in all things makes Mukunda his refuge has no debt to *devas*, *ṛṣis*, *bhūtas*, men and ancestors, and is no servant.

80 He who abandons the *dharma* of injunctions and worships the feet of Kṛṣṇa, there is never in his mind wrong or forbidden actions. 81 If, because of ignorance, an evil deed occurs, Kṛṣṇa makes him pure, and he does not do penance.

79. Kāma: here not only sexual passion, but all desire for the satisfaction of the self, including desire for the happiness of heaven. The following *śloka* lists the five kinds of debts that man has. Rādhāgovinda Nātha: man is indebted to the *devas* for rain and other life-giving forces of nature; to the *ṛṣis* for preservation of the status in which rain, etc., continues to fall and for the *śāstras*; to ancestors for life itself; to the elements, for the earth and for animals which give food such as milk and crops; and to fellow men for the society which makes it possible to live.

80. Rādhāgovinda Nātha interprets this as *varṇa*, *āśrama*, *dharma*, etc., but it is also possible to read it as meaning the sixty-four acts, i.e., that in the condition of *rāgānuga* one has gone beyond the necessity of any ritual for that is a condition of spontaneous passionate love (see below v. 85); when one is in that state, he has truth within him, and nothing he does can be wrong, for the society and its restrictions are no longer relevant.

81. "Because of ignorance" is stressed by the use of the emphatic particle /-o/; ignorance is obviously not in the metaphysical sense, for the worshiper is at this point in a pure condition, but

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Śloka 63. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.5.42:

If a bad action is done by a beloved one, who has abandoned his passion for others, who is a worshiper of his own lotus feet, the supreme lord Hari enters his heart and destroys it all.

82 Knowledge and renunciation are never parts of *bhakti*.

Śloka 64. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.20.31:

Thus, for the *yogin* who has me as his soul, and is absorbed in *bhakti* for me, neither knowledge nor renunciation are generally beneficial.

83 Self-control and regulation accompany the Kṛṣṇa-*bhakta*.

Śloka 65. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga*, *sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.262 [quoting *Skānda Purāṇa*]:

O hunter! All your qualities, *ahiṃsa* and the rest, are not to be wondered at; he who is occupied with Hari-*bhakti* is not violent toward others.

84 So this is the description of *vidhi-bhakti sādhana*; now hear, O Sanātana, the signs of *rāgānugā-bhakti*.

in the sense of no longer recognizing the restrictions of society and custom. Presumably such deeds might include touching an untouchable, etc., for which under ordinary circumstances purificatory rites would be necessary; but the worshiper is not conscious of such necessities, which are only external.

Śloka 63. All: all the effects of bad action.

82. Jñāna: knowledge, here means the *jñāna-mārga*, by which the identity of *jīva* and Bhagavān is held and reached, not knowledge of the nature of the self or the relationship of the self to Bhagavān. *Vairāgya*: renunciation, which is also of two kinds. There is nothing antithetical to *bhakti* in renunciation of pleasure in order to give pleasure to Kṛṣṇa; but it is inappropriate for a *bhakta* to renounce the world and become an ascetic in order to accomplish his own selfish ends; it is the second kind that is spoken of here.

83. I.e., these two initial steps of virtually all forms of *yoga* are secondary to *bhakti*, and by themselves not efficacious; another interpretation might be that they come naturally when the state of *bhakti* is attained. Self control (*yama*) is defined by the *Manava-dharmaśāstra* as being of five kinds: non-injury, truth in speech, moderation, non-pride, and non-vanity. Other texts include such as forgiveness, gentleness, meditation, and purity. Regulation (*niyama*), according for instance to the *Vedāntasāra*, include such as cleanliness, satisfaction, religious power, study, and profound meditation on the deity.

Śloka 65. See 2.24.*śl.*83.

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85 *Rāgātmikā-bhakti* was primary among those who dwelt in Vraja, and because of that the name *rāgānugā-bhakti* comes.

Śloka 66. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.272:
Deepest absorption, spontaneously, in the desired object is *rāga*; and the *bhakti* which is full of that is here called *rāgātmikā*.

86 Deep longing for the desired object is *rāga*—this is its *svarūpa*-sign. Absorption in the desired object—this is its *taṭastha* sign. 87 The name of *bhakti* filled with *rāga* is *rāgātmikā*; hearing that, certain fortunate people become greedy [for it]. 88 And in their greed they follow in the *bhāva* of the dwellers of Vraja; they do not honor the injunctions of the *śāstras*, for their nature is that of *rāgānugā*.

Śloka 67. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.270:
That *rāgātmikā bhakti* which is followed, the one displayed clearly among those who dwelt in Vraja, etc., that is called *rāgānugā*.

Śloka 68. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.292:
If the sweetness of the various *bhāvas* is heard, the wise man does not depend on the *śāstras* and logic; this is the sign of the arising of longing.

89 This *sādhana* has two parts: external and internal. External is the performance of *śravaṇa* and *kīrtana* with the body of the *sādhaka*. 90 In their minds, [these *sādhakas*] mentally construct their own perfected bodies, and day and night they serve Kṛṣṇa in Vraja.

85. Rāgātmikā: the *bhakti* of which the essence or soul (*ātmā*) is intense passion and longing (*rāga*). This was characteristic especially of the *gopīs*, who literally and figuratively embodied passionate for Kṛṣṇa, but all of the Vraja-dwellers were in some intense emotional relationship to him. *Rāgānuga*: lit., a following after of passion, in a manner of passion, the transformative process that leads to a condition of *rāgātmikā*.

86. See commentary above on v. 56.

90. Here the internal *sādhana* is described. [This advanced *sādhana* takes different forms, but that practiced by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja and other *bhaktas* of Vraja is called *mañjarī-sādhana*, wherein the devotee assumes or discovers a female identity appropriate to his *bhāva*, and which allows him to serve Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa directly in their love play. See also 1.6.69-73 and 2.8.165-66, 169. TKS] *Siddha-deha*: perfected body.

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Śloka 69. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.295:

Those *sādhaka*s who are greedy for the *bhāva* of them, by the body and by the perfected body, necessarily serve him and [his] companions in Vrajaloka.

91 Following after one who is beloved of Kṛṣṇa, [in the *bhāva* which] is longed for by the self, in their inner minds they serve him eternally.

Śloka 70. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.294:

He, remembering Kṛṣṇa, his beloved people and that which is most beloved of him, and devoted to the stories of those various things, Lshould always dwell in Vraja.

92 The servants, friends, fathers, etc. and lovers—all these *bhāva*s are counted in *rāga-mārga*.

Śloka 71. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.25.38:

I am of those who are attached to me, beloved, soul, son, friend, *guru*, intimate, *iṣṭa-deva*; and in *śānta-rūpa* they are never without that which is to be enjoyed, nor are they destroyed by my wheel of time.

Śloka 72. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.308 [quoting *Nārāyaṇa-vyūha-stava*]:

Those who zealously meditate on Hari, with constant attention, and consider him husband, son, intimate friend, brother, and father, or like a friend, I bow to them.

93 In this way are those who have *rāgānugā-bhakti*, and their love arises toward the feet of Kṛṣṇa. 94 The sprout of love is *rati* and *bhāva*, these are the two names of it. And from it Śrī Bhagavān is controlled. 95 That from which the

91. One takes on a *bhāva* appropriate to one's own taste, personality, and inclination; this *bhāva* is also that of one of the people of Vraja. This transformation is inward and eternal; and through this one eventually joins Kṛṣṇa in heavenly Vṛndāvana, i.e., one attains salvation.

Śloka 71. Iṣṭa-deva: that aspect of a deity appropriate to each particular devotee; *śānta-rūpa:* in Vaikuṇṭha, where the divine majesty is primary, and experience is that of peace.

94. Vaśa: control; see 1.4.216; 1.7.138; 1.17.71, *śl.*5; and 2.23.26.

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loving service of Kṛṣṇa is gained has been described as *abhidheya*. 96 Those who hear this *abhidheya* of the *sādhana-bhakti* quickly gain the wealth of the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa."

97 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

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Madhya Līlā
Chapter 23

Śloka 1.

I take refuge in that light-colored Kṛṣṇa, of greatest generosity, who has distributed to all people, even the lowliest, the nectar of the name and his own *prema*, wealth hidden by himself and undistributed for a long time.

1 Glory, glory to Gauracandra, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 [Caitanya continues] "Now hear the fruits of *bhakti*, *prema* the *prayojana*; who hears it gains knowledge of *bhakti-rasa*. 3 When *rati* to Kṛṣṇa is deep, it is called *prema*; this is the name of the *sthāyi-bhāva* of Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti-rasa*.

Śloka 2. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga*, *bhāvabhakti-laharī*] 1.3.1:

The essence of the characteristics of purity and truth is like the rays of the sun of [the form of] *prema*, and by means of its rays it accomplishes the coolness of the mind—this is called *bhāva*.

4 These two are the *svarūpa* and the *taṭastha* signs of *bhāva*; now hear, O Sanātana, the signs of *prema*.

Śloka 3-4. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga*, *premabhakti-laharī*] 1.4.1-2:

3 That *bhāva* by which one's nature is completely softened, marked by an excess of possessiveness, and soaking the soul, the wise call *prema*.

2. Vv. 2-52 are devoted to a discussion of the *prayojana*, which is *prema*.

3. When *sādhana-bhakti* is firm in the *rāga-mārga*, love for Kṛṣṇa is born; that is *rati*, the sprout from which grows full *prema* for Kṛṣṇa. For *sthāyi-bhāva*, see 2.19.154-155 commentary.

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4 [quoting *Nārada-pañcarātra*]: Bhīṣma, Prahlāda, Uddhava, and Nārada call *bhakti* a possessiveness, an incomparable possessiveness, *prema*, and attachment to Viṣṇu.

5 If by some fortune some *jīvas* have faith, then those *jīvas* associate with holy men. 6 From association with holy men listening and praising arises, and in *sādhana-bhakti* all evil is eradicated. 7 From the eradication of evil is firmness in *bhakti*, and from firmness, the appetite for listening and the rest is born. 8 And from these appetites comes deep attachment to *bhakti*, and from this attachment the sprout of love for Kṛṣṇa is born in the mind. 9 When that *bhāva* is deep, it has the name *prema*; that *prema* is the *prayojana*, the place of all bliss.

Ślokas 5-6. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, premabhakti-laharī*] 1.4.15-16:

5 First there is faith, and after that association with holy men, and then the performance of worship, and as a result of that the sloughing off of evil things, and when that happens *niṣṭhā* comes about, 6 and then appetite, and then attachment, and then *bhāva*, and then *prema* arises. This is the order in which *prema* gradually appears in the *sādhakas*.

Śloka 7. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.25.24:

Such tales, full of the knowledge of my greatness, are heard from the exalted company of holy men, and are potions to my heart and ear. By cultivating such discourse, *śraddhā*, *rati*, and *prema-bhakti* will quickly proceed on the way to highest bliss.

10 In whose heart this sprout of *bhāva* appears, these are the signs of him, so all the *śāstras* say:

4. The reference is to *śloka* 2. "Purity and truth" are the *svarūpa-lakṣaṇa*, and the accomplishing of the coolness and satisfaction of the mind is the *taṭastha-lakṣaṇa*. ["Signs of *prema*" should be read generally, for vv. 5-20 explain the technical signs of *rati*, while vv. 20-44 tell those of *prema*. TKS]

Śloka 4. Also in Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin's *HBhV* 11.382.

7. *Niṣṭhā*: firmness, the point at which *bhakti* has taken firm hold.

Śloka 7. See 1.1.*śl*.29; 2.22.*śl*.38.

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Ślokas 8-9. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, bhāvabhakti-laharī*] 1.3.25-26:

8 Tranquility, effective use of time, asceticism, humility, hope, eagerness, zeal in singing of the name, attachment, 9 love for the description of the qualities of him, love for his dwelling places, and the rest: all these *anubhāvas* are born in one who has the sprout of *bhāva*.

11 He, who has in his mind these nine sprouts of love, has no grief in disappointments in material things.

Śloka 10. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.19.15:

O *brāhmaṇas*! You and the goddess Gaṅgā must promise to visit me, who has taken refuge in and whose mind is firmly fixed on Īśa; may the trickery sent by the twice-born come, and let Takṣaka bite me, only sing me the songs of Viṣṇu.

12 Except for relationship to Kṛṣṇa, time does not pass.

Śloka 11. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, bhāvabhakti-laharī*] 1.3.29 [quoting *Haribhaktisudodhaya* 12.37]:

Praising with constant speech, remembering with the mind, making obeisance with the body, and even then not satisfied, true *bhaktas*, weeping, present the whole span of their lives to Hari alone.

13 He does not like enjoyment, supernatural power, and the objects of the senses.

Śloka 12. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 5.14.43:

He, exalted, ardent for the illustrious one, even while a youth, abandoned like dirt his friends and kingdom, and his wife and son, which are dear to his heart and hard to leave.

14 The best among men considers himself as lowly.

Śloka 9. These are "subsidiary *bhāvas*," the ensuants which follow and strengthen the mood (De, *Sanskrit Poetics* 2.274).

Śloka 10. Takṣaka was one of the eight main *nāgas*, the brother of Vasuki king of the *nāgas*. "Trickery" is *kuhaka*.

12. The reference is to "effective use of time" in *ślokas* 8 and 9 above; the only proper use of time is in worship and service to Kṛṣṇa.

13. The *bhakta* is the subject of the sentence. *Bhukti*: enjoyment; *siddhi*: supernatural power.

Śloka 12. See 3.6.*śl*.2.

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Śloka 13. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, bhāvabhakti-laharī*] 1.3.33 [quoting *Padma Purāṇa*]:

This one, who was the crest jewel of kings, carried away with *rati* for Hari, went to beg in the cities of his enemies, and bowed down to Śvapākas.

15 He knows profoundly that Kṛṣṇa will have mercy.

Śloka 14. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, bhāvabhakti-laharī*] 1.3.35 [quoting a *pada* of Sanātana]:

No *prema*, or *śravaṇa-bhakti* or the rest, or attachment to Vaiṣṇavas, or knowledge, or any good *karma*, or even high birth [have I]; still, O lover of the *gopīs*, my hope in you, who fulfills the needy, gives me pain, its root being uncuttable.

16 '*Samutkaṇṭhā*' has as its chief characteristic constant yearning.

Śloka 15. Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala's *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* 1.32:

If you would know that your childhood is most wonderful in all the three worlds, then you would know my weakness, as I know it, and would tell me how I can see with these two eyes your beautiful lotus-face graced with the playing of the flute.

17 He always has a desire to sing the name, and he takes the name of Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 16. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, bhāvabhakti-laharī*] 1.3.38:

O Govinda, the girl, whose voice is sweet, and whose lotus eyes flow with the honey of tear drops, today sings all your names.

18 He is always attached to the expounding of the qualities of Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 13. The reference is to the story of the great *mahārāja* Bhārata, as told in *BhP* 5.

Śloka 14. Mukundadāsa, in his commentary on this verse, suggests that the mentions of *yoga, jñāna*, and *karma* signify extreme humility: I do not have even these, to say nothing of the *aṅgas* of *bhakti*.

16. Samutkaṇṭhā: anxiety; the reference is again to *ślokas* 8 and 9 above.

Śloka 15. See 2.2.*śl.*9.

17. This is a comment on *ruci*, "appetite" or "eagerness," in *ślokas* 8 and 9 above.

Śloka 16. "The girl" (*bālā*) refers to Rādhā; the verse is spoken by a *sakhi*.

18. This is a comment on *āsakti*, "attachment" or "love," in *ślokas* 8 and 9.

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Śloka 17. Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala's *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* 1.92:
The body of the lord is the sweet of the sweet; his face is the sweet of the sweet of the sweet, and his gentle honey-fragrant smile is the sweet of the sweet of the sweet of the sweet.

19 He always dwells in the place of Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*.

Śloka 18. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.156:
O lotus-eyed one, when shall I dance on the bank of the Yamunā, singing your names in praise, with tears trickling down?

20 Thus have the signs of Kṛṣṇa-*rati* been described; now hear, O Sanātana, the signs of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*. 21 In whose mind Kṛṣṇa-*prema* arises, his speech and actions and gestures are not understood by the uninitiated.

Śloka 19. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, premabhakti-laharī*] 1.4.17:
In whose mind this new *prema* arises, this fortunate man's gestures even wise men will find difficult fully to understand.

Śloka 20. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.2.40:
The man, thus aroused, his affection inspired by his own *nāma-saṃkīrtana*, with spinning thoughts, like a madman, transported beyond the world of men, sometimes laughs out loud, sometimes weeps, sometimes cries out, and sometimes sings and dances.

22 *Prema* grows gradually: *sneha*, *māna*, *praṇaya*, *rāga*, *anurāga*, *bhāva*, and *mahābhāva*. 23 Seed, cane, juice, *guḍa*, then *khaṇḍa* and *sāra*, *śarkarā*, *sitā*, *miśrī*, and *śuddha-miśrī*: 24 as it is gradually purified, the flavor gradually increases; and just so the flavor increases through *rati*, *prema*, and the rest. 25 *Rati* has

Śloka 17. See 2.21.*śl.*22.
19. This is a comment on *tadvasatisthale*, "love for his dwelling places," in *ślokas* 8 and 9.
Śloka 19. See 3.19.*śl.*7.
Śloka 20. See 1.7.*śl.*4; 2.9.*śl.*20; 2.25.*śl.*34; 3.3.*śl.*9.
22. See 2.19.152.
23. The analogy to the growth of *prema* is that seed of sugarcane to increasingly refined sweets.

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five main divisions: *śānta*, *dāsya*, *sakhya*, *vātsalya*, and *madhura-rati*. 26 These five *sthāyi-bhāvas* become the five *rasas*; and by the *rasa* which is pleasing to the *bhakta*, Kṛṣṇa is controlled. 27 *Prema* and the other *sthāyi-bhāvas*, all mixed together, finally gain the *svarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti-rasa*. 28 *Vibhāva*, *anubhāva*, *sāttvika*, and *vyabhicārī*—when these four are mixed, the *sthāyibhāva* becomes '*rasa*.' 29 As when curd is mixed with sugar, black pepper, and camphor, the *rasa* which results is '*rasālā*,' wonderful to taste. 30 There are two kinds of *vibhāva*: *ālambana* and *uddīpana*. The tune of the flute, etc., these are *uddīpanas*. And Kṛṣṇa etc., are *ālambanas*. 31 *Anubhāvas* are smile, dance, song, etc., clearly manifested; and stupor, etc., are *sāttvikas*, and are within *anubhāvas*. 32 *Vyabhicārīs* are thirty-three: indifference, delight, etc. All of these mixed together make most wonderful *rasa*. 33 *Rasa* is of five kinds—*śānta*, *dāsya*, *sakhya*, *vātsalya*, and *madhura*, called *śṛṅgāra*, which is the most powerful of all. 34 In *śānta-rasa*, *śānta-rati* develops up to *prema*. *Dāsya-rati* gradually grows up to *rāga*. 35 *Sakhya* and *vātsalya* gain the limit of *anurāga*. The greatness of the *prema* of Subalā and the others is up to *bhāva*. 36 There are two divisions of *śānta* and the other *rasas*—*yoga* and *viyoga*. In *sakhya* and *vātsalya* there are many divisions of *yoga*,

26. For "control" (*vaśa*) see text and commentary to 1.4.216; 1.7.138; and 1.17.71, *śl.5*.

27. All mixed together: the *sthāyi-bhāvas*, increased and enhanced by the *anubhāvas* and the rest, gradually build up to the condition of *bhakti-rasa*.

28. See 2.19.154.

30. Tune of the flute, etc.: all those things which remind one of Kṛṣṇa: smiles, the flute and its sound, the *nūpura* (anklets), the conch, footprints, *tulasī*, etc. The *ālambanas* are Kṛṣṇa and the Kṛṣṇa-*bhakta*.

31. When realization of relationship with Kṛṣṇa is born in the mind, that condition is called *sattva* or *sāttvika-bhāva*. And when a *bhāva* or condition thus arises, it manifests itself in the external body in certain ways: delight is manifested by a smile, for example, and these are called *anubhāvas*. See also text and commentary to 1.7.86-93; 1.17.5; 2.8.135; 2.18.151-74.

32. See 2.19.155; 2.8.135.

34-35. Comparing these verses with v. 22, it seems as if *prema*, the first stage in development, is as far as one can go in the *śānta-bhāva*, but that with the proper stimuli, *prema* can be encouraged to grow through *sneha*, *māna*, and *praṇaya*, up to *rāga*, which is within the purview of *dāsya*. The statement about Subalā means that ordinarily *sakhya* extends up to *anurāga*, but in this instance it extends up to *bhāva*.

36. *Yoga*: union (though not identity) with, or being in the presence of, Kṛṣṇa; *viyoga*: being separated from Kṛṣṇa, after having been with him. In *sakhya* and *vātsalya*, *yoga* is of three kinds, and *viyoga* is of ten kinds. Rūpa's *BhRS* [*paścima-vibhāga*, *prītabhaktirasa-laharī*] 3.2.129-36. The division of *yoga* are perfected (*siddhi*), satisfaction (*tuṣṭi*), and permanent (*sthiti*); divisions of *viyoga* are dejection, emaciation, insomnia, helplessness, unstableness, inertia, illness, madness, fainting, and death.

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etc. 37 And only in *madhura* there are *rūḍha* and *adhirūḍha bhāvas*; *rūḍha* was of the *mahiṣīs*, while *adhirūḍha* appeared among the *gopikās*. 38 *Adhirūḍha mahābhāva* is of two kinds, and their names are '*mādana*' in enjoyment, and '*mohana*' in the pain of separation. 39 Of *mādana* there are infinite varieties—kissing, etc., and there are two kinds of *mohana*—*udghūrṇā* and *citrajalpa*. 40 *Citrajalpa* has ten parts, and their names are *prajalpa*, etc. The proof of them is in the ten *ślokas* of the *Bhramara Gītā*. 41 *Udghūrṇā* is when all efforts are paralyzed, and is called 'divine madness'; it is when in *viraha* Kṛṣṇa appears, or when

37. Only *madhura* extends to *mahābhāva*, which has these two *bhāvas*. *Madhurā-rati* is of three kinds, called *sādhāraṇī*, *samañjasā*, and *samarthā*. The first kind is exemplified by Kubjā, and is somewhat selfish: Kubjā wanted Kṛṣṇa to satisfy her own desire. Even though selfish, this can be called a *rati* because Kṛṣṇa is pleased that he is loved enough to inspire such an attitude; it is however the least of the three. *Samañjasā*, that which is "proper" is the attitude of Kṛṣṇa's queens, Rukmiṇī and the rest, in which there is some element of pride, in that they are proud to be his wives. As we have seen before, however, this is a state characterized by viewing Kṛṣṇa as a mighty lord, and is therefore less than the pure love shown by the *gopīs*. That pure love of the *gopīs* is called *samarthā*, in which there is desire only for the happiness and satisfaction of Kṛṣṇa. The love of the *mahiṣīs* is called "deep," *rūḍha*, and that of the *gopīs* is called "most profound," *adhirūḍha*. See also 2.6.12 and commentary.

38. *Mādana*: intoxication; the "enjoyment" condition is called *sambhoga*; *mohana* can be something like "stupefacation," and its condition is *viraha*.

39. Rādhāgovinda Nātha, with reference to the following two couplets, breaks it down this way: "divine madness" (*divyonmāda*) is one of the states of *mohana*: running madly this way and that in order to regain the lost loved one. This condition has many states, among them being the two primary divisions *udghūrṇā* and *citrajalpa*. *Udghūrṇā*, "whirling," suggests the many helpless things the *gopīs* do in separation from Kṛṣṇa, to recreate their lost love: preparing the bower in the grove for the tryst, ornamenting themselves, as if Kṛṣṇa were coming, and so on. *Citrajalpa* suggests the passionate and fruitless raving that overcomes the *gopīs* on meeting a representative of the separated Kṛṣṇa: their response to Uddhava when he comes from Mathurā, makes them realize even more that Kṛṣṇa is far away.

40. These ten subdivisions are given in Rūpa's *UNM* [*sthāyibhāva-prakaraṇa*] 14.199-217. They are: *prajalpa*, a spiteful and malicious attack on the representative of the loved one; *parijalpa*, demonstrating one's own cleverness in enumerating the faults of fickleness and cruelty of the loved one; *vijalpa*, sarcasm, or outwardly manifesting scorn as a demonstration of an inner unbearable longing; *ujjalpa*, malicious praise; *saṃjalpa*, criticism of the ingratitude of Kṛṣṇa by irony; *avajalpa*, outlining maliciously attraction to Kṛṣṇa because of his cruelty and selfishness; *abhijalpa*, comparing the self unfavorably with other people and animals in Kṛṣṇa life, i.e., he released birds from the trap, but will not release the *gopīs*; *ājalpa*, describing his giving of happiness to others; *pratijalpa*, describing how the wives of Kṛṣṇa are always with him; and *sujalpa*, asking news of Kṛṣṇa with great agitation, humility, cleverness, etc. These ten types of expression are in the ten *ślokas* addressed by the *gopīs* to the bees (*bhramara*) in *BhP* 10.47.12-21.

41. Because of *viraha*, Kṛṣṇa appears everywhere, in the imagination. When *viraha* is sufficiently deep, one thinks more and more profoundly on Kṛṣṇa, and because of those deep thoughts, it seems as if Kṛṣṇa is actually within. *Divyonmāda*: divine madness.

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the self is considered as Kṛṣṇa. 42 *Sambhoga* and *vipralambha* are two kinds of *śṛṅgāra*; *sambhoga* is endless in kinds, there is no limit to it. 43 *Vipralambha* is of four kinds: *pūrvarāga*, *māna*, *pravāsākhya*, and *premavaicittya*. 44 Among Rādhā and the others, *pūrvarāga*, *pravāsa*, and *māna* were well known, and *premavaicittya* among the *mahiṣīs*, in the holy tenth book:

Śloka 21. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.90.15:
O Kurari, Īśvara is in hiding, sleeping in the nighttime [somewhere] in the world; you are sleepless and not lying down, and are lamenting endlessly. O friend, are you ever not deeply wounded in your mind by the playful sidelong glance, made richer by his smile and lotus-eyes, as we are?

45 Kṛṣṇa the Vrajendranandana is the crest jewel of *nāyakas*; and the crest jewel of *nāyikās* is Rādhā Ṭhākurāṇī.

Śloka 22. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*dakṣiṇa-vibhāga*, *vibhāva-laharī*] 2.1.17:
Kṛṣṇa, *svayaṃ bhagavān*, is the crest jewel among *nāyakas*, in whom all great qualities are eternally displayed.

Śloka 23. *Bṛhadgautamīya Tantra*.
Rādhā is said to be Devī, Kṛṣṇamayī, Paradevatā, Sarvalakṣmīmayī, Sarvakānti, and the highest Sanmohinī.

42. *Madhura-rati*, when it reaches the *rasa* level, is often called *śṛṅgāra-rasa*. As above, *sambhoga* is enjoyment in union. *Sambhoga* is of two kinds: primary and secondary, and primary, which is in a waking state, is again of four kinds: the first union after initial attraction; the union which takes place after separation because of *māna*; the union which takes place after living apart for a little time and at a little distance; and that which takes place after separation of long distance and duration. The secondary type is that which occurs in dreams.

43. *Vipralambha* is that condition of longing which occurs during separation after union, a longing for reunion. *Pūrvarāga* is the early stage of love, in which longing is aroused by suggestions, pictures, glimpses, etc., of the beloved one. *Māna* is that condition discussed previously, in which separation occurs, but temporarily and for reasons of love: the beloved one is piqued or disconsolate because of her lover's association with other women. *Pravāsākhya*: when distance intervenes between the lover and beloved. *Premavaicittya*: a condition of fear of separation which arises, even though lover and beloved are together.

44. An example of *premavaicittya* among the *mahiṣīs* of Kṛṣṇa is in the following *śloka*.

Śloka 23. See 1.4.*śl*.13.

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46 The qualities of Kṛṣṇa are infinite, but sixty-four are primary. Let the ear of the *bhakta* listen and be refreshed [as I list] these qualities one by one.

Ślokas 24-31. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*dakṣiṇa-vibhāga*, *vibhāva-laharī*] 2.1.23-30:

24 He the *nāyaka* is most attractive in body, and imbued with all auspicious signs, lustrous, glorious, very strong, eternally young, 25 skilled in various wonderful languages, truthful, sweetly spoken, eloquent, most learned, wise, intelligent, 26 skilled, clever, dexterous, grateful, most resolute in vows, knowing the right recipients in time and space, having the insight of *śāstra*, pure, controlled, 27 steady, continent, forgiving, grave, steadfast, viewing all things as equal, generous, following *dharma*, a hero in war, compassionate, respectful to those worthy of respect, 28 good natured, humble, modest, protector of refugees, happy, a friend to *bhaktas*, controlled by *prema*, doing good things to all, 29 powerful, famous, the object of the passion of all, a refuge for holy men, a charmer of women, to be propitiated by all, prosperous, 30 the greatest of all, Īśvara—these qualities of him are ennumerated. These fifty qualities of Hari cannot be fathomed, for they are like the sea; 31 even though all these exist among some *jīvas*, it is only drop by drop. They are manifested fully in Puruṣottama.

Ślokas 32-38. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*dakṣiṇa-vibhāga*, *vibhāva-laharī*] 2.1.37-44:

32 These five qualities exist in very small parts among Giriśa and the others: he is perpetually in *svarūpa*, omniscient, eternally young, 33 whose body is soaked with *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*, and worshiped by all the *siddhis*. 34 And there are five more qualities mentioned which the lord of Lakṣmī and others possess, but which exist most wonderfully in Kṛṣṇa: great power which is unimaginable, *vigrahas* in crores of Brahmā-worlds, the seed of the series of *avatāras*, giving the course to those whose foes are killed and attraction of those who are *ātmārāmas*. 35 He who is in all ways like a sea of waves of most wonderful and surprising *līlā*, who decorates with *prema* of unequalled sweetness those who are beloved of him, 36 who attracts the minds of the three worlds by the soft melody of the sweetness of his flute, by the unparalleled height of whose form all creatures, moving and unmoving, are astonished— 37 these four, *līlā-mādhurya*, *prema-mādhurya*, *veṇu-mādhurya*, and *rūpa-mādhurya*—are the uncommon qualities of Kṛṣṇa; and these four qualities are not in any

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other *svarūpa*. 38 In this way, in four kinds of divisions, have the sixty-four qualities been mentioned.

47 The qualities of Śrī Rādhikā are infinite, but twenty-five are primary; and Bhagavān Kṛṣṇa is controlled by these qualities.

Ślokas 39-43. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* [*śrīrādhā-prakaraṇa*] 4.11-15:
39 Of the mistress of Vṛndāvana these principal qualities are mentioned: she is sweet, young, has a restless sidelong glance, a glistening smile, 40 possessed of lines of beauty and good luck, of a fragrance maddening to Mādhava, skilled in a multitude of songs, of charming speech, learned in pleasure, 41 humble, full of compassion, skillful, witty, modest, most respectful, steadfast, grave, 42 excelling in pleasurable sport, thirsty for the supreme excellence of great *bhāvas*, beloved by those who live in Gokula, whose fame pervades the world, 43 most beloved by *guru* and elders, subservient to the love of her friends, chief among those beloved of Kṛṣṇa, and to whose words Keśava is respectful. In short, her qualities are counted like Hari's.

48 These two, *nāyaka* and *nāyikā*, are the *ālambana* of *rasa*; and these two are the best—Rādhā and Vrajendranandana. 49 In this way, the servant in the *dāsya*, friends in the *sakhya*, mother and father in the *vātsalya*, are the *āśraya-ālambanas*. 50 As these are *bhaktas*, so do they experience these *rasas*; hear the signs of them.

Ślokas 44-47. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*dakṣiṇa-vibhāga, vibhāva-laharī*] 2.1.7-10:
44 Of those whose faults are cleansed by *bhakti*, and whose hearts are pure and bright, and are attracted to the Śrī *Bhāgavata* and are delighted by the society of *rasikās*, 45 and whose wealth is their happiness with *bhakti* at the feet of Govinda which are their lives, and who observe the

Śloka 38. Līlā-mādhurya, etc.: sweetness of his *līlā*, of his love, of his flute, and of his form.
47. See commentary to v. 26 above.
48. Ālambana: that which causes the rising of a condition or experience, in this case, *rasa*; see above v. 30.
49. Dāsya, sakhya, and the rest are superior in the Vraja-*līlā* to those same conditions in other *līlās*. As Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are the causes, the essence or matter (*viṣaya*) of *rasa* being Kṛṣṇa, and the receptacle (*āśraya*) being Rādhā, so servants, friends, and mother and father are the receptacles of their particular *rasas*.

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duties which are the internal elements of *prema*, 46 in the hearts of all such *bhaktas* is *rati* blazing brightly with the *saṃskāra-yugala* and *rati* in the form of *ānanda* brought to the state of *rasa*; 47 on the way to the experience of this *rati* the taste of the *vibhāvas* of Kṛṣṇa and the rest are gained, and the pinnacle of the wonder of the profound *ānanda* is gained.

51 The taste of this *rasa* is not for people who are non-*bhaktas*; Kṛṣṇa-*bhaktas* taste the *rasa*.

Śloka 48. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*dakṣiṇa-vibhāga, sthāyibhāva-laharī*] 2.5.131:

This *rasa* of the *bhagavat* can never in any way be gained by non-*bhaktas*. Those *bhaktas* whose wealth is his lotus feet taste this *bhakti* [*rasa*].

52 Briefly the *prayojana* has been described. This is the fifth end of man—the wealth of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*."

53 "Formerly, at Prayāga, I discussed *rasa*, and inspired your brother Rūpa with power [to discuss it]. 54 You too must discourse on *bhakti-rasa*, and save the lost pilgrimage places at Mathurā, 55 do the service of Kṛṣṇa at Vṛndāvana which is proper action for a Vaiṣṇava, and expound on the *bhakti* and *smṛti śāstras*. 56 You have been taught all about the state of proper *vairāgya*, and about the prohibitions of knowledge and barren *vairāgya*."

Śloka 49. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.255:

When non-attached people make [moderate] acceptance of worldly objects and employ them in relationship to Kṛṣṇa, this is properly called *yukta-vairāgya*.

Śloka 46. Rādhāgovinda Nātha interprets *saṃskāra-yugala* as "the joining of the old and new *saṃskāras* (rituals)," but does not elaborate further. *Yugala*, however, "joining," may refer to Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in union.

52. The other four are the traditional *puruṣārthas*: *artha*, *kāma*, *dharma*, and *mokṣa*.

56. Proper *vairāgya*: the renunciation which has an element of *bhakti* and is dedicated to Kṛṣṇa is proper; that which is followed because it is prescribed by the *jñāna-mārga* is prohibited.

Śloka 49. Yukta vairāgya: balanced detachment.

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Ślokas 50-57. *Bhagavad Gītā* 12.13-20:

50 Who has malice toward none, and only affection for living things, who is compassionate, devoid of egotism, is not conceited or proud, who is unaffected by either pleasure or pain, and endures all things, 51 always content, who is attached to *bhakti-yoga*, who has conquered his senses, who is firm in his certainty, and who has dedicated his heart and mind to me—such a *bhakta* is beloved of me. 52 From whom people gain no anxiety, and who is not anxious about people, who is free from joy, grief, fear, and anxiety—he is beloved of me. 53 He who depends on no one, is pure, skillful, independent, indifferent, without grief, who has abandoned the beginnings of all, that *bhakta* is dear to me. 54 He who is not delighted, nor pained, who is not grieved, who does not long, and who has abandoned both auspicious and inauspicious deeds—that devoted man is dear to me. 55 He who views as the same both enemies and friends, honor and dishonor, cold and heat, happiness and sorrow, who is unattached 56 and who considers the same both condemnation and praise, who is silent, who is satisfied with anything, who has no permanent abode, and who is of steadfast mind—that man is dear to me. 57 Thus I have spoken, and they who observe the nectar of *dharma* as stated, believing and devoted to me, these *bhaktas* are beloved of me.

Śloka 58. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.2.5:

Are there not always indigents wearing rags along the road? Do not trees give alms of fruit to the free-loading cuckoos? Are not the rivers flowing? Does not the Unborn One grant the favor of shelter to those who draw near? Why then would the selfish, blinded in their foolish pursuit of worldly prosperity, honor [Kṛṣṇa]?

57 Then Sanātana questioned [him] about all the doctrines. [Prabhu] spoke of every one of the conclusions derived from the *Bhāgavata*. 58 The place of Goloka has been described in the *Harivaṃśa* when Indra came and offered his

Śloka 58. [Śukadeva speaks to King Parīkṣit about men's actions being consonant with their true nature. TKS]

57. [Rādhāgovinda Nātha points to Sanātana's *Bṛhadvaiṣṇavatoṣaṇī* commentary on the tenth book of the *BhP* as the result of this discussion. TKS]

58. Sanātana has paraphrased this in his *Bṛhadbhāgavatāmṛta* 2.7.80-85. Rādhāgovinda Nātha unpacks this passage in some detail.

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praise of Śrī Kṛṣṇa; 59 The episode of the clubs and the death of Kṛṣṇa, the Keśava *avatāra* and many other unusual stories, 60 the abduction of the *mahiṣīs* and all the others that were the effects of *māyā*—these tales were taught so as to be properly interpreted. 61 Then Sanātana grasped Prabhu's feet and clenching grass between his teeth begged of him, 62 "I am of low birth, a lowly servant, an ignorant wretch, yet you have imparted doctrinal instruction which is beyond even the ken of Brahmā. 63 My intelligence is trifling, while this doctrine is an ocean of immortal nectar; my mind is not able to fathom even a single drop of it. 64 If your mind can make a lame man dance, place your feet on my head and grant me this boon— 65 'May all of that which I have taught be illu-

59. See *BhP* 11.1 and 11.30; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 5.37; and *Mahābhārata* 16. The accounts of these incidents vary, but in general the *BhP* story goes like this: Various *ṛṣis* had been invited to a sacrifice, and as they were returning home from that event, some mischievous boys of the Yadu clan stood in the path before them, dressed as pregnant women. They asked the *ṛṣis* whether they would bear boys or girls, and very irritated by the arrogance and general disrespect displayed by the boys, the *ṛṣis* said that they would give birth to the club which would be the destruction of all the Yādavas. Sure enough, when they put off their disguises, there was an iron club, and the boys, in fear, took it to Ugrasena, who pulverized the weapon and spread the pieces of it on the waters of the sea. A fish came along and ate the metal, and some was scattered on the shore; but that metal in the belly of the fish was recovered by a fisherman, and given to a hunter, who made from it tips for his arrows. Some time later, Kṛṣṇa took his followers and went to Prabhāsa, and there they all drank liquor until they were drunk; and, drunken, they began to fight with one another. Some killed one another with grass from the sea-shore which had absorbed the metal from the pulverised club. When he saw this happen, Balarāma went to the shore of the sea, assumed a posture of meditation, and left this life. Seeing his brother like this, Kṛṣṇa assumed his multi-armed form and also sat in meditative posture. The hunter, named Jarā, mistook him for a deer and pierced him in the heel with the arrow made from the metal of the club. He begged Kṛṣṇa's forgiveness, when he saw what he had done; Kṛṣṇa forgave him, and then ascended into heaven. The *Padma Purāṇa* has Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, as well as all the other Yādavas, killed in the drunken fight.

Keśava *avatāra*: the story in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 5.1.59-60 is that earth once complained to Brahmā that her burden of evil *asuras* was becoming too much to bear; Brahmā and the other gods went to Viṣṇu, who pulled out two hairs, one dark in color and the other light. These two hairs (*keśa*) were incarnated, the dark one as Kṛṣṇa, the light one as Balarāma.

60. There is a story in *Sāmba Purāṇa* 3 (cf. *Varāha Purāṇa* 177) to the effect that Nārada, angry at Sāmba, Kṛṣṇa's son, told Kṛṣṇa that all Kṛṣṇa's wives were madly in love with the young man. To prove it, Nārada had Sāmba summoned when all his wives and Kṛṣṇa were present, and all the wives except three, Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā, and Jāmbavatī, did indeed exhibit passion toward the youth. Kṛṣṇa, angry, cursed all his wives except these three, that they would be carried off by robbers after his death. And *Mahābhārata* 14.7 tells us that Rukmiṇī and Jāmbavatī entered the funeral pyre with the body of their husband, and that Satyabhāmā became an ascetic and entered the forest. The other women, though under the protection of Arjuna, were indeed captured and carried off by a band of robbers.

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minated in your mind!' From this your boon will I draw the power to speak." 66 Then Mahāprabhu did place his feet on his head and profferred the boon, "May all of these things be illuminated in you."

67 In brief has been described the subject of the *prayojana*, *prema*; only Prabhu's grace keeps me from rambling on. 68 He who hears the nectar of the instruction of Prabhu is quickly mingled with the wealth of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*.

69 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

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Madhya Līlā
Chapter 24

Śloka 1.

He who, manifesting the sunbeams of meaning of the sun of the *ātmārāma*-[*śloka*], dispelled the darkness of the world, may that Udaya-mountain, that Caitanya, protect us.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 Then Sanātana, holding the feet of Prabhu, again said humbly, 3 "I have heard that previously, at the place of Sārvabhauma, you expanded to eighteen meanings one single *śloka*:

Śloka 2. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.7.10:

Even though they are not possessed of books, those sages who delight in the self offer selfless *bhakti* to the great-striding [Viṣṇu]; of such qualities is Hari.

4 Hearing this, my mind is anxious with wonder; if, being merciful, you speak, my ears will be refreshed." 5 Prabhu said, "I am mad in my words, and Sārvabhauma is mad, so he considered them true. 6 I was babbling, and remember

Śloka 1. For the "*ātmārāma-śloka*," see *śloka* 2.

Śloka 2. This whole chapter consists of a linguistic exposition of this *śloka*; the Sanskrit is: *ātmārāmāśca munayo nirgranthā apyurukrame / kurvvantyihaitukīṃ bhaktimitthambhūtaguṇo hariḥ //*. The literal translation is: even (*api*) devoid of books (*nirgranthā*) the *ātmārāmas* (or: those directed toward or delighting in the self) and (*ca*) *munis* (*munayo*) selfless or spontaneous, (*ahaitukī*) devotion (*bhakti*) to him who makes great strides (*urukrame*, an epithet of Viṣṇu) remain doing (*kurvanti*) such are the qualities [of attracting the mind] (*itthambhūtaguṇa*) of Hari (*hariḥ*). See 2.6.*śl.*15 for context; also 2.17.*śl.*8; 2.24.*śl.*73; 2.25.*śl.*47.

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nothing of it; if anything comes to my mind it is because of association with you. 7 No meaning comes to me naturally; but something may manifest itself because of association with all of you. 8 There are eleven *padas* in this most pure *śloka*, and in each *pada* various meanings glitter. 9 In the word '*ātmā*' is *brahma*, body, mind, effort, patience, intellect, and nature—these seven meanings are found.

Śloka 3. *Viśvaprakāśa*:

Ātmā means body, mind, *brahma*, nature, patience, intellect, and effort.

10 He who experiences delight in these seven, he is *ātmārāma*. Later, I shall enumerate the *ātmārāmas*. 11 Listen, O Sanātana, to the meanings of the words '*muni*,' etc., first their separate meanings, and later all taken together.

12 By the word '*muni*' is meant one who is given to the mind, and one who is silent, and *muni* means also ascetic, *vratī*, *saṃnyāsī*, and *ṛṣi*.

13 By the word '*nirgrantha*' is meant he who is without the books of ignorance, one who is bereft of the *jñāna*, etc., of the Veda-*śāstras*, and of their prohibitions and injunctions; 14 fools, low people, *mlecchas* and others devoid of *śāstra*, those who seek wealth, and those who are without wealth are also *nirgrantha*.

Śloka 4. *Viśvaprakāśa*:

The meanings of "*nir-*" are: certainty, going out, manufacture, and prohibition or negative.

8. Pada: word.

Śloka 3. Probably the quote is from the lexicon of Maheśvara. Also for *ślokas* 4, 5, 7, 19, 20.

10. Rame: experiences delight.

11. Kṛṣṇadāsa is about to state the separate meanings of each of the words in the *śloka*, and when he has done that he will expound on the various possible combinations.

12. Mananaśīla: given to the mind; *maunī*: silent; *tapasvī*: ascetic; *yati*: *saṃnyāsī*; *vratī*: one who observes the vows of *brahmacarya* and the rest.

13. As has been seen many times, excessive study of the wrong things, such as certain types of philosophy, is anathema to the Vaiṣṇavas; it only clutters and confuses the mind.

14. It is a little unclear what "wealth," *dhana*, means here; Rādhāgovinda Nātha would make it equivalent to "*grantha*," which would seem to be borne out by *śloka* 5 below. In this case the meaning would be those who seek *śāstras* of the wrong kind, and those who are without *śāstras* of the right kind, are both *nirgrantha*. *Mleccha*: lit., "babbler," but foreigner, barbarian, see the commentary to 2.1.186.

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Śloka 5. *Viśvaprakāśa*:

The meanings of "*grantha*" are: wealth, weaving, and the alphabet.

15 The word '*urukrama*' means 'he whose steps are very large'; and the word '*krama*' means 'a progression of steps,' 16 power, trembling, regularity, method, and invasion in power—for at his footsteps the three worlds trembled.

Śloka 6. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.7.40:

That clever man who is able to count even the particles of dust of the earth, can even he measure the power of Viṣṇu, who by his own effort, unhindered, held the three worlds, which shook wildly, [because of the power of his striding] from their state of equilibrium of the three *guṇa*s.

17 In the form of Vibhu [the vast one], he pervades [everything], and with his power he upholds and nourishes Goloka by his *mādhurya-śakti*, and Paravyoma by his *aiśvarya-śakti*. 18 By his *māyā-śakti*, he creates the Brahmā-eggs, etc., in order. These are the determined meanings of the word '*urukrama*.'

Śloka 7. *Viśvaprakāśa*:

"*Krama*" means *śakti*, order, shaking, and trembling.

19 The word '*kurvanti*' is here *parasmaipada*, and says 'The purpose in worship is the arising of the pleasure of Kṛṣṇa.'

Śloka 8. Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 1.3.72:

In the *bhvādi-prakaraṇa* of the *Siddhāntakaumudi*: There are active and passive voices; when the fruits of the action are directed towards the doer of the action the voice is passive.

20 The word '*hetu*' means that enjoyment and the other desires of the heart are of three primary kinds: enjoyment, *siddhi*, and *mukti*. 21 And *bhakti* means

17. Mādhurya: sweetness; *aiśvarya*: sovereign majesty.

19. Parasmaipada: the active voice, meaning that the results of the action are other than directed toward the self.

20. Hetu: source, cause, appearing in the *śloka* as the negative adjective *ahaitukī*; if the reason for worship is gaining the delights of heaven, gaining those delights is the cause of worship; similarly with the gaining of power through *yoga* and the gaining of release through *jñāna*.

21. Eight kinds of *siddhi* were discussed, ante 2.19.132 commentary. Rādhāgovinda Nātha here lists ten more: lack of hunger and thirst (*kṣutpipāsādi-rāhitya*), ability to hear at a distance (*dūr-*

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enjoyment is of infinite kinds. *Siddhi* is of eighteen kinds, and *mukti* is of five. 22 Who does not strive for these, he has *ahaitukī bhakti*, and by that the sportive Śrī Kṛṣṇa is controlled.

23 The meaning of the word '*bhakti*' has ten different forms. One is *sādhana*, and *prema-bhakti* has nine varieties. 24 The signs of *rati* and of *prema* and the rest have been stated, and the form of *bhāva*, and the form of the signs of *mahābhāva*. 25 The *rati* of the *śānta-bhakta* grows up to *prema*, and the *rati* of the *dāsa-bhakta* has as its ultimate condition *rāga*. 26 The *rati* of the *sakhya* is up to *anurāga*; the affection of mother and father and the rest is the end of *anurāga*. 27 The *rati* of the lovers reaches the limit of *mahābhāva*. These all are the greatnesses of the meanings of the term *bhakti*.

28 Hear the explanation of the meaning of the [compound] word '*itthambhūtaguṇa*.' There are various meanings of the word '*itthaṃ*,' and others of the words '*guṇa*.' 29 The meaning of the word '*itthambhūta*' is filled with full *ānanda*, before which the *ānanda* of *brahma* is like grass.

Śloka 9. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, bhaktisāmānya-laharī*] 1.1.39 [quoting *Haribhaktisudhodaya* 14.36]:

O *guru* of the world, for me who has been established in the pure sea of the joy of the realization of your true form, even that happiness of dwelling in the place of *brahma* is like a tiny puddle of water in the imprint of a cow's hoof.

30 He is the attracter of all, the delighter of all, possessor of great *rasa*; he makes one oblivious of everything by his own power. 31 By the suggestion of it he causes people to abandon the happiness of *bhukti*, *siddhi*, and *mukti*; the mercy

śravaṇa), and see at a distance (*dūrdarśana*), ability to make the body move as quickly as thought (*manojava*), to assume a desired form (*kāmarūpatā*), to enter the body of another (*parakāya praveśa*), to die when desired (*icchāmṛtyu*), to play with the gods (*devakrīḍa-prāpti*), to gain anything conceived of (*saṅkalpānurūpa-siddhi*), and being unhindered in thought and wish at all times (*apratihatājñā*). For the five kinds of *mukti*, ante, e.g., 1.3.16; 2.6.239 and commentary.

22. Vaśa: controlled. See 1.4.216; 1.7.138; 1.17.71, *śl.*5; and 2.23.26 and commentary.

24. I.e., the nine run from *rati* through *prema, sneha, māna, praṇaya, rāga, anurāga, bhāva* up to *mahābhāva*; see text and commentary to 2.19.152.

28. Itthaṃ: "thus" or "such." The *śloka* reads "such are the wonderful qualities of Hari that . . ." Among those qualities is the power to draw even *ātmārāmas* to bliss (*ānanda*), away from their seeking after the bliss of *brahma*.

Śloka 9. See 1.7.*śl.*5; 3.3.*śl.*13.

31. Gandhe: suggestion, scent, hint. The *bhakta* is bound or captured by this power.

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of Kṛṣṇa binds, by the qualities of unworldly power. 32 This determination of the ultimate goal is not dependent on the *śāstras*, but in it, by its natural qualities, is the essence of sweetness.

33 The meaning of the word '*guṇa*' is the infinite qualities of Kṛṣṇa; these are the qualities of his form of *sat* and *cit*, as well as full *ānanda*. 34 His *svarūpa* is the fullness of divinity, sweetness and compassion, and generosity even up to [the giving of] himself [in his] affection toward his *bhaktas*. 35 His qualities of *rūpa*, *rasa*, glory, and the rest are unworldly, and the minds of certain ones are attracted by certain of the qualities. 36 By the qualities of glory and the rest, the minds of Sanaka and the others were stolen.

Śloka 10. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.15.43:
The wind, bearing the perfume of the *tulasī*, mingled with the perfume of the lotus-feet of that lotus-eyed one, enters the orifices and agitates the minds and bodies of those who are *akṣarajuṣas*.

37 The mind of Śukadeva was stolen by listening to the *līlās*.

Śloka 11. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.1.9:
O *rājarṣi*! Even firmly established in qualitylessness, the mind is attracted to the *līlās* of the most praiseworthy one, and I have learned the stories of them.

Śloka 12. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 12.12.69:
I bow down to that son of Vyāsa, the destroyer of all evil, whose mind was full of happiness, because of his having put other *bhāvas* away, and whose essence was attracted by the beauty of the *līlā* of Ajita, and who has spoken compassionately of these in the *purāṇa*, like a lamp of truth.

32. Mādhurya: sweetness.

36. This and the following Bengali introductions to the *ślokas* are singlets. *Saurabha*: glory. "The rest" are Sanātana, Sanandana, and Sanatkumāra; these four turned away from *brahma* toward Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 10. Akṣarajuṣās: those who are dedicated to the *ānanda* of *brahma*. See 2.17.*śl.*9; 2.24.*śl.*34; 2.25.*śl.*46.

37. Śukadeva had been dedicated to meditation on the qualityless *brahman*, but when he heard the sweetness of the stories of the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*, he was drawn to that.

Śloka 11. See 2.25.*śl.*45.

Śloka 12. See 2.17.*śl.*7.

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38 By the form of the holy body the hearts of the *gopīs* are stolen.

Śloka 13. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.29.39:
Seeing your cheeks adorned with earrings and your lips with nectar, and your face adorned with earlocks and your smiling glance, seeing your staff-like arms as fear-dispelling, and your unequalled shining breast, we become your slaves.

39 By hearing the qualities of his beauty of form, Rukmiṇī and the others were attracted.

Śloka 14. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.52.37:
O you who are most handsome in the worlds, on hearing of the virtues of you who takes away the anguish of the bodies of listeners by way of the holes of the ears, where you have penetrated [and on] hearing of your beauty, which is the acquisition of all ends of the eyes of those who have eyes, my heart is shamelessly driven toward you, Acyuta.

40 By the sound of the flute the minds of Lakṣmī and the others are stolen.

Śloka 15. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.16.36:
O god! Who has the authority, the right, to touch your feet, out of delight for which the playful Śrī performed strict austerities for a long time, abandoning her pleasures?

41 All the young women in the world are [each] in their appropriate *bhāvas*.

Śloka 16. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.29.40:
O Aṅga! Is there any woman in the three worlds who, infatuated by the soft and warbling song of your flute, and, having seen this form of yours which is the lustre of the three worlds, and by which the cows, birds, trees, and beasts of the forests are thrilled, does not depart from proper action?

Śloka 13. See 3.15.*śl.*9.
Śloka 15. See 2.8.*śl.*34; 2.9.*śl.*7.
Śloka 16. See 3.17.*śl.*2.

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42 In *vātsalya* older women are attracted; men and the rest are in the *dāsya*, *sakhya* and the other *bhāvas*. 43 Birds, deer, trees, creepers—things both conscious and unconscious are drunk with *prema* and are attracted by the qualities of Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 17. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.29.40 [*padas* c-d]:
. . . having seen this form of yours which is the lustre of the three worlds and by which the cows, birds, trees, and beasts of the forests are thrilled, [is there anyone who] does not depart from proper action?

44 The word 'Hari' has many meanings, and two are chief: that which steals away inauspiciousness, and that which steals the mind by *prema*. 45 He who remembers him in any way whatsoever, he steals away his four kinds of sin.

Śloka 18. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.14.19:
O Uddhava! As fire of plentiful flames reduces wood to ashes, so *bhakti* to me burns all these sins completely.

46 So he does to *avidyā*, and *karma*, which obstruct *bhakti*, and reveals *prema* as the fruit of listening and the rest. 47 So by his own qualities he steals mind, senses, and body; such is Kṛṣṇa full of mercy, such are his qualities. 48 He causes one to abandon the four ends of man, and by his qualities steals the hearts of all. Thus are the signs of the principal meanings of the word 'Hari.'

49 '*Ca api*'—these two words are indeclinable; they mean whatever is appropriate. 50 Still, the principal meanings of '*ca*' are seven.

Śloka 19. *Viśvaprakāśa*:
"*Ca*" has the sense of successive connection, totality, identification, addition, alternative, verse-filler, and emphasis.

51 The chief meanings of '*api*' are also seven.

44. The stem "*har-*" means "steal."

45. Cārividha pāpa: four kinds of "sin"; Rādhāgovinda Nātha comments that these can be either of two sets: that which causes one to fall (*pātaka*), a somewhat less serious offence (*upapātaka*), a great offence (*atipātaka*), and the most serious offence (*mahāpātaka*); or the results of demerit from a former birth, concern with those results, longing or desire, and concern with merit gained in this life.

46. Avidyā: ignorance of the true nature of Kṛṣṇa because of *māyā*.

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Śloka 20. *Viśvaprakāśa*:
Possibility, question, doubt, blame, addition, conjoined meanings, and interjection.

52 The meanings of these eleven words have been ascertained; now let me give the meanings of the *śloka*, in whatever ways are appropriate.

53 The word '*brahma*' means the truth which is the greatest of all; nothing is equal to the divinity of its *svarūpa*.

Śloka 21. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 1.12.57:
They know the Supreme as '*brahman*' because of its largeness and supporting power.

54 So the word *brahma* says '*svayaṃ bhagavān*,' and apart from this there is no other object in the three times.

Śloka 22. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.2.11:
The truth-knowing wise men call the ultimate truth that which is undivided knowledge. It is called by three names—*brahman*, *paramātmā*, and *bhagavān*.

55 That undivided truth is that Kṛṣṇa is *svayaṃ bhagavān*; that is true in the three times, and that is proven in the *śāstras*.

Śloka 23. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.9.32:
Knowledge such as of how much I am, what I am like, and of what form, virtue, and acts are mine, such knowledge of truth must be yours by my favor. I was in the beginning, there was nothing else, whether existent, non-existent, or beyond both; afterwards I am that which there is; I am the one who will remain.

56 The word '*ātmā*' therefore says—Kṛṣṇa is the *svarūpa* of greatness, all-pervading, omnipresent, the ultimate *svarūpa*.

53. Previously he has defined *ātmā* as *brahman*. *Tattva*: truth.
54. The three times: past, present, and future.
Śloka 22. See 1.2.*śl*.4; 1.2.*śl*.12; 2.20.*śl*.21; 2.24.*śl*.25; 2.25.*śl*.27.
Śloka 23. See 1.1.*śl*.23; 2.25.*śl*.20.

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Śloka 24. Śrīdhara Svāmin's *Bhāvārthadīpikā* commentary on *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.2.45:
Because everything is strung upon him [*āt*] and because he is a mother [*mā*], the supreme Hari is called *ātmā*.

57 The source of the gaining of Kṛṣṇa is various kinds of *sādhana*: *jñāna*, *yoga*, *bhakti*—these are the signs of each of the three. 58 By the three *sādhanas*, Bhagavān in his three-fold *svarūpa*—*brahma*, *paramātmā*, and *bhagavat*—is manifested.

Śloka 25. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.2.11:
The truth-knowing wise men call the ultimate truth that which is undivided knowledge. It is called by three names—*brahman*, *paramātmā*, and *bhagavān*.

59 Although the words '*brahma*' and '*ātmā*' mean 'Kṛṣṇa,' in their specialized meanings they signify the unqualified one and the indwelling one. 60 The unqualified *brahma* is revealed by the *jñāna-mārga*, and the indwelling *svarūpa* by the *yoga-mārga*. 61 *Rāga-bhakti* and *vidhi-bhakti* are two kinds; and their manifestations are of two kinds—*svayaṃ bhagavattva* and *bhagavattva*. By *rāga-bhakti* the *svayaṃ bhagavān* in Vraja is gained.

Śloka 26. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.9.21:
That *bhagavān*, son of the *gopikā*, is easily obtainable by those who have *bhakti*; but for those who are concerned with the body, or with *jñāna*, and becoming *ātman*, it is not so easy.

62 By *vidhi-bhakti* one goes to Vaikuṇṭha in the body of one of the followers.

Śloka 27. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.15.25:
They go to that place—by following the bull of the immortals—from whom Yama is distant, whose superior habits are desirable to us, who

Śloka 25. See 1.2.*śl.*4; 1.2.*śl.*12; 2.20.*śl.*21; 2.24.*śl.*22; 2.25.*śl.*27.

59. Although as has been shown, the extended meaning of both words is "Kṛṣṇa," technically "*brahma*" means the unqualified, undifferentiated *brahma* (n) principle, and *ātmā* means *paramātmā* the one indwelling in all creatures.

61. Rādhāgovinda Nātha has a triplet here, when probably the three lines should consist of a couplet and singlet introducing the following *śloka*. The suffix "-*tva*" can be translated as "-ness."

Śloka 26. See 2.8.*śl.*49; 2.9.*śl.*11; 3.7.*śl.*4.

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gloriously and mutually love to tell stories of the lord with voices choked with tears of humility, and whose bodies are thrilled by that.

63 Those worshipers are of three kinds: those who are without desire, those who desire *mokṣa*, and those who desire everything.

Śloka 28. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.3.10:
One who is desireless, or one who desires everything, or one who is desirous of *mokṣa*, if he is wise, worships the *parama-puruṣa* with strong and deep *bhakti*.

64 The meaning of '*buddhimān*' is that if one is discriminating, he worships Kṛṣṇa to fulfill his own desires. 65 Apart from *bhakti*, no *sādhana* can produce results; but *bhakti* by itself can give all results. 66 Other *sādhanas* are like a goat's nipple; and thus the wise man worships Hari.

Śloka 29. *Bhagavad Gītā* 7.16:
O Arjuna! Bull of the Bhāratas! Those who are in difficulty, and the seekers of knowledge, and those who are after wealth, and the *jñānīs*, those four kinds of fortunate people worship me.

67 Numbered among those who have desires are the pair '*ārtta*' and '*arthārthī*'; and those who desire *mokṣa* are the pair '*jijñāsu*' and '*jñānī*.' 68 These four virtuous people are most fortunate; each of them abandons his own desires and begs for the gift of pure *bhakti*. 69 By the mercy of Kṛṣṇa, he who gets the mercy of the company of *sādhus*, abandons desires and the rest, and evil company, and gains pure *bhakti*.

Śloka 28. See 2.22.*śl.*13; 2.24.*śl.*72.

64. This is a comment on the word "*udāradhīḥ*," "one of a noble and generous nature," in the previous *śloka*, which Kṛṣṇadāsa interprets as "*buddhimān*," "possessing wisdom or discrimination."

66. Ajāgalastana: goat's nipple, the fleshy protuberance from the neck of a goat, which looks like a teat but gives no milk.

67. The reference is to *śloka* 29, in which these terms are used. *Ārtta* refers to a person who suffers from illness or some other kind of serious difficulty, and who turns to Kṛṣṇa to extricate himself from that. *Arthārthī* is one who desires wealth and power in this life, and the enjoyments of heaven in the life to come. *Jijñāsu* is the seeker after knowlege of the truth, and *jñānī* is the one who follows the path of knowledge.

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Śloka 30. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.10.11:

The wise man, who because of association with holy men, is free from association with evil ones, whose fame is lauded once they have heard what pleases him, is unable to abandon that association.

70 Association with evil ones means falsity and self-deception: these have desires other than those for Kṛṣṇa and Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*.

Śloka 31. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.1.2:

In the *Śrīmad Bhāgavatam*, composed by the hermit, there is found the supreme *dharma*, free from any falsity, of good people who are devoid of jealousy; the very object to be known is its substance, auspicious and destroying the three kinds of grief; what use are other books? The Lord is instantly and at once caught in their hearts by students who have done their tasks.

71 In the word '*pra*' is the desire for *mokṣa*, the chief type of falsity. Śrīdhara Svāmin has commented on this *śloka*: 72 The *bhakta* who has desires is ignorant; the merciful Bhagavān, knowing this, by means of his own feet, hides these desires.

Śloka 32. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 5.19.26:

It is true that being prayed to, he grants desired objects to men; but he is not the giver of objects, because even after that, [man] is desirous of more. To those who have no selfish desires, and to those who worship, he himself grants the shoots of his own feet by which all desires are obscured.

73 Association with holy men, the mercy of Kṛṣṇa, and the nature of *bhakti*: these three drive away all else, and establish the Kṛṣṇa-*bhāva*. 74 I shall now

Śloka 31. See 1.1.*śl.*37; 2.25.*śl.*40.

71. The reference is to *śloka* 31, where the term "*projjhita kaitava*," "abandoning falsehood" appears. Rādhāgovinda Nātha comments: "*pra*" means "*prakṛṣṭarūpa*," "preeminently"; thus the expression means "abandoning the preeminent type of falsehood," which is desire for the satisfaction of the self, of which the chief kind is *mokṣa*. See 1.1.*śl.*38 for Śrīdhara Svāmin's commentary.

72. I.e., the *bhakta* who prays to Kṛṣṇa for the satisfaction of himself; the ignorance is of the fact that Kṛṣṇa will grant all desires if he is worshiped with pure and selfless *bhakti*, or he will eliminate them.

Śloka 32. See 2.22.*śl.*14; 2.24.*śl.*74.

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explain the various meanings of all of this, and you shall know this source of the taste of the qualities of Kṛṣṇa.

75 A hint regarding the explanation of the *śloka* has been given; now let me make plain the root-meaning of the *śloka*. 76 The worshiper in the *jñāna-mārga* is of two kinds: the worshiper of *brahma* alone, and he who worships *brahma* for the sake of *mukti*. 77 Those who worship *brahma* alone are of three divisions: *sādhaka*, *brahmamaya*, and *prāptabrahmalaya*. 78 Without *bhakti* there is no *mukti* through *jñāna* alone. He who is *prāptabrahmalaya* performs *bhakti-sādhana*. 79 The nature of *bhakti* is that he is attracted away from *brahma*, and is caused to worship Kṛṣṇa in his divine body. 80 When one gains the body of the *bhakta*, there is remembrance of the *guṇas*, but when the *guṇas* are extracted, there remains pure worship.

Śloka 33. Śrīdhara Svāmin's *Bhāvārthadīpikā* Commentary on *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.87.21:

Even *muktas*, taking a *vigraha* by *līlā*, worship Bhagavān.

81 From birth Śuka, Sanaka and others were *brahmamaya*; attracted by the qualities of Kṛṣṇa, they worshiped Kṛṣṇa. 82 By the mercy of Kṛṣṇa, the hearts

76. Those who consider the highest principle to be without form, without qualities, and without *śakti*, and who consider themselves as non-different from *brahma* (n), and who desire freedom to unite with *brahma*, are called *jñāna-mārga upāsaka*. Those worshipers (*upāsaka*) who worship *brahma* with the idea of increasing their own wealth, power, and enjoyment, and whose worship is not based in the idea of gaining freedom from *māyā*, are called *kevala-brahma upāsaka* ("worshipers of the sole *brahma*"); those who worship *brahma* with the idea of gaining freedom from *māyā* are called *mokṣākāṅkṣī* ("who worship for the sake of *mukti* or *mokṣa*").

77. In reverse order: those who are absorbed in *brahma* are called *prāptabrahmalaya*; those who are not absorbed, but remain in the body, still seeing *brahma* everywhere, are called *brahmamaya*; and those who have gained *mukti* but continue to act like *sādhakas*, as though they were still searching, are called *sādhaka*. As the following couplets point out, these three all enjoy the bliss of *brahma*, and are thus called *ātmārāma*; but even they are attracted by the qualities of Kṛṣṇa, and turn to him.

78. These three are effective only with the help of *bhakti*. The three followers of the *jñāna-mārga* know this, and thus turn to *bhakti* to help them to their ends.

79. *Divya-deha*: divine body, the body made up of *cit*, not the material *guṇas*, which is the condition of the *bhakta* when he is in relationship to the *svarūpa*.

80. I.e., the body is no longer made up of the material *guṇas*, but is not perfected (*siddha-deha*) and pure (*nirmala*), as the vestiges remain as memory.

Śloka 33. Also Saṅkara's *Bhāṣya*, *Nṛsiṃhatāpanī* 2.5.16. See 2.24.*śl*.49; 2.25.*śl*.44. *Vigraha*: bodily form or image.

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of Sanaka and the others were brightened, and attracted by his qualities, they had pure worship of him.

Śloka 34. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.15.43:
The wind, bearing the perfume of the *tulasī*, mingled with the perfume of the lotus-feet of that lotus-eyed one, enters the orifices, and agitates the minds and bodies of those who are *akṣarajuṣas*.

83 By the mercy of Vyāsa there is memory of the *līlās* of Śukadeva, who worshiped, being attracted by the qualities of Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 35. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.7.11:
The *bhagavān* Bādarāyaṇi, always loving to the people of Viṣṇu, whose mind was distraught with the [hearing of] the qualities of Hari, composed the Mahadākhyāna.

84 From their births, the nine *yogīśvaras* are *jñānī-sādhakas*, and they heard of the qualities of Kṛṣṇa from the mouths of Nārada, Śiva, and Vidhātā. 85 Attracted by his attributes, they worshiped Kṛṣṇa; in the eleventh *skandha* [of the *Bhāgavata*] there is a description of their *bhakti*.

Śloka 36. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*paścima-vibhāga, śāntabhaktirasa-laharī*] 3.1.20:
The *śruti*-knowing nine *yogīndras*, entering into the tranquil court of Kamalabhū and listening to the epitome of the *śrutis*, were thrilled, and most anxious to attain the lofty stage of accompanying [Kṛṣṇa] to Yadupura.

86 The *jñānīs* desirous of *mokṣa* are of three kinds: *mumukṣu*, *jīvan-mukta*, and *prāptasvarūpa*. 87 *Mumukṣu* are the many people caught in *saṃsāra* in the world, and who worship Kṛṣṇa in *bhakti* for the sake of freedom from it.

Śloka 34. See 2.17.*śl.*9; 2.24.*śl.*10; 2.25.*śl.*46.
Śloka 35. Bādarāyaṇi: Śukadeva; Mahadākhyāna: the *BhP*.
84. The nine *yogīśvaras* are Kavī, Havī, Antarīkṣa, Prabuddha, Pippalāyana, Āvirhotra, Draviḍa, Camasa, and Karabhājana. Vidhātā or Vidhi: Brahmā.
Śloka 36. Kamalabhuva: Brahmā.
87. Kṛṣṇadāsa now goes on to classify the *mokṣākājkṣī-upāsakas* of the *jñāna-mārga*: *mumukṣu* are those who desire *mokṣa*; *jīvan-mukta*: see 2.22.20; and *prāptasvarūpa*: those who are released from both gross and subtle bodies, released from the deeds inspired by ideas of the nature of the self, and experience that aspect of the *svarūpa* which is *brahma*.

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Śloka 37. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.2.26:

Mumukṣu people have abandoned those [deities] of fierce aspect, as well as *bhūtapatis*, and the rest, and free from malice and of tranquil nature, worship the images of Nārāyaṇa.

88 In all these [*mumukṣus*], qualities are caused to blossom by association with holy people, and they are caused to worship Kṛṣṇa, and to abandon *mumukṣā*.

Śloka 38. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*paścima-vibhāga*, *prītabhaktirasa-laharī*] 3.2.27 [quoting *Haribhaktisudhodaya* 1.54]:

How wonderful, O great-souled one! Even though tainted with many faults of the world, this love is manifested by one virtue, from which comes happiness, called association with holy men, and because of this now our *mumukṣā* is weakened.

89 Because of association with Nārada, Śaunaka and the other *munis* abandoned *mumukṣā* and worshiped Kṛṣṇa. 90 By the mercy of Kṛṣṇa, some had *darśana* of Kṛṣṇa, and abandoning *mumukṣā*, attracted by his qualities they worshiped his feet.

Śloka 39. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*paścima-vibhāga*, *śāntabhaktirasa-laharī*] 3.1.34:

While this supreme *ātman* is sparkling, in the form of a mass of bliss, in the city of the Vṛṣṇis, alas, a long time has gone by in vain for me, while I delighted in my [own] *ātman*.

91 *Jīvan-muktas* are many; they also are of two kinds: *jīvan-muktas* in *bhakti*, and *jīvan-muktas* in *jñāna*. 92 The *jīvan-muktas* in *bhakti* are drawn by his qualities and worship Kṛṣṇa; *jīvan-muktas* in dry *jñāna* are plunged below because of offences.

Śloka 37. Mumukṣu people: aspirants to release; "deities of fierce aspect" are presumably such as Bhairava-Śiva; *bhūtas* are spirits and usually malevolent, and *pati*, "lord," is simply a respectful suffix.

Śloka 39. Vṛṣṇipattana: Dvārakā.

91. 2.22.19-20 suggests that those who follow the *jñāna-mārga* without the help of *bhakti*, or as they are called here the *jīvan-muktas* in *jñāna*, are not really *jīvan-muktas* at all.

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Śloka 40. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.2.32:

Lotus-eyed one, those who, devoid of *bhakti* towards you and therefore of impure mind, consider themselves as free, with great difficulty gain the high place, and having disrespect for your feet, they fall from there.

Śloka 41. *Bhagavad Gītā* 18.54:

Having become *brahman*, serene of spirit, he does not grieve, he does not crave: equable to all creatures, he achieves the ultimate *bhakti* of me.

Śloka 42. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*paścima-vibhāga, śāntabhaktirasa-laharī*] 3.1.44 [quoting Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala]:

Worshiped by those who follow the road of *advaita*, consecrated on the lion-throne of joy in the *ātman*, we have become maid-servants, forced by some rogue who has seduced the wives of the *gopas*.

93 By the power of *bhakti* the *svarūpa* is gained, and the divine body; drawn by the qualities of Kṛṣṇa they worship at Kṛṣṇa's feet.

Śloka 43. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.10.6:

The abandonment of other forms, and remaining in the *svarūpa* is called *mukti*.

94 In the fault of having one's face averted from Kṛṣṇa, there is fear from *māyā*; but in *bhakti*, with one's face toward Kṛṣṇa, one becomes free from *māyā*.

Śloka 44. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.2.37:

He who is separated from Īśvara, because of his *māyā*, forgets; because of that, he is in opposition, and because of that is born fear and clinging to things of the body and of the world. For this reason the wise man worships that Īśvara with undeviating *bhakti*, [considering] his *guru* as *devatā*.

Śloka 40. See 2.22.*śl.*10; 2.24.*śl.*47; 2.25.*śl.*3.

Śloka 41. See 2.8.*śl.*8; 2.25.*śl.*43.

Śloka 42. See 2.10.*śl.*6. [For the attribution of this *śloka*, see Wilson, ed., *The Love of Krishna*, 8-9. TKS]

Śloka 43. "Other forms" refers to the bodies both gross and subtle; one gains a divine or pure body through *bhakti*.

Śloka 44. See 2.20.*śl.*11; 2.25.*śl.*32.

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Śloka 45. *Bhagavad Gītā* 7.14:
This is my divine *māyā*, consisting of [the three] *guṇas*, is certainly hard to escape. Those who take refuge in me can overcome this *māyā*.

95 Except for *bhakti* there is no *mukti*, but through *bhakti* that *mukti* comes about.

Śloka 46. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.14.4:
O all-pervading one, to those who, abandoning *bhakti* to you as the way of realization, toil in the acquiring of wisdom, nothing else remains but anguish; they are like threshers of solid chaff.

Śloka 47. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.2.32:
Lotus-eyed one, those who, devoid of *bhakti* towards you and therefore of impure mind, consider themselves as free, with great difficulty gain the high place, and having disrespect for your feet, they fall from there.

Śloka 48. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.5.2:
By means of the *guṇas*, each of the four *varṇas*, twice-born and the rest, are born respectively from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet of the *puruṣa*, together with the *āśramas*.

96 And when one gains *mukti* in *bhakti*, he inevitably worships Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 49. Śrīdhara Svāmin's *Bhāvārthadīpikā* commentary on *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.87.21:
Even *muktas*, taking a *vigraha*, by *līlā* worship Bhagavān.

97 These six *ātmārāmas* worship Kṛṣṇa; this is the meaning of each of the '*ca*'s and of the '*api*'s. 98 '*Ātmārāmāśca api*' means spontaneous *bhakti* to Kṛṣṇa;

Śloka 45. See 2.20.*śl.*12; 2.22.*śl.*7.
Śloka 46. See 2.22.*śl.*6; 2.25.*śl.*2.
Śloka 47. See 2.22.*śl.*10; 2.24.*śl.* 40; 2.25.*śl.*3.
Śloka 48. See 2.22.*śl.*8; 2.22.*śl.*52.
Śloka 49. See 2.24.*śl.*33; 2.25.*śl.*44. *Vigraha*: bodily form or image.
97. "*ca*" and "*api*" as conjunctions, i.e., "and the *sādhaka-ātmārāma* and the *brahmamaya-ātmārāma* and the *prāptabrahmalaya ātmārāma* . . ."
98. Giving the six meanings of *ātmārāma* gives six different interpretations of the *śloka*. "*Api*" can also mean emphasis, thus: "even being *ātmārāmas*, they had spontaneous *bhakti* . . ." One interpretation of *muni* was "given to the mind," thus "being *munis* or wise men," "given to the mind," they are attached mentally to Kṛṣṇa.

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'*munayaḥ santaḥ*' means attachment of the mind to Kṛṣṇa. 99 '*Nirgranthāḥ*' is lack of ignorance and freedom from injunctions. What is appropriate where—that determines the meaning. 100 If we take the meaning of the word '*ca*' to be conjunctive, another meaning emerges, most appropriately. 101 Repeating '*ātmārāmāśca*' six times, five '*ātmārāmas*' are contained in six '*ca*'s. 102 Finally one '*ātmārāma*' remains, and this one '*ātmārāma*' means six people.

Śloka 50. Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 1.2.64a [quoting *Siddhāntakaumudī, ajantapuṃliṅga-śabda-prakaraṇa*]:

One ending suffixed to the final word in a series is used to designate the whole series. As, '*rāmaśca rāmaśca rāmaśca*,' are '*rāmāḥ*.'

103 Then when the word '*ca*' means combination, the meaning is 'both *ātmārāmas* and *munis* worship Kṛṣṇa.' 104 And in that case the '*api*' in '*nirgranthā api*' means possibility. These seven meanings I have first explained.

105 '*Ātmārāma*' also means 'the worshiper who dwells within'; and these *ātmārāma yogīs* are of two kinds. 106 These two divisions are *sagarbha* and *nirgarbha*, and each has three divisions, making six subdivisions.

Śloka 51. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.2.8:

[They are] those who meditate on, in intense concentration, that *puruṣa*, only as big as *prādeśa*, holding the lotus, discus, conch, and club, four-armed, situated in the heart-cavity within their own bodies.

99. Among the various meanings of *nirgranthā* given previously, two are appropriate to the *ātmārāma*, who experiences within the self, and is beyond ritual: "without books of ignorance" and "without the injunctions of the *śāstras*."

100-102. I.e., "*ca*" is used to indicate a series of "x" units, and by suffixing it to a single unit, one can state the whole series. If "x" is six, *ātmārāmāśca* can mean six *ātmārāmas*. "Six people" means the six classes of *ātmārāmas*.

Śloka 50. See 2.24.*śl.*85.

104. I.e., "whether this or that possibility, depending on condition": whether the *munis* are devoid of books of ignorance or devoid of injunctions of the *śāstras*, still by the power of attraction of Kṛṣṇa, they worship him.

106. These are explained in *ślokas* 51 and 52 below. *Sagarbha* is one who holds that *puruṣa* in his heart, that *puruṣa* as big as the thumb and little finger extended (*pradeśa*). *Nirgarbha* is he who does not reflect that *puruṣa* as within his own heart, but as outside it, resting on the sea of milk. These are both conditions of *yoga*, the aim of which is gaining the *paramātmā*, the indwelling principle, and which, like *jñāna*, must be mixed with *bhakti* to be effective.

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Śloka 52. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.28.14:
In this way the attainment of *bhāva* to Bhagavān Hari with *bhakti*, with heart dissolved from joy, [the body] thrilled, with tears of longing, again and again anguished, gradually dislodges the fish-hook of the mind.

107 *Yogārurukṣu*, *yogārūḍha*, and *prāptasiddhi*: both classes are divided into these three subgroups, making six kinds.

Ślokas 53-54. *Bhagavad Gītā* 6.3-4:
53 For the *muni* who is desirous of rising along the path of *yoga*, the cause of that rising is called his means. Of the same who is *yogārūḍha*, the cause is tranquility. 54 When he has renounced all desires, and is not attracted to either things of the senses or to *karma*, then he is called *yogārūḍha*.

108 These six *yogins* reach the source, association with holy men and the like, and worship Kṛṣṇa, drawn by the qualities of Kṛṣṇa. 109 In the word '*ca*' is also the meaning of '*api*'; and '*muni*' and '*nirgranthā*' have the meanings as given before. 110 '*Urukrama*' and '*ahaitukī*' in some places have certain meanings; these thirteen meanings are then fulfilled. 111 When all these tranquil people worship *bhagavān*, then they are called '*śānta-bhaktas*.'

112 The word '*ātmā*' also means mind; '*mana*,' he who sports in the mind; and he worships the feet of Kṛṣṇa in the company of holy men.

Śloka 52. Rādhāgovinda Nātha glosses *arddyamānaḥ*, "anguished," as "drowning" (*nimajjamān*) in a sea of joy, thus explaining the unexpected fish-hook image.

107. *Yogārurukṣu*: he who wants to ascend by *yoga*, and to stabilize and quiet the mind; *yogārūḍha*: he whose mind is quiet, and who is absorbed in the *paramātmā*; and *prāptasiddhi*: he who has attained the goal, who no longer needs to strive for it, and who is beyond both action and experience.

109. I.e., all the arguments applied to the *jñāna-ātmārāmas* here apply to the *yoga-ātmārāmas*.

110. I.e., the seven given previously in terms of *jñāna*, and the six given here in terms of *yoga*; *ahaitukī* and *urukrama* are constant.

111. These thirteen kinds of people have access only to *śānta-bhāva*; the other more satisfactory kinds of *bhāva* are limited to those who worship in pure *bhakti*.

112. *Rame*: sports.

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Śloka 55. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.87.18:

On the paths of the *ṛṣis*, those whose perception is gross meditate on the belly; the sons of Aruṇa meditate on the indwelling one in the heart and its circling ways. O Ananta! from that it rises up to the head, your supreme place, and the highest crest of that which is called the *suṣumnā*; and when that is gained, they do not fall again into the mouth of death.

113 These are the great *munis*, drawn by the qualities of Kṛṣṇa, and as they are '*nirgranthā*,' they have spontaneous *bhakti*.

114 The word '*ātmā*' also says '*yatna*'—care or effort, and with care even the *munis* worship Kṛṣṇa, drawn by his qualities.

Śloka 56. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.5.18:

For which the sage strives, and what is unattainable for those who wander about high and low, wise men try; that happiness is gained otherwise like sorrow in time, with profound perseverance in everything.

Śloka 57. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.103:

The zealous seeking in the minds of those devoted to true *dharma* will soon gain for them all that they earnestly desire.

115 The word '*ca*' means '*api*,' and *api* means emphasis or determination; for except for eager effort, *bhakti* does not develop into *prema*.

Śloka 58. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sāmānyabhakti-laharī*] 1.1.35:

By masses of *sādhanas*, even in a very long time [it] is unattainable by those free from attachments, and it is not given quickly by Hari: these are the two kinds of difficulties in Hari-*bhakti*.

Śloka 55. According to the *tantras*, there is a lotus called *maṇipura* which is located in the navel, and either Brahmā or Rudra is situated in this lotus. Similarly, in some systems the heart is considered to be the center from which all nerves (*nāḍī*) branch out. The *suṣumnā* is the central nerve, between *īḍā* and *piṅgalā*, through which the vital force must rise until it reaches the highest point in the top of the head or the brain, and the ultimate experience is gained. See *PHM*, 178, 241. See 2.24.*śl*.79.

114. Munayo api: even the *munis*. *Muni* here means an ascetic or *yogin*, or "a silent one."

Śloka 57. See 2.20.*śl*.7.

115. This is the fifteenth meaning. *Bhakti* here means *sādhana-bhakti*, painstaking attention to *kīrtana* and the other sixty-three kinds of practices.

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Śloka 59. *Bhagavad Gītā* 10.10:
O Arjuna! I give to those who are joined with me, who worship me in love, the means of wisdom by which they gain me.

116 The word '*ātmā*' also means patience or steadfastness—he who loves steadfastly; and being '*dhairyavanta eva*,' he worships Kṛṣṇa. 117 The word '*muni*' also means bird or black bee, and '*nirgranthā*' means a fool. By the mercy of Kṛṣṇa and by the mercy of holy men, both worship.

Śloka 60. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.21.14:
The birds which are in this forest are like *munis*; they sit on the branches of the trees covered with lovely leaves, to catch sight of Kṛṣṇa; and with closed eyes they listen to the sweet song of the flute played by him, without making any other sound.

Ślokas 61-62. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.15.6-7:
61 O *ādi-puruṣa*! all these bees, singing your glory which is the holy place of all people, worship [you] in every path. O *anagha*! they are like crowds of *munis*, the chief among your devotees; they do not abandon their own *deva*, even hidden deep in the forest. 62 O praiseworthy one! these peacocks dance in delight; and the deer, who seem like *gopīs*, make love to you with their eyes and the cuckoos with their sweet sounds when you come home. The dwellers in the forest are indeed fortunate, for such is their nature.

Śloka 63. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.35.11:
In the lotus-pond the swans and cranes are drawn by the beautiful song of the flute of Kṛṣṇa; they come near him, and attentive and silent, their eyes closed, with their heads they worship Hari.

Śloka 59. See 1.1.*śl.*20; 2.24.*śl.*70.
116. Dhairyavanta eva, firmly fixed, steadfast.
117. Fool: perhaps better would be "ignorant man," meaning here one who does not have access to the true *śāstras*; this meaning is borne out in *śloka* 64 below. In that *śloka* are mentioned the names of tribal peoples, except Yavanas, which literally means "Ionian" or Greek, and is commonly used in the sixteenth century to refer to Muslims; see the commentary to 2.1.158, 186.

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Śloka 64. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.4.18:

Kirātas, Hūṇas, Āndhras, Pulindas, Pukkasas, Ābhīras, Śuhmas, Yavanas, Khasas and others, evil people, are purified by taking refuge in him who is the refuge of [*bhaktas*]: to him who is so powerful, obeisance.

118 Or in the word '*dhṛti*' is the knowledge of one's own fulfillment; they find great fulfillment in the lack of sorrow in the gaining of the ultimate.

Śloka 65. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*dakṣiṇa-vibhāga, vyabhicārī-laharī*] 2.4.144:

Dhṛti is the fullness which comes from the gaining of the ultimate, which is *jñāna* and the lack of sorrow; and in it is lack of grieving for the destruction of things, or the lack of them, or unfulfillment.

119 The Kṛṣṇa-*bhakta* is free from grief and free from inner desires; he serves Kṛṣṇa in *prema*, strong in the joy of fullness.

Śloka 66. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 9.4.67:

My people, full of service, do not hold to *sālokya*, *sārṣṭi*, *sārūpya*, *sāmīpya*, and *ekatva*, which they earn by serving me, let alone anything ravaged by time.

Śloka 67.

All those whose senses are fixed on Hṛṣīkeśa, certainly gain firmness in the world that is teeming with *jīvas*.

120 In the word '*ca*,' is emphasis, and in '*api*' is a conjunction. Birds and ignorant men worship, becoming possessed of steadiness.

121 The word '*ātmā*' means intelligence, and special intelligence. Many *jīvas* finally gain ordinary intelligence. 122 The *ātmārāma* who seeks by *buddhi* is of

Śloka 64. See 2.24.*śl.*78.

118. One of the meanings of *ātmā* has been defined as *dhṛti*, "satisfaction" or "firmness," "self-restraint."

Śloka 66. See 1.4.*śl.*37. For the types of *mukti*, see 1.3.16; 2.6.239 and commentary.

Śloka 67. The *śloka* is that of Kṛṣṇadāsa.

120. Dhṛtimanta: possessed of steadiness, could also be "finding satisfaction." The sixteenth meaning therefore is: "Ignorant men and birds and beasts also certainly have spontaneous *bhakti* . . ."

121. Ātmā means *buddhi*, and *buddhi* is of two kinds: ordinary intelligence or perception, and special intelligence or perception. The latter is meant here.

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two kinds—the wise *muni*, and the *nirgrantha* fool. 123 By the mercy of Kṛṣṇa, in discussion in the company of holy men, they gain the perception of *rati*, and abandoning everything they worship at the feet of Kṛṣṇa in pure *bhakti*.

Śloka 68. *Bhagavad Gītā* 10.8:
I am the place or origin of all, from me all proceeds—considering this and being attached in emotion to me, wise men worship me.

Śloka 69. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.7.45:
Women, *śūdras*, *hūṇas*, *savaras*, and low people—even birds and animals—if they devote themselves to progress toward the good, know the *deva-māyā* and escape it; let alone those who are intent on the *śrutis*.

124 When they have discriminated, they worship at the feet of Kṛṣṇa; and he gives perception to those who are at his feet.

Śloka 70. *Bhagavad Gītā* 10.10:
O Arjuna! I give to those who are joined with me, who worship me in love, the means of wisdom by which they gain me.

125 Association with true men, service of Kṛṣṇa, the *Bhāgavata*, the name, and dwelling in Vraja—these are the five chief *sādhanas*. 126 Among these five, a little bit of any gives rise to *prema* for Kṛṣṇa for a man of true perception.

Śloka 71. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga*, *sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.238:
These five are hard to know and of wondrous power; let there be faith in the five, for even the slightest relationship with them leads to the rise of the *bhāva* in the hearts of the good.

127 Those pure and simple people, whose perception is the best of all, if they worship [even] with many desires, still they gain the perfection of *bhakti*.

Śloka 70. See 1.1.*śl.*20; 2.24.*śl.*59.
Śloka 71. See 2.22.*śl.*57.

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Śloka 72. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.3.10:
One who is desireless, or one who desires everything, or one who is desirous of *mokṣa*, if he is wise, worships the *parama-puruṣa* with strong and deep *bhakti*.

128 By the influence of *bhakti* he is caused to abandon those desires, and is caused to have *bhakti* at the feet of Kṛṣṇa, attracted by his qualities.

Śloka 73. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.7.10:
Even though they are not possessed of the books, those sages who delight in the self offer selfless *bhakti* to the great-striding [Viṣṇu]; of such qualities is Hari.

Śloka 74. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 5.19.26:
It is true that, being prayed to, he grants desired objects to men; but he is not the giver of objects, because even after that, [man] is desirous of more. To those who have no selfish desires, and to those who worship, he himself grants the shoots of his own feet, by which all desires are obscured.

129 The word '*ātmā*' also means 'nature,' and he who sports in that; so '*ātmārāma*' means all *jīva*s, moving and unmoving. 130 The nature of the *jīva* is perception of self as the servant of Kṛṣṇa; that knowledge is hidden by the misconception that the *ātmā* is in the body. 131 But from the mercy of Kṛṣṇa, etc., [knowledge of] his nature arises, and attracted by the qualities of Kṛṣṇa, the *jīva* worships Kṛṣṇa. 132 The word '*ca*' has the meaning '*eva*' and '*api*' means conjunction; so being '*ātmārāma-eva*,' he worships Śrī Kṛṣṇa. 133 That [kind of] *jīva* Sanaka and the other *muni*s were, and the '*nirgranthas*'—fools, and the low, and unmoving things, and beasts. 134 The worship of Vyāsa, Śuka, Sanaka and the rest is famous; listen to a description of the *nirgranthas*, unmoving *jīva*s,

Śloka 72. See 2.22.*śl.*13; 2.24.*śl.*28.
Śloka 73. See 2.6.*śl.*15; 2.17.*śl.*8; 2.24.*śl.*2; 2.25.*śl.*47.
Śloka 74. See 2.22.*śl.*14; 2.24.*śl.*32.
129. Svabhāva: nature, or he who has *bhāva* toward the *svarūpa*; the *svarūpa* of the *jīva* is the eternal servant of Kṛṣṇa, and the true nature of the *jīva* is recognition of that relationship. *Rame*: sports.
132. Eva: emphasis or certainty. "Certainly both moving and unmoving things worship Kṛṣṇa."
133. That kind: knowing their true natures as servants of Kṛṣṇa; *nirgrantha* is the second kind, ignorant people, unmoving things, and beasts.

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and the rest. 135 The rising of [the knowledge of one's] nature has its source in the grace of Kṛṣṇa and the rest; attracted by the qualities of Kṛṣṇa, they worship him.

Śloka 75. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.15.8:
Today this earth is blessed, for the grass and shrubs have touched your feet, the creepers and trees have been caressed by your fingers, and all the rivers and mountains and deer and birds have been looked at compassionately; and the *gopīs* have been clasped in your arms, longed for by Lakṣmī.

Śloka 76. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.21.19:
While they two are herding the cows through the forests with the *gopas*, the two marked by ropes and nooses [on their shoulders], there is, among embodied things, a quivering of those which move and a thrill in the trees on account of the sweet sound of their noble flutes. O wonder!

Śloka 77. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.35.9:
All the creepers and trees of the forest, bodies trembling with *prema*, their branches laden with flowers and fruits, branches bending under their burden as though manifesting in themselves Viṣṇu, rain streams of nectar.

Śloka 78. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.4.18:
Kirātas, Hūṇas, Āndhras, Pulindas, Pukkasas, Ābhīras, Śuhmas, Yavanas, Khasas, and others, evil people, are purified by taking refuge in him who is the refuge [of *bhaktas*]: to him who is so powerful, obeisance.

136 Thus thirteen meanings have been given, in addition to the six previous ones. Adding these two together gives nineteen meanings. 137 So there are nineteen meanings; listen to some more to come.

The word '*ātmā*' means body, and this has four meanings. 138 The '*dehārāmī*' worships *brahma* in the body as an attribute of it; he too worships Kṛṣṇa in the company of true men.

Śloka 77. See 2.8.*śl.*53.
Śloka 78. See 2.24.*śl.*64.
138. Dehārāmī: those who experience joy (*ānanda*) in their own bodies, those who worship through their bodies, presumably the tāntric *yogins* who are described in *śloka 79*. See ante, comment on *śloka* 55.

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Śloka 79. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.87.18:

On the paths of the *ṛṣis*, those whose perception is gross meditate on the belly; the sons of Aruṇa meditate on the indwelling one in the heart and its circling ways. O Ananta! from that, it rises up to the head, your supreme place, and the highest crest of that which is called the *suṣumnā*; and when that is gained, they do not fall again, into the mouth of death.

139 '*Dehārāmīs*' are also devoted to *karma*, people who offer sacrifices and so forth; they abandon *karma* and worship Kṛṣṇa in the company of true men.

Śloka 80. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.18.12:

In untrustworthy *karma* our selves had become smoky from the smoke of sacrifices, and you have given us to drink the sweet liquor of the lotus feet of the sweet Govinda.

140 There are '*dehārāmīs*' who are ascetics and the like; they abandon their asceticism and worship Kṛṣṇa in the company of true men.

Śloka 81. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 4.21.31:

The ascetics' love for service to whose feet destroys the filth, accumulated in numerous births, of the mind, as a rising river that wells from his toes.

141 '*Dehārāmīs*' are also those who have all desires, who are totally delighting in the self; they abandon all desires and worship Kṛṣṇa, by his grace.

Śloka 82. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*uttara-vibhāga*, *vīrabhaktirasa-laharī*] 4.3.44 [quoting *Haribhaktisudhodaya* 7.28]:

I was desirous of position, and performed austerities. Then I found you, obscure even to Indra and the *devas* and *munis*. It was as if while searching for glass, I found a divine jewel. Lord, I am crowned with success, and I have not even prayed for a boon.

Śloka 79. See 2.24.*śl.*55.

139. This is a second type of *dehārāmī*, who hopes to gain bodily pleasure, on earth or in heaven, through the performance of sacrifice and the rest.

140. The third type of *dehārāmī* is the ascetic, who worships through the body by mortification of it.

Śloka 82. See 2.22.*śl.*15.

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142 With these four meanings, the total meanings are twenty-four; listen to another three most appropriate meanings.

143 When the word '*ca*' means 'and,' another meaning is there: 'The *ātmārāmas* and the *munis* worship Kṛṣṇa.' 144 '*Nirgranthāḥ*' is as before, and '*api*' is an emphatic. '*Rāmaśca kṛṣṇaśca*' means 'Rāma and Kṛṣṇa were roaming about in the forest': 145 the word '*ca*' is conjunctive. But '*ca*' can also imply greater and lesser of two meanings, as in: 'You! Go and beg, and bring the cow.' 146 A *muni* reflects on Kṛṣṇa and always worships him. So the secondary meaning is 'also (*api*) the *ātmārāma*' worships. 147 And '*ca*' means '*eva*'—so 'certainly the *muni* worships Kṛṣṇa'; and the secondary meaning has '*api*,' thus '*ātmārāma api*.' 148 '*Nirgrantha*' is then adjectival to both. Hear another meaning, [having to do with] the company of *sādhus*.

149 '*Nirgrantha*' also means 'hunter', 'who is a poor man'; by association with holy men he worships Śrī Kṛṣṇa. 150 '*Kṛṣṇarāmāśca eva*' is 'reflecting on Kṛṣṇa'; and even (*eva*) being a hunter he is to be honored as the greatest of *bhāgavatas*. 151 Listen carefully to the story of a hunter who was a *bhakta*; from this comes the knowledge of the greatness of association with holy men. 152 One day Śrī Nārada saw that Nārāyaṇa was going to Prayāga to bathe at the Triveṇī. 153 As he went along the path through the forest, he saw a deer which had fallen on the ground. Wounded with an arrow and with its leg broken, it was writhing on the ground. 154 And at a little distance he saw a boar; it also had been wounded and its leg broken, and it too was writhing in pain. 155 And a little further away he saw a hare in the same condition. Seeing the misery of these creatures, Nārada's heart was pained. 156 A little distance away he saw a hunter, hiding in a tree; he was just aiming an arrow, to kill a deer. 157 He was dark in complexion, with bloodshot eyes, very fearsome to see; he held a bow and arrows in his hand and they seemed the staff of Yama. 158 Leaving the path,

145. I.e., primary and secondary meanings. In "go and beg and bring," "go and beg" is primary, and "bring" is secondary, both in time sequence and in logical sequence, for the cow must be begged before it can be brought.

146. Kṛṣṇamanana: reflects, has his mind on Kṛṣṇa. This is the primary meaning of *muni*, so *ātmārāma* must constitute the secondary one.

148. I.e., in this interpretation, both *munis* and *ātmārāmas* are *nirgrantha*.

149. Nirgrantha has also been interpreted as *nirdhana*, "without wealth"; Kṛṣṇadāsa says that even a man so poor that he has had to turn to hunting, the most despised of occupations, to earn a living, can be saved by the association with holy men.

150. Ātmā is Kṛṣṇa, thus the transposition *kṛṣṇarāma*. And *muni* is *manana*, "reflecting on." The reading, the twenty-sixth, is thus, "Even poor hunters are *ātmārāmas* and *munis* . . ."

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Nārada went over to him; and when they saw Nārada the deer all fled. 159 Angrily the hunter wanted to curse him; but because of the power of Nārada the curses did not come out of his mouth. 160 'Gosvāmī! Why have you come here, leaving the usual path? When it saw you, the deer which was my target fled away.' 161 And Nārada said, 'I have lost my way, and have come to ask you. There is some doubt in my mind, and to dispel that [I have come]. 162 That deer and boar on the path, perhaps they are yours?' And the hunter said, 'What you say is true.' 163 Nārada said, 'When you strike a living creature with an arrow, why do you only half kill it? Why don't you take its life?' 164 The hunter said, 'Listen, Gosvāmī. My name is Mṛgāri. I do such work according to the teachings of my father. 165 When a half-dead creature writhes in pain, great joy grows in my heart!' 166 And Nārada said, 'Let me beg one thing from you.' And the hunter replied, 'Take a deer or whatever it is you want. 167 If you want a deerskin, come to my house. Whatever you want I'll give you—a deer or tiger skin cloth.' 168 Nārada said, 'I want nothing like that; it is another gift I ask from you. 169 From tomorrow, whatever deer or other animal you hit, kill it immediately. Do not half kill it.' 170 The hunter said, 'What is this you ask of me? What does it matter if I half kill an animal; tell me that.' 171 And Nārada said, 'If you half kill it, the animal feels pain; you give misery to *jīvas*, and that will be unfortunate for you. 172 O hunter, you kill *jīvas*, and this is a little sin for you. But you kill wrongly, and this sin is very great. 173 As many *jīvas* as you have killed cruelly will, in turn, kill you, in birth after birth.' 174 In the company of Nārada, the heart of the hunter was delighted; and hearing his words, fear was born in his mind. 175 The hunter said, 'This has been my work from childhood; how shall I be saved? I am low and vile. 176 How can I rid myself of this sin? Save me; I fall at your feet.' 177 Nārada said, 'If you follow my instructions, then I shall be able to free you.' 178 The hunter said, 'I shall do what you tell me.' Nārada said, 'Break your bow; then I shall speak.' 179 The hunter said, 'If I break the bow, how shall I live?' And Nārada said, 'I shall give you food each day.' 180 So breaking the bow, the hunter fell at his feet; and raising him up, Nārada instructed him, 181 'Go home, and give as much wealth as you have to a *brāhmaṇa*; wear a single cloth be-

164. Mṛgāri: the enemy (*ari*) of deer (*mṛga*).

172. Rādhāgovinda Nātha reads this as meaning not that the sin of killing is small because it was the *dharma* of the hunter's caste to do that, but that mere killing is a small offence beside the great offence of killing cruelly.

181. Tear the single cloth in half, and you wear half and give half to your wife.

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tween the two of you, and leave home. 182 Make a hermitage on the bank of the river. In front of it put a *piṇḍa*, and plant a *tulasī* there. 183 Circumambulate the *tulasī* and serve it, and constantly take the name of Kṛṣṇa in *saṃkīrtana*. 184 Each day I shall send you much food; take as much of it as the two of you need.' 185 Then Nārada healed the three animals, and being made well again, the three fled away. 186 When he saw this, the mind of the hunter was astonished; and having made obeisance to his *guru*, he went home. 187 Nārada went to his appointed place, and the hunter came home, and did all that Nārada had instructed. 188 In the village the cry arose, 'The hunter has become a Vaiṣṇava!' And all the people of the village began to bring and give him food. 189 On one day ten or twenty people would bring food; and he would take only as much as two could eat in one day. 190 One day Nārada said, 'Listen, O Parvata. There is a student of mine; let us go and see him.' 191 Then the two *ṛṣis* came to the place of that hunter, and from a distance the hunter caught sight of his *guru*. 192 He ran this way and that, but could not find the path; for on the path ants were swarming in all directions. 193 And where he was bowing he saw ants, so he swept clear the spot with his clothing, and then fell prostrate. 194 Nārada said, 'O hunter, this is not astonishing, for freedom from doing injury is the way of *sādhu*s, in Hari-*bhakti*.'

Śloka 83. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.262 [quoting *Skānda Purāṇa*]:

O hunter, all your qualities, *ahiṃsa* and the rest, are not to be wondered at; he who is occupied with Hari-*bhakti* is not violent toward others.

195 Then the hunter brought both of them into the courtyard, and bringing seats of *kuśa* grass, he seated them in devotion. 196 He brought water, and in devotion he washed their feet; and man and wife took that water and drank it and put in on their heads. 197 Trembling and thrilling and weeping, he sang the praises of Kṛṣṇa, and danced, his arms upraised, his clothing flying. 198 Seeing the *prema* of the hunter, the great *muni* Parvata said to Nārada, 'You are a touchstone.'

182. piṇḍa: a mound of earth.

185. The text says *mṛga* (deer) but obviously means "animals": the deer, the boar, and the hare.

190. Parvata was the name of a *ṛṣi*.

Śloka 83. See 2.22.*śl.*65.

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Śloka 84. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, bhāvabhakti-laharī*] 1.3.23 [quoting *Skānda Purāṇa*]:

O *devarṣi*! you are blessed; for by your mercy even a low-born hunter immediately is thrilled, and gains love for Acyuta.

199 Nārada said, 'O Vaiṣṇava, is your food sufficient?' And the hunter said, 'We live on what you send. 200 But do not send so much; there is no need. In all we want only as much as two people need to eat.' 201 Nārada said, 'Let it be as it is. You are fortunate.' And so saying, the two disappeared. 202 So I have told you the story of the hunter; he who listens to it realizes the influence of association with *sādhus*.

203 So we have counted an additional three meanings; and adding the two together gives twenty-six meanings of the verse. 204 Hear another meaning, which is a storehouse of meanings; there are two general meanings, and thirty-two subtle ones.

205 '*Ātmā*' means all the kinds of *bhagavān*. One is *svayaṃ bhagavān*, and the others we call *bhagavān*. 206 He who delights in those, he is '*ātmārāma*.' And these *bhaktas* are of two kinds: *vidhi-bhakta* and *rāga-bhakta*. 207 There are two types of *bhaktas* in each [general class]—four kinds in each: they are *pāriṣada* [*sādhaka*] and *sādhana-siddha sādhaka*; 208 and there are two divisions of *sādhakas*: *jāta* and *ajāta-rati*. And in the *rāga-mārga* [also] there are these four divisions, making eight in all. 209 In *vidhi-bhakti* are the eternally perfected *pāriṣadas*, and they are of four kinds: servant, friend, *guru*, and lover. 210 *Sādhana-siddhas* are [likewise] servant, friend, *guru*, and lover. *Utpanna-rati sādhaka bhaktas* are of [these] four kinds; 211 *Ajāta-rati sādhaka bhaktas* are also of these four kinds. Thus in the *vidhi-mārga* there are sixteen kinds of *bhaktas*. 212 Also in the *rāga-mārga* there are sixteen kinds of *bhaktas*. So in

203. Those meanings stated in vv. 147, 148, and 150. V. 142 had established the twenty-third meaning.

204. There are thirty-two subtle ones of two general categories.

205. The two general categories are *svayaṃ bhagavān*: Kṛṣṇa himself, and *bhagavān*: Rāmacandra and others within the *svarūpa*.

207. There are four kinds of *vidhi-bhaktas*, and four kinds of *rāga-bhaktas*. Those who are eternally in Kṛṣṇa's retinue are *pāriṣada*; those who gain the retinue of Kṛṣṇa by *sādhana* are *sādhana-siddhi*; those who through the performance of *sādhana* reach the stage of *rati* or the birth of the shoot of *prema* are *jāta-rati*; and those who are unable to reach that stage through *sādhana* are called *ajāta-rati*.

209. Guru here means simply elder, those who have *vātsalya* toward Kṛṣṇa.

210. Utpanna-rati: *jāta-rati*, "that *rati* which gives birth to the fruit of *prema*."

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the two *mārgas* there are thirty-two kinds of *ātmārāmas*. 213 '*Muni*,' '*nirgrantha*,' '*ca*,' and '*api*'—the meanings of these four words should be as is appropriate. 214 Adding the thirty-two and the twenty-six together gives fifty-eight. Listen now to the revelation of another kind of meaning.

215 Compounding with '*ca*' meaning conjunction, and taking the name '*ātmārāma*' fifty-eight times— 216 '*ātmārāmāśca ātmārāmāśca*' fifty-eight times, finally we elide them all and keep one at the end.

Śloka 85. Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 1.2.64a [quoting *Siddhāntakaumadī, ajantapuṃliṅga-śabda-prakaraṇa*]:

One ending suffixed to the final word in a series is used to designate the whole series.

217 So fifty-eight '*ca*'s are all implied, and in one '*ātmārāma*' there are fifty-eight meanings.

Śloka 86. Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 1.2.64b [quoting *Siddhāntakaumudī, ajantapuṃliṅga-śabda-prakaraṇa*]:

Aśvattha-vṛkṣa, *baṭa-vṛkṣa*, *kapittha-vṛkṣa*, and *āmra-vṛkṣa*, all these words are subsumed under *vṛkṣāḥ*.

218 So just as 'in this forest, trees flower,' so all the *ātmārāmas* have *bhakti* to Kṛṣṇa. 219 The meaning of '*ca*' is '*ātmārāmāśca*' collectively; '*munayaśca*' have *bhakti*—this is also its meaning. 220 '*Nirgrantha eva*' and '*api*' are specifications [of one out of many], and this is the fifty-ninth meaning.

221 Taking all of them collectively is one meaning, i.e., *ātmārāmāśca*, *munayaśca*, and *nirgranthāśca* worship. 222 The word '*api*' must be taken four times, and '*eva*' is joined together with these four words:

213. These four words are as before, with *ātmārāma* being interpreted in thirty-two new ways.

215-216. I.e., instead of repeating *ātmārāmāśca* fifty-eight times, all fifty-eight meanings are implied by the use of "*ca*" at the end of a single unit.

Śloka 85. See 2.24.*śl.*50.

Śloka 86. Aśvattha, etc., are all different kinds of trees (*vṛkṣa*); all these kinds of trees are implied by the plural suffix, and they do not have to be named individually.

218. "Trees flower" means all kinds of trees; in the same way all *ātmārāmas* have *bhakti* to Kṛṣṇa, meaning all these kinds of *ātmārāmas*.

220. The fifty-ninth meaning is that all the fifty-eight kinds of *ātmārāmas* and *munis* have *bhakti*, and that each one of them has *bhakti*.

222. The four words to which "*api*" is affixed are *urukrame, bhaktim, ahaitukīṃ*, and *kurvanti*; "*api*" here has the meaning "*eva*."

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Śloka 87. [words spoken by Caitanya]:
Urukrama eva, bhaktimeva, ahaitukimeva, kurvantyeva.

223 Now sixty meanings of the *śloka* have been given; hear another one, appropriate in its proof.

224 The word '*ātmā*' means the sign of a *jīva* who is conscious. Numbered among his *śakti*s are all [*jīva*s] from Brahmā to the worm.

Śloka 88. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 6.7.61:
The *śakti* of Viṣṇu is of three kinds: *parā*, *kṣetrajñā*, and the third is called *avidyā-karman*.

Śloka 89. *Amarakoṣa, svargavarga* 7.
Kṣetrajñā, *ātmā*, and *puruṣa* are synonymous.

225 While wandering, if one finds the company of *sādhu*s, he abandons everything and worships Kṛṣṇa. 226 So the sixty-first meaning says: Anyone who worships Kṛṣṇa. This meaning is the epitome of all meanings. 227 The sixty-one meanings thus blossom forth because of association with you; by the power of your *bhakti* these waves of meanings arise."

Śloka 90.
The meaning of the *Bhāgavata* is grasped only by *bhakti*, not by mind and not by commentary.

228 When he heard these meanings, Sanātana was astonished, and he held the feet of Mahāprabhu and praised him, 229 "You are the incarnate Īśvara,

Śloka 87. "For the indeed Great-striding One they indeed have an indeed selfless *bhakti* indeed."

223. The sixtieth meaning is: Whether they be *ātmārāma*s, or *muni*s, or *nirgranthas*, such are that qualities of Hari that . . .

224. Another interpretation of *ātmā* is *jīva*, for the *jīva* is part of the *jīva-śakti* of Kṛṣṇa. And specifically, the *jīva* who is conscious (*kṣetrajñā*) of this relationship.

Śloka 88. Applied to Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava theology as developed by Jīva Gosvāmin, *parā* = *cit-śakti*; *kṣetra-jñā* = *jīva-śakti*; and *avidyā-karman* = *māyā-śakti*. See 1.7.*śl.*7; 2.6.*śl.*10; 2.8.*śl.*36; 2.20.*śl.*9.

225. While wandering through many births, fortunate *jīva*s fall into the company of holy men.

226. The sixty-first meaning is that any *jīva*, from the lowest worm to the highest Brahmā, can find *bhakti* in the company of holy men, and worship Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 90. According to Rādhāgovinda Nātha, the *śloka* is "proverbial" (*prācina ślokaḥ*).

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Vrajendranandana. With your breath you inspired all the Vedas. 230 You are the speaker of the *Bhāgavata* and you know its meanings; there is no need to know anything other than you." 231 Prabhu said, "Why do you praise me? Why do you not examine the true form of the *Bhāgavata*? 232 The *Bhāgavata* is like Kṛṣṇa—ever the refuge of all; in each *śloka* there are many clear meanings. 233 In the *Bhāgavata* there is determination [of things] in questions and answers; and when they hear these people are astonished.

Śloka 91. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.1.23:
With Kṛṣṇa, the *yogeśvara*, the *brahmaṇya*, the protector of *dharma*, gone to his own goal, you now tell me, who will be the refuge of *dharma*?

Śloka 92. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.3.45:
With Kṛṣṇa, gone to his own place with the *dharma*-knowers, etc., now the sun of this *purāṇa* has risen, for those whose sight was blinded in the Kali age.

234 So one *śloka* has been explained; perhaps the ravings of a madman—who can prove it? 235 He who is as mad as I am knows the meaning of the *Bhāgavata* in this way."

236 And again Sanātana said, joining his two hands, "Prabhu, you have commanded me to prepare the Vaiṣṇava-*smṛti*. 237 But I am low-born, and know nothing of proper conduct. How can the propagation of the *smṛti* come from me? 238 But if you instruct me, surveying [the field] in *sūtra*s, if you yourself enter into my heart, 239 Then those hints will blossom in my low heart; you are Īśvara, and that which you do will be completed."

240 Prabhu replied, "In doing that which you have in mind, Kṛṣṇa will cause you to express those things. 241 Still, listen to a survey in the form of *sūtra*s. First of all should be written of the *guru* as refuge [the basis for all], 242 and an examination of the signs of the *guru* and the signs of the disciple, these two;

234. Bātulera pralāpa: "ravings of a madman."

236. [This couplet explicitly and the section from v. 236-57 have often been marshalled as evidence for Sanātana's authorship, or at least inspiration, of the *HBhV*, which is generally attributed to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin. See also 2.1.30 and 2.23.53-66. The subject matter of the *HBhV* is found below in vv. 241-57. TKS]

242. For the signs of the proper *guru*, see S. K. De, *VFM* 451-60; the signs of the proper disciple or student (*śiṣya*) include humility, truth, restraint, proper action, and faith in the *devas* and in the *guru*. "Signs of *bhagavān*" means that although various *śāstras* put forward various deities as those who should be served, one should determine that Kṛṣṇa alone is that.

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and of *bhagavān*, who is to be served, and of the determination of all of the *mantras*, 243 and of him who has the authority of the *mantra*, and of the purification of the *siddhas* of the *mantras* and the rest, and of initiation, and of *smṛtis* and rituals in the morning, and of purification and of the cleansing of the mouth, 244 upon cleaning of the teeth, and bathing, and of the evening and the other homages, of the serving of the *guru* and the wearing of the *cakra* and the *ūrddha-puṇḍras*, 245 the wearing of garlands and of *gopīcandana* sandal and the gathering of *tulasī*, and rituals of clothing and seating and housing, and of the awakening of Kṛṣṇa, 246 and of the worship with the five or sixteen or fifty kinds of materials, and the five times of *pūjā*, and of *ārati*, and of feeding and putting to rest of Kṛṣṇa. 247 [You will write] on the features of the *śrī-mūrti*, and the features of the *śālagrāma*, and of pilgrimage to the places of Kṛṣṇa, and *darśana* of the image of Kṛṣṇa, 248 and the greatness of the name and putting at a distance the offences against the name, the characteristics of Vaiṣṇavas, and the doing away with offences against their service, 249 the signs of the conch,

243. The *guru* gives the *mantras* after first having taken into consideration all kinds of variables such as sex, age, family, celestial signs, and condition of life (i.e., wealth, poverty, etc.). See Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's *HBhV* 1, and *VFM* 452. Various praises and prayers are to be said, and various rituals performed in the morning. Purification: *śauca*; after defecation and urination, various purificatory rituals have to be performed with water and with earth; one touches the penis once, the anus three times, left hand ten times, both hands seven times, and both feet three times. *Ācamana*: cleansing of the mouth, which really involves far more than the mouth; in fact, there are twenty-four parts to the ritual. One rinses the mouth, making obeisance to Keśava once, Nārāyaṇa once, and Mādhava once; then the right hand, with obeisance to Govinda, the left hand, to Viṣṇu, the upper thigh, Madhusūdana, the lower thigh, to Trivikrama, etc.

244. Ūrddhapuṇḍra: the vertical sectarian mark which Vaiṣṇavas wear on their foreheads. *Cakra*: circular mark, *tilaka*.

245. Gopīcandana is a particular kind of sandalwood. On the gathering of *tulasī*: one must bow down before the *tulasī* plant, recite an appropriate *śloka* with palms together and utter a prayer for the forgiveness of offence; then one must pick the leaves very slowly and gently, not to injure the plant nor bend it too much; one must take care not to break the branches or scratch the plant with the fingernails; there are also times when it is forbidden to pick the leaves.

246. The five materials are perfume, flowers, scented smoke, lamps, and offerings of rice. The sixteen are seating, saluation, washing the feet, oblation, offering water for rinsing the mouth, offering of honey, again water for rinsing the mouth, bathing, dressing, adorning, anointing with perfume, and the five listed above. For the fifty kinds, see *HBhV* 1. The five times for *pūjā* are very early dawn, early morning, midday, late afternoon or evening, and night.

247. The features: i.e., what are the distinguishing marks of say, the image of Govinda as opposed to Gopīnātha. *Śālagrāma*: the stone sacred to Viṣṇu.

248. For the marks of a Vaiṣṇava, see *HBhV* 12.132-34.

249. All these can be found in *HBhV* 5-8. "Repetition" is *japa*; see *CC* 2.22.63. For bowing, see 2.22.67-68.

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and water, perfume, flowers, incense and the rest, and of repetition and praise, of circumambulation, bowing, and obeisance, 250 of the various kinds of *puraś-caraṇa*, and the eating of the *prasāda* of Kṛṣṇa and the avoidance of that which has not been offered [to Kṛṣṇa], and avoidance of vilification and so forth of Vaiṣṇavas, 251 the characteristics of holy men, association with holy men, and serving holy men, the abandonment of association with those who are untrue, and listening to the *Śrī Bhāgavata*, 252 the daily rituals, and fortnightly ones, and the specification of the Ekādaśī and other [holy days], and monthly rituals, and of the explanation of the injunctions having to do with Janmāṣṭamī and the rest; 253 and there should be described the Ekādaśī, Janmāṣṭamī, Vāmanadvādaśī, Śrī Rāmanavamī, and Nṛsiṃhacaturdaśī, 254 the observance of *viddhā* and *aviddhā* in fasting, etc., for lack of observance is a *doṣa*; [observance] nourishes *bhakti*. 255 You will give all proofs from the words of the *purāṇa*;

250. Puraścaraṇa: adoration of various kinds.

253. Some of the prescriptions of Ekādaśī, as put forth in *HBhV* 12.6-31 are as follows: it must be observed by people of all four *varṇa*s; if anyone of any of the *āśrama*s takes food on that day, it will be a sin equivalent to eating cow's flesh; if a widow eats on that day, all her good works are destroyed and she slowly dies; the fast must be observed by everyone from age eight to age eighty; on that day, all sin enters into food, and if one takes that food he is destined for hell; one should not only not take food one's self, but should give none to others; the *vrata* has four purposes: to please Hari, to observe the *śāstra*s, to fast, and to avert transgression; but those who are ill may take a little fruit, milk, ghi, etc.

Janmāṣṭamī: Kṛṣṇa's birthday, on the eighth day of the dark fortnight of the month Bhādra (August-September), is a major *vrata* for Vaiṣṇavas (unlike Ekādaśī, which must be observed by all Hindus); it also calls for a fast, and at midnight, the hour of Kṛṣṇa's birth, *pūjā* to Kṛṣṇa takes place; details can be found in *HBhV* 15.17.164, 168, 170-71, 176, 180, 182, and 186-87, most of which have to do with the calculation of proper times for the *pūjā*.

Vāmanadvādaśī: the day of the appearance of the Vāmana-*avatāra*, on the twelfth day of the dark fortnight of the month of Śrāvana (July-August). Vāmana is worshiped at the end of the night of the preceding day. See *HBhV* 15.264-65.

Rāmanavamī: falls on the ninth day of the light fortnight of Caitra (March-April), and is the birthday of Rāma; a fast is observed on this day. See *HBhV* 14.88.

Nṛsiṃhacaturdaśī: on the fourteenth day of the light fortnight of Vaiśākha (April-May), is the day of the appearnce of the Nṛsiṃha-*avatāra*; a fast is observed; see *HBhV* 14.147.

254. There are times of day which are proper (*viddhā*), and times which are prohibited (*aviddhā*) for these various observations, and these must be carefully ascertained; otherwise fault (*doṣa*) ensues. *Tyāga*: lit., "renunciation," and in the Vaiṣṇava context is *vairāgya*, "being devoid of passion," includes the control of senses and all actions, so in this context translated as "fasting, etc." Proper times are also called *sampūrṇā*. An example from *HBhV* 12.135: if the Ekādaśī-*tithi* (conjunction of planetary signs) comes five *daṇḍa*s before the rising of the sun, or from dawn to the sunrise of the following day, the time is *sampūrṇā*. Rādhāgovinda Nātha's commentary on these matters is very complete.

255. Proper ways for building temples and making images are given in *HBhV* 18 and 20.

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and the signs of the appropriateness [for building] the temple of Viṣṇu and of the *śrī-mūrti*, 256 and of ordinary good action, and Vaiṣṇava action, and of the observances of the *smārtas* regarding what is to be done and what is not to be done. 257 This is the survey, briefly and in *sūtras*; when you write, Kṛṣṇa will cause them to expand."

258 Such was the grace of Prabhu to Sanātana, and in the hearing of it the exhaustion of the *bhakta* disappears. 259 Karṇapūra has made this known in his own book, and has recorded the mercy of Prabhu to Sanātana.

Śloka 93. Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka* 9.45 [*śloka* 34):

He who was the younger brother of Rūpa, and who was the jewel of the jewels of the court of the king of Gauḍa, abandoned his opulent wealth, and clung to the new wealth of asceticism. His heart was filled with the *rasa* of the *bhakti* within him, and externally he acted like a pure one, distributing love to those who were his own, like a lotus-pond covered with *śaivāla* [plants].

Śloka 94. Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka* 9.46 [*śloka* 35]:

The infinitely merciful Campaka-gaura, when first he saw him with his eyes, came near him, and very tenderly embraced Sanātana with his arms long as clubs.

Śloka 95. Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka* 9.48 [*śloka* 38]:

In time, the news of the play at Vṛndāvana had been forgotten, therefore in order especially to make it widespread, Deva anointed with the nectar of his grace Rūpa and Sanātana.

260 Thus has been related the grace of Prabhu to Sanātana, and by listening to it all exhaustion disappears. 261 All this is knowledge of the *svarūpas* of Kṛṣṇa,

256. Smārta: this probably refers to those Vaiṣṇava ritual specialists found in groups such as the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas, or to the Vaiṣṇava *smṛti*, i.e., the *BhP*, as well as the usual books of social regulation, e.g. Manu.

Śloka 93. Śaivāla: a kind of duckweed.

Śloka 94. [Campaka-gaura: "the golden (*gaura*) magnolia blosson (*campaka*)," i.e., Caitanya. The image invokes the wondrously large eyes and stubby club-like arms of Jagannātha, with whom Kavikarṇapūra identifies Caitanya. TKS]

Śloka 95. See 2.19.*śl.*11.

261. Svarūpas: *brahma*, *paramātmā*, and Kṛṣṇa-*svarūpa*. The explanation is found above in 2.20. *Sādhana-bhakti* is discussed above in 2.22.

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and the precepts of *sādhana-bhakti* in the *vidhi* and the *rāga-mārgas*. 262 The Kṛṣṇa-*prema*, *bhakti-rasa*, and *siddhānta-bhakti*—in listening to this the *bhakta* knows the end of all things. 263 The feet of Śrī Caitanya, Nityānanda, and Advaita—of whom these are the wealth of his heart, he gains that wealth.

264 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

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Madhya Līlā
Chapter 25

Śloka 1.

Prabhu, having purified Sanātana, made Vaiṣṇavas of the chief *saṃnyāsin*s who were living in Kāśī, and returned to Nīlācala.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and the hosts of Gaura-*bhakta*s.

2 In this way Mahāprabhu for two months taught him the ends of *bhakti-siddhānta*. 3 And the *kīrtanīyā* Paramānanda, a companion of Śekhara, caused Prabhu to hear *kīrtana*; he was greatly devoted to it. 4 When the group of *saṃnyāsin*s showed contempt for Prabhu, he was merciful to them, in order to break the sadness of the *bhakta*s. 5 Of his mercy to the *saṃnyāsin*s I have written in detail previously; let me here briefly refer to it.

6 The *saṃnyāsin*s in various ways vilified Prabhu, and when he heard this the Maharashtrian reflected in sorrow, 7 "The nature of Prabhu is that whoever sees him from nearby experiences his *svarūpa* and honors him as Īśvara. 8 If by some means I can gather them together in one place, seeing him the *saṃnyāsin*s will become his *bhakta*s. 9 I have lived in Vārāṇasī all my life, and I shall be miserable for all my life if I cannot do it." 10 So reflecting, he offered an invitation to the *saṃnyāsin*s, and then that *brāhmaṇa* came to the place of Prabhu. 11 At the same time Tapana and Śekhara, hearing the vilification, were greatly sorrowed, and came humbly to the feet of Prabhu. 12 Seeing the sorrow of his *bhakta*s, Prabhu reflected to himself; and he decided to cause the minds of the *saṃnyāsin*s to change. 13 So at the same time the *brāhmaṇa* came and offered him an invitation, and with many expressions of humility he held his feet. 14 Then Mahāprabhu accepted his invitation, and on the following day

5. See 1.7.38-145.

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at noon he went to his house. 15 And there he saved the *saṃnyāsins* by explaining to them the five truths; I have detailed all that. 16 The book expands; I shall not repeat what I have said before, but shall write that part which I have not described. 17 From the day when Prabhu was merciful to the *saṃnyasins*, there was great tumult in the village. 18 Crowds of people came to see Prabhu, and *paṇḍitas* learned in many *śāstras* came to discuss those *śāstras*; 19 and having analysed all those *śāstras*, Prabhu determined their essence as being *bhakti*, and with effective words he changed the minds of all of them. 20 Receiving his instructions, they made Kṛṣṇa-*saṃkīrtana*, and all the people laughed and sang and danced. 21 The *saṃnyāsins* bowed to Prabhu; they left their studies and reflected within themselves.

22 There was a pupil of Prakāśānanda, who was equal to the latter, and he spoke in the assembly, honoring Prabhu, 23 "Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya is the incarnate Nārāyaṇa." And very beautifully he explained the meaning of the *Vyāsa-sūtras*. 24 He also explained the primary meanings of the *upaniṣads*, and when they heard it the hearts and ears of wise men were soothed. 25 [He said] that the Ācārya had left the primary meanings of the *upaniṣads* and of the *sūtras*, and had replaced them with imaginary ones. 26 He said that *paṇḍitas* who hear the imaginary meaning of the Ācārya say 'yes, yes' with their mouths, but they do not understand it in their hearts. 27 He said, "I accept the profound truth of the words of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, for in the Kali age, *saṃsāra* is not conquered by *saṃnyāsa*. 28 He who expounds the '*Harernāma*' *śloka*, gives happiness and truth—this is the highest proof. 29 The *Bhāgavata* says: 'Without *bhakti* there is no *mukti*'; in the Kali age by the use of the name, *mukti* comes about in happiness.

Śloka 2. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.14.4:

O all-pervading one, to those who, abandoning *bhakti* to you as the way

15. Nistāra kaila: saved.

23. Vyāsa-sūtras: the *Vedānta-sūtras*.

25. The Ācārya: Śaṅkarācārya.

28. Saṃnyāsa is not the proper way in the Kali age, but *saṃkīrtana* is the proper way; Caitanya (1.7) has expounded this *harernāma-śloka*, and in doing so has spread happiness and truth among people. The *śloka* can be found at 1.7.*śl.*3 [see commentary]; 1.17.*śl.*3; and 2.6.*śl.*19.

29. In the Kali age, seemingly paradoxically, which is an age of degeneration and sin, salvation can be gained merely by the recital of the name; in previous ages it was much harder to gain. See P.V. Kane, *History of Dharma-śāstra*, 5 vols. in 7 (Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1930-62), 4:51.

Śloka 2. See 2.22.*śl.*6; 2.24.*śl.*46.

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of realization, toil in the acquiring of wisdom, nothing else remains but anguish; they are like the threshers of solid chaff.

Śloka 3. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.2.32:
Lotus-eyed one, those who, devoid of *bhakti* towards you and therefore of impure mind, consider themselves as free, with great difficulty gain the high place, and having disrespect for your feet, they fall from there.

30 The word '*brahma*' means *bhagavān*, full of his divine powers; establishing him as 'unqualified' destroys that 'fullness.' 31 The *śrūtis* and *purāṇas* say that there is *cit-śakti-vilāsa* of Kṛṣṇa; but not honoring that, the *paṇḍitas* smile. 32 They consider the *vigraha* of the *cid-ānanda* Kṛṣṇa as '*māyika*'; this is a grave error. Such is the true word of Caitanya.

Śloka 4. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.9.3:
O highest one beyond anything! Your *svarūpa* is open, void of divisions, and pure *ānanda*, and I do not see divisions within it. O *ātman*! I take refuge in this form, creator of the universe but separate from the universe, the soul of all elements and senses, the One.

Śloka 5. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.46.43:
Past, present, and future, moving and unmoving, great and small, heard and seen—those things that there are cannot be separate without Acyuta: that Acyuta, who consists of *paramātmā*, is everything.

Śloka 6. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.9.4:
O beneficent to the world! Worship of you is the source of our auspiciousness, and in meditation that form is certainly revealed by you; O Bhagavān, I make obeisance to you by serving you; by those who associate with false people and by the hell-bound, you are not worshiped.

Śloka 3. See 2.22.*śl.*10; 2.24.*śl.*40; 2.24.*śl.*47.

30. Śaṅkara's opinion was that *brahma* was unqualified (*nirviśeṣa*), without form and without power (*śakti*); if one accepts this, one cannot hold that *brahma* is "full of divine powers."

31. I.e., the Vaiṣṇava position is that *cit* is a *śakti* of Kṛṣṇa, and that therefore it can act and have effect; "*paṇḍitas*" or "the *paṇḍita*" (there is frequently no number distinction) refers either to scholars learned in the Vedānta, or to Śaṅkara himself; Rādhāgovinda Nātha feels the latter.

32. The *vigraha* of Kṛṣṇa is not made up of material elements, but of *cit* and *ānanda*; the *māyāvādins*, however, feel that the image is made of *māyā*.

Śloka 4. See 3.5.*śl.*6.

Śloka 6. See 3.5.*śl.*7.

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Śloka 7. *Bhagavad Gītā* 9.11:
Not being able to know my highest nature as the great Īśvara of all elemental things, foolish people have refuge in my human body, and have no respect for me.

Śloka 8. *Bhagavad Gītā* 16.19:
I repeatedly cast up in demonic wombs in *saṃsāra* those wretched people who are either cruel or full of inauspiciousness.

33 They do not honor the theory of evolution, which is in the *sūtras*, but they establish a theory of *vivarta*, and say that Vyāsa was mistaken! 34 But this imagined meaning does not give satisfaction to the mind; abandoning the *śāstras*, those who imagine wrong [interpretations] are known as '*pāṣaṇḍa*.' 35 They discuss the highest meanings, only making controversy; where will they gain *mukti*, and where is the grace of Kṛṣṇa? 36 The Ācārya has hidden the meaning of the *Vyāsa-sūtras*; this is true, and is the word of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya. 37 What Caitanya Gosvāmī says, that is the essential opinion, and all other opinions are worthless." 38 So saying, he made Kṛṣṇa-*saṃkīrtana*, and when he heard it Prakāśānanda began to speak.

39 "The intention of the Ācārya was the establishment of the *advaitavāda*, and for that purpose he explained the meaning of the *sūtras* in other ways. 40 If one honors [the principle of] godhead, the *advaitavāda* cannot be established; and thus he refuted all the *śāstras*. 41 The writer of a book wants to establish his own position, and because of that he does not derive the natural meaning of the *śāstras*. 42 The Mīmāṃsakas say that Īśvara is an aspect of *karma*, and

33. *Pariṇāmavāda*: "evolution," the theory that by the power of *cit-śakti*, *brahma* evolved in the form of the world, in the same relation to it as milk to curd, etc. *Vivartavāda*: attribution of qualities in a false manner, as seeing the rope as a snake, or attributing form, qualities, etc., to *brahma* on the basis of observations of material nature.

34. *Pāṣaṇḍa*: heretic, impious.

35. I.e., they discuss meaninglessly, for they leave aside the basic questions of the place of *bhakti* in *mukti*, and the place of the grace of Kṛṣṇa.

40. One of the definitions of "godhead" (*bhagavattā*) is possessing effective *śakti*; and if one admits that, one must concede form and qualities, and this undermines the whole argument of the monists.

42. Followers of the *pūrvamīmāṃsā* philosophy; the interpretation of their position here is that they do not believe in a creator, protector, or destroyer of the world, but feel that each *jīva* suffers or enjoys the fruits of his own *karma*, and therefore that the *karma-mārga* is the proper *sādhana*; Īśvara does not enter the picture, his place having been taken by the impersonal law of *karma*. The *sāṃkhya* philosophy holds that the cause of the world is the inert matter, energized by *puruṣa*, which is pure, subtle, infinite, etc., and here also Īśvara does not enter.

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the Sāṃkhyas that connection with matter is the cause of the world. 43 The Nyāyas say that the universe is from atoms, and the Māyāvādīs that the unqualified *brahma* is its source. 44 The Pātañjalas say that knowledge is the *svarūpa* of Īśvara, and the followers of the Vedas that [the Vedas] are *svayaṃ bhagavān*. 45 Vyāsa turned to the six opinions of the six [systems], and with all those *sūtras* he described the *vedānta*. 46 In the opinion of the Vedāntins, *brahma* is determined as having form, and instead of being qualityless, he is possessed of qualities. 47 [He says that] Īśvara is the highest cause—and no one honors this; establishing their own positions, they go against the opinions of the others. 48 So in this the truth cannot be known from the six systems of philosophy, and great people who say that honor truth.

Śloka 9. *Mahābhārata* [*vana parvan*] 3.13.117.

Philosophical argument is inconclusive, the *śrūtis* are various, nor are there *ṛṣis* who do not hold various opinions; but the truth of *dharma* is hidden deep. Its path is that on which great people move.

49 The words of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya are streams of nectar; that which he says is the essence of truth."

50 The Maharashtrian *brāhmaṇa*, having heard all these events, went in delight to tell Prabhu. 51 At that time Prabhu had bathed in the Pañcanadi, and he wanted to see the Bindumādhava Hari. 52 On the way the *brāhmaṇa* told him about all that had happened, and when he heard it Prabhu was delighted and began to smile. 53 When he saw the beauty of Mādhava he was overcome, and going into the courtyard he began to dance in *prema*. 54 Śekhara, Paramānanda, Tapana, and Sanātana—with these four people he made *nāma-saṃkīrtana*.

43. *Nyāya* says that there are four types of indivisible or subtle particles, earth, water, heat, and wind, and that creation arises from the joining of these. And the *māyāvādins* say that the visible world is an illusion, and that the unqualified *brahman*-principle is all pervading.

44. The followers of Patañjali say that they accept the twenty-five principles of the *sāṃkhya*, and consider the totality as Īśvara; Īśvara then is a principle which pervades creation, and knowledge of this principle is what leads to *mokṣa*. In the opinion of the followers of the Vedas, of course, those revelations are themselves the deity.

45. In some MSS this couplet, the preceding one and the one following do not appear.

46. I.e., Vyāsa does not really say that *brahma* has no qualities or form, but that his form and qualities are infinite and non-material, being *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*.

47. I.e., the opinions of all six are opposed to one another, and none of them are correct; Vyāsa, in establishing his system, took all six into consideration, and concluded that the truth is the infinitely qualified, infinitely formed deity.

Śloka 9. See 2.17.*śl.*11.

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Śloka 10. [the *kīrtana* of the *bhaktas*]:
Obeisance to Hari and to Kṛṣṇa Yādava, O Gopāla, Govinda, Rāma and Śrī Madhusūdana.

55 Lakhs of people all around shouted 'Hari, Hari!' The auspicious sound rose up, filling earth and heaven. 56 Being nearby, Prakāśānanda heard the sound, and in curiosity he came to see, bringing all his pupils. 57 When he saw the dance of Prabhu and the beauty of his body, with his pupils he shouted 'Hari Hari!' 58 Trembling, broken-voiced, sweating, growing pale, stupified, he wet the people with the streams of his tears, gooseflesh on his body, 59 he changed from delight to humility to restlessness. When they saw it the inhabitants of Kāśī were struck with astonishment. 60 Seeing the crowds of people, Prabhu regained outward consciousness, and when he saw the group of *saṃnyāsin*s he checked his dance. 61 Prabhu bowed to the feet of Prakāśānanda, and Prakāśānanda came and held his feet. 62 Prabhu said, "You are the most worshipful *guru* of the world, and I am not the equal of a pupil of one of your pupils. 63 When you are superior, why do you bow to a wretched man? I am worthless, you are equal to *brahma*. 64 Even though to you all things are full of *brahma*, according to the teachings of men, you should not come and do this." 65 And he said, "All that offence which I committed, speaking ill of you before, all that is wiped away by the touch of your feet."

Śloka 11.
If there is an offence against Bhagavān, possessed of unimaginable great power, even *jīvan-mukta*s come back again into *saṃsāra*.

Śloka 12. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.34.9:
All inauspiciousness destroyed by the touch of the feet of the holy Bhagavān, he left his snake's body and gained the form of a Vidyādhara.

Śloka 10. This was the *kīrtana* which they sang. It is traditional among Vaiṣṇavas, and the source of it is unclear.

58-59. For these physical symptoms and dissociative states see text and commentary to 1.7.86-93; 1.17.5; 2.8.135; 2.18.151-74; 2.23.31.

64. I.e., now you have been released from the bondage of *māyā*, and see *brahma* everywhere, in all things, even in me; still, it is not accepted by men that you should say such things, and do such things.

65. Prakāśānanda speaks.

Śloka 12. The context is that one night Nanda, the foster-father of Kṛṣṇa, was sleeping in a grove on the bank of the Sarasvatī, when a huge snake came and grabbed his feet. Nanda awoke

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66 Prabhu said, "Viṣṇu, Viṣṇu, I am low and an insignificant *jīva*; to consider a *jīva* as Viṣṇu, this is a sign of an offence. 67 Put the consideration of a *jīva* as Viṣṇu far from you, for he who considers Rudra or Brahmā as equal to Nārāyaṇa, he is counted as a heretic."

Śloka 13. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin's *Haribhaktivilāsa* 1.73 [quoting *Padmottara Purāṇa* 23.12]:

He who considers Nārāyaṇa-deva the same as Brahmā, Rudra, and the other *devas*, he is certainly a heretic.

68 Prakāśānanda said, "You are the manifest Bhagavān; even if you consider yourself as his servant, 69 you are still worshipful, and greater than I. It is my total destruction that I vilified you.

Śloka 14. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 6.14.5:

O *mahāmuni*! Even among crores of *muktas* and *siddhas*, a man of peaceful soul, devoted to Nārāyaṇa, is hard to find.

Śloka 15. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.4.46:

A great offence destroys a man's good fortune, the things which he desires, the rewards of *dharma*, his good name, his beauty, and the length of his life.

Śloka 16. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 7.5.32:

This mind does not touch the foot of the great-striding one—the purpose of which is the disappearance of disaster—until it has chosen consecration by the dust of the feet of the great ones who are without possessions.

70 Now my *bhakti* is dependent upon your lotus feet; as its source, I bow to your feet."

with a shout, and all the cowherd boys came running and tried to kill the snake with sticks, but were not successful. Kṛṣṇa also came running, and when he touched it with his foot, this was the result.

66. "Viṣṇu, Viṣṇu": a mild oat taken when threatened or when one is uneasy with a particular word or action. *Aparādha*: offence.

Śloka 13. See 2.18.*śl.*9.

Śloka 14. See 2.19.*śl.*19.

Śloka 15. See 2.15.*śl.*8.

Śloka 16. See 2.22.*śl.*21.

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71 So saying, he sat with Prabhu, and then Prakāśānanda began to ask him, 72 "You have explained many of the errors of *māyāvāda*, and I know all the imaginary explanations of the Ācārya. 73 If you were to describe the primary meanings of the *sūtras*, when they heard that the minds of all would be astonished. 74 You are Īśvara, and you have all powers. Tell me briefly, for I have a mind to hear." 75 Prabhu said, "Know that I am a *jīva*, most insignificant. The meanings of the *Vyāsa-sūtras* are profound, for Vyāsa was Bhagavān. 76 No *jīva* can know the meaning of his *sūtras*, and thus he has explained his own *sūtras* himself. 77 For if the maker of *sūtras* himself explains them, then people know their basic meaning. 78 The meaning which is in the *praṇava*, that is in the *gāyatrī*; and that meaning has been expanded in the four *ślokas*. 79 Those four *ślokas* Īśvara spoke to Brahmā, and Brahmā instructed Nārada in them. 80 Nārada told that meaning to Vyāsa, and when he heard it, Veda-vyāsa concluded, 81 'This meaning is in the form of an explanation on my *sūtras*; let me make the *Śrī Bhāgavata* as the true form of the commentary on the *sūtras*.' 82 The four Vedas and the *upaniṣads*—as many as there are, Vyāsa expounded upon their meanings. 83 And in those *sūtras*, the Vedic matters that were discussed prompted the *ślokas* in the *Bhāgavata*. 84 Thus the Śrī *Bhāgavata* is the commentary on the *sūtras*; thus the *ślokas* of the *Bhāgavata* and of the *upaniṣads* have the same meaning.

Śloka 17. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 8.1.1:
Whatever things there are in the world, those are all pervaded with the *ātmā*; so enjoy that which has been given by him, and be attracted to the wealth of no one else.

84a Thus he surveyed, and showed in one *śloka*, how the *ślokas* of the *Bhāgavata* and of the Veda are the same. 85 The *sambhandha*, *abhidheya*, and *prayojana*

78. The *gāyatrī* expands on the meaning of the syllable *om* [ॐ] and the four *ślokas* (*catuḥślokī*) expand the meaning of the *gāyatrī*; the four *ślokas* were given by Brahmā to his son Nārada, Nārada instructed Vyāsa in them, and Vyāsa based the whole *BhP* on them (*ślokas* 20-23 below); in this way the *BhP* is held to be an expansion of the basic syllable, the root of all things.

81. Thus the *BhP* is also an expansion of the true meaning of the *Vedānta-sūtras*.

83. Those *sūtras*: Rādhāgovinda Nātha interprets as the *Vedānta-sūtras*. *Ṛk-viṣaya*: Vedic *mantras*.

84a. This couplet does not appear in various MSS but is included in Rādhāgovinda Nātha's edition; thus it is numbered 84a.

85. See 2.20.2; 2.20.109-30. [*Sambandha*, the matter of discourse (i.e., Kṛṣṇa) is explained in two chapters 2.20-21; and below 2.25.88-98, *śl.* 21. *Abhidheya*, the argument and means for achieving

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of the *Bhāgavata* are manifest in the four *ślokas*, and he has given us the signs of them. 86 'I am the true nature of the *sambandha*, as is knowledge and experience of me. The *sādhana-bhakti* used to gain me is called *abhidheya*. 87 And the result of *sādhana*, which is *prema*, is the basic *prayojana*; and in that *prema* the *jīva* gains service of me.

Śloka 18. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.9.30:
Accept from me the supremely mysterious knowledge, accompanied by lower knowledge, complete with mystery and auxiliaries, which I have declared.

88 These three truths I explain to you; but you are a *jīva*, and you will not be able to understand the three. 89 Such is my *svarūpa*, and such is my place, and such are my six divine powers, latent in *guṇas* and *karma*. 90 By my grace these will all glow within you.' And so saying he told him the three *tattvas*.

Śloka 19. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.9.31:
By my grace, may you have knowledge of the truth of my deeds and qualities and form, and the experience of that and the magnitude of it.

91 'Before the creation, I was, full of six divine powers; phenomena, *prakṛti* and *puruṣa*, were latent in me. 92 Creating, I entered into them; and whatever phenomenon you see, that is I. 93 Remaining at the time of dissolution, I become full [again], and material nature and all phenomena enter into me again.

Śloka 20. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.9.32:
Knowledge such as of how much I am, what I am like, and of what form, virtue, and acts are mine, such knowledge of truth must be yours by my favor. I was in the beginning, there was nothing else, whether existent, non-existent, or beyond both; afterwards I am that which there is; I am the one who will remain.

the topic (i.e., *bhakti-sādhana*) is explained in 2.22; and below in 2.25.99-101, *śl.*22 and 106, *śl.*30-32. *Prayojana*, the resolution of discourse (i.e., *prema*) is explained in 2.23; and below in 2.25.102-104, *śl.*24-26 and 107, *śl.*33-34. TKS]

Śloka 18. See 1.1.*śl.*21.

Śloka 19. See 1.1.*śl.*22.

91. This begins the commentary on the first of the four *ślokas*, *ślokas* 20-23, below.

Śloka 20. See 1.1.*śl.*23; 2.24.*śl.*23.

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94 In the *śloka*, '*ahameva*' is repeated three times, and this specifies full divinity, the *śrī-vigraha*, and the eternal conditions of these. 95 He who does not honor the *śrī-vigraha*, and considers him as formless—he especially is reproached. 96 In all these words is *jñāna*, *vijñāna*, and *viveka*; 'I' is distinct from *māyā* and the products of *māyā*. 97 It is as light is seen where there is a reflection of the sun, but [the reflection] is not manifested independently of [the sun]; 98 so if one is beyond *māyā*, there is experience of me; this is called the *sambandha-tattva*. Now hear more.

Śloka 21. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.9.33:
That which is understood apart from content, but which within itself is not understood—know that as my *māyā*, how it is light and how darkness.

99 Now hear the definition of *abhidheya*, which is *sādhana-bhakti*, and which is spread out through all people and countries and times and conditions. 100 As *dharma* has these four definitions, so *sādhana-bhakti* is beyond these four definitions. 101 The duty of people of all countries, times, and conditions is the inquiring about and the hearing of that *bhakti* at the side of the *guru*.

Śloka 22. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.9.35:
That much is the object of the knowledge of him who wishes to know the nature of the self, what exists in any place, exists in any time, according to positive and negative considerations.

102 That which is love to me, that *prema* is the *prayojana*; let me tell the signs of its true nature by means of its functions. 103 As the five elements are inside and outside of elements, so I shine both within and outside of *bhaktas*.

94. Śloka 20 begins: *ahamevāsamevāgre . . .*; *ahameva*: "I (emphatic)."

96. Jñāna: knowledge of the truth of the *bhagavat*; *vijñāna*: the immediate experience or perception of the *svarūpa*; *viveka*: accurate knowledge, or interpretation of this experience or perception.

Śloka 21. See 1.1.*śl.*24.

100. I.e., it is defined by person, country, time, and condition. But *sādhana-bhakti* is constant whatever these external variables. Rādhāgovinda Nātha feels that *dharma* here means *jñāna-*, *yoga*, and *karma-mārgas*.

Śloka 22. See 1.1.*śl.*26.

103. The five elements make up all material nature, and thus are contained in each unit within that nature; at the same time they pervade all things, and are thus external to each unit.

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Śloka 23. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.9.34:
Just as the prime elements pervade the higher and lower creatures but are not themselves pervaded, so I am within those humble people who bow down to me.

104 The *bhakta* has bound me within his heart by *prema*; and whatever comes before his eyes, he sees me.

Śloka 24. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.2.55:
Even of the benumbed and subdued one, the manifest Hari destroys the sins, and he does not leave the heart of him who ties him by his lotus feet there with the rope of love—he is called the highest *bhāgavata*.

Śloka 25. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.2.45:
He who sees his own god in all things of the earth, and sees all things as in his own *bhagavān*, he is the greatest of all *bhāgavatas*.

Śloka 26. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.30.4:
They all, having come together, began as if mad to seek for him from forest to forest, singing in loud voices; they asked of all the trees for him who is like space, within and without all elements.

105 Thus in the *Bhāgavata* these three things are stated—*sambandha*, *abhidheya*, and *prayojana*.

Śloka 27. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.2.11:
The truth-knowing wise men call the ultimate truth that which is undivided knowledge. It is called by three names—*brahman*, *paramātmā*, and *bhagavān*.

Śloka 28. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.5.24:
Formerly, according to his own desire, this was one with Bhagavān; he was the *ātmā*, possessed of many glories, pervading the *ātmās* of *ātmās*.

Śloka 23. See 1.1.*śl.*25.
Śloka 25. See 2.8.*śl.*52; 2.22.*śl.*30.
Śloka 27. See 1.2.*śl.*4; 1.2.*śl.*12; 2.20.*śl.*21; 2.24.*śl.*22; 2.24.*śl.*25.

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Śloka 29. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.3.28:
All these are but parts of fractions of parts of the *puruṣa*. But Kṛṣṇa is *svayaṃ bhagavān*. They incarnate themselves in every age to protect people persecuted by Indra's enemies.

106 This then is *sambandha*. Now hear of *abhidheya*, or *bhakti*, which pervades each *śloka* of the *Bhāgavata*.

Śloka 30. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.14.21:
I, beloved of the souls of holy men, am obedient only to *bhakti* with faith; *bhakti* established toward me purifies even the natures of *śvapacas*.

Śloka 31. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.14.20:
O Uddhava, only that very powerful *bhakti* toward me is able to compel me; I am not [compelled by] *yoga*, *sāṃkhya*, *dharma*, Vedic study, *tapas*, or renunciation.

Śloka 32. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.2.37:
He who is separated from Īśvara, because of his *māyā*, forgets; because of that, he is in opposition, and because of that is born fear and clinging to things of the body and of the world. For this reason the wise man worships that Īśvara with undeviating *bhakti*, [considering] his *guru* as *devatā*.

107 Now hear of *prema*, which is the basic *prayojana*; and the signs of it are tears, thrilling, dancing, and song.

Śloka 33. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.3.31:
Then, remembering Hari, who is the destroyer of all sins, and causing friends to remember him, by producing *bhakti*, and having bodies thrilled by *bhakti*.

Śloka 29. See 1.2.*śl.*13; 1.5.*śl.*11; 2.9.*śl.*12; 2.20.*śl.*20.
Śloka 30. See 2.20.*śl.*14.
Śloka 31. See 1.17.*śl.*5; 2.20.*śl.*13; 3.4.*śl.*2.
Śloka 32. See 2.20.*śl.*11; 2.24.*śl.*44.
107. See commentary on vv. 58-59 above.

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Śloka 34. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.2.40:

The man, thus aroused, his affection inspired by his own *nāma-saṃkīrtana*, with spinning thoughts, like a madman, transported beyond the world of men, sometimes laughs out loud, sometimes weeps, sometimes cries out, and sometimes sings and dances.

108 This is the interpretation of the *sūtras* of the *Bhāgavata*, which is the true form of his own commentary on the *sūtras* which he himself composed.

Ślokas 35-36. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin's *Haribhaktivilāsa* 10.283 [quoting *Garuḍa Purāṇa*]:

35 Which is the meaning of all the *Vedānta-sūtras*, the demonstration of the meaning of the *Bhārata*, having the name of a commentary on the *gāyatrī*, supported by the meaning of the Vedas, 36 like the *Sāma Veda* among *purāṇas*, spoken by the *bhagavat* himself; it consists of twelve *skandhas*, one hundred chapters, and eighteen thousand [verses]—this book is called the *Śrīmad Bhāgavata*.

Śloka 37. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.3.42:

[It has] arisen as the essence, the essence of all the Vedas and *itihāsas*.

Śloka 38. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 12.13.15:

The *Śrī Bhāgavata* indeed is considered the essence of all the *vedāntas*. In thirst for its nectar and sweetness, there is never any longing for others.

109 The beginning of this book is in the meaning of the *gāyatrī*. '*Satyaparaṃ*' is the *sambandha*; '*dhīmahi*' is the *proyojana* or *sādhana*.

Śloka 34. See 1.7.*śl.*4; 2.9.*śl.*20; 2.23.*śl.*20; 3.3.*śl.*9.

108. The reference is to Vyāsa.

Śloka 36. The *BhP* actually has one hundred and thirty-five chapters in its current form.

Śloka 37. Itihāsa: "so indeed it was"; history, legend, tradition, etc., as opposed to the revealed truth of the Vedas.

109. The meaning of the first *śloka* of the *BhP* is the meaning of the *gāyatrī*. The *gāyatrī* is: *oṃ bhūbhurvaḥ svaḥ tatsaviturvareṇyaṃ bhargo devasya dhīmahi dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayāt*: I meditate on the majesty of him, who pervades (or originates) our consciousness, that great god who is the father of all the phenomenal worlds of earth and sky and heaven. The first *śloka* of the *BhP* appears as *śloka* 39 below; *satyaparaṃ dhīmahi* appears in that *śloka*: let me meditate on the absolute (or highest) truth; this is *sādhana*, the way of attainment.

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Śloka 39. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.1.1:
Let us meditate upon the highest truth, from which the birth, etc., of this world derive, who has come from the other side, who is cognizant and of self-perfected knowledge, who spans the *brahman* with his heart, about whom the original poets and sages are confused, in whom fire, water, and earth are mixed, in whom the three creations serve no purpose, by whom all deception is discarded with its own splendor.

Śloka 40. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 1.1.2:
In the *Śrīmād Bhāgavatam*, composed by the hermit, there is found the supreme *dharma*, free from any falsity, of good people who are devoid of jealousy; the very object to be known is its substance, auspicious and destroying the three kinds of grief; what use are other books? The Lord is instantly and at once caught in their hearts by students who have done their tasks.

110 The Śrī *Bhāgavata* is the true form of the *rasa* of Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*; in it there is more greatness than in the Veda-*śāstras*.

Śloka 41. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.1.3:
O *rasikas* and *bhāvukas*! From the mouth of Śuka fallen to the earth and filled with nectar, the sweet fruit of the wishing tree of the *nigama* is the *Bhāgavata*; drink it again and again.

Śloka 42. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.1.19:
But we do not gain satisfaction [of hearing enough] of [his] greatness in the ultimate *ślokas*; those who hear know *rasa*, taste after taste in each *śloka*.

111 Thus, examine the *Bhāgavata*, and from it you will gain the essential meaning of the *sūtra-śruti*. 112 And constantly sing the praises and the name of Kṛṣṇa, and easily you will gain *mukti*, and you will gain the wealth of the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa."

Śloka 39. See 2.8.*śl.*51; 2.20.*śl.*59.
Śloka 40. See 1.1.*śl.*37; 2.24.*śl.*31.
Śloka 41. Nigama here is evidently the Vedas, or perhaps even the *praṇava* (*oṃ*) itself. *Bhāvuka*: Rādhāgovinda Nātha glosses the term as "people who have a particular sensitivity to the subtleties of *rasa*."

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Śloka 43. *Bhagavad Gītā* 18.54:

Having become *brahman*, serene of spirit, he does not grieve, he does not crave: equable to all creatures, he achieves the ultimate *bhakti* of me.

Śloka 44. Śrīdhara Svāmin's *Bhāvārthadīpikā* commentary on *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.87.21:

Even *muktas*, taking a *vigraha* by *līlā*, worship Bhagavān.

Śloka 45. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.1.9:

O *rājarṣi*! Even firmly established in qualitylessness, the mind is attracted to the *līlās* of the most praiseworthy one, and I have learned the stories of them.

Śloka 46. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.15.43:

The wind, bearing the perfume of the *tulasī*, mingles with the perfume of the lotus-feet of that lotus-eyed one, enters the orifices, and agitates the minds and bodies of those who are *akṣarajuṣas*.

Śloka 47. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.7.10:

Even though they are not possessed of the books, those sages who delight in the self offer selfless *bhakti* to the great-striding [Viṣṇu]; of such qualities is Hari.

113 At the same time, that Maharashtrian *brāhmaṇa* told the assembly of the analysis [which Prahbu had made] of this *śloka*— 114 that Prabhu had given sixty-one meanings of it; and hearing what he had done, the people were astonished. 115 Then all the people were eager to hear it, and Prabhu again specified the sixty-one meanings. 116 When they heard it the people were greatly amazed, and they decided that Caitanya Gosvāmī was Kṛṣṇa.

117 When he had spoken, Gaurahari got up to leave, and the people made obeisance to him and raised the sound of 'Hari.' 118 Then all the people who lived in Kāśī made *nāma-saṃkīrtana*, and in *prema* they laughed and wept and sang and danced. 119 The *saṃnyāsins* and *paṇḍitas* discussed the *Bhāgavata*, and thus Prabhu saved the country of Vārāṇasī. 120 Prabhu went home, with

Śloka 43. See 2.8.*śl.*8; 2.24.*śl.*41.
Śloka 44. Also *Nṛsiṃhatāpanī* 2.5.16, Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya*. See 2.24.*śl.*33; 2.24.*śl.*49.
Śloka 45. See 2.24.*śl.*11.
Śloka 46. See 2.17.*śl.*9; 2.24.*śl.*10; 2.24.*śl.*34.
Śloka 47. See 2.6.*śl.*15; 2.17.*śl.*8; 2.24.*śl.*2; 2.24.*śl.*73.

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his own people, and Vārāṇasī became a second Nadīyā city. 121 With his own people, Prabhu said smiling, "I came to Kāśī to sell my store of love; 122 there was no one in Kāśī who would take it, so the goods could not be sold. But I could not carry it home again. 123 All of you were sad that I should bear the burden; and so, because you wished it, I have given it away free." 124 They all said, "Your *avatāra* is to save people, and you have saved them, east, south, and west. 125 There was one in Vārāṇasī who was hostile to you; you have saved him and given us all pleasure." 126 When the uproar took place in the town of Vārāṇasī, the people of the villages in the country heard of it and began to come. 127 Lakhs and crores of people came—there was no numbering them; but the place was so narrow that they could not have *darśana* of Prabhu. 128 When Prabhu went to bathe and have *darśana* of Viśveśvara, people crowded in on both sides to have a sight of him. 129 Raising his arms, Prabhu said, "Say Kṛṣṇa Hari!" and falling to the ground in obeisance, the people raised the Hari-sound.

130 In this way he saved people for five days, and on the following day, being anxious, he left. 131 He rose up in the night and went away, and five *bhaktas* followed after him later: 132 Tapana Miśra, Raghunātha, the Maharashtrian *brāhmaṇa*, Candraśekhara, and the *kīrtanīyā* Paramānanda. 133 All wanted to go to Nīlācala with Prabhu; but Prabhu bade them farewell, lovingly and with care, 134 "Those who so desire, come to see me afterwards; but now I shall go alone along the Jhārikhaṇḍa path." 135 He said to Sanātana, "You go to Vṛndāvana, your two brothers have gone there. 136 If my *bhaktas*, poor, with torn clothing and waterpots, come to Vṛndāvana, take care of them." 137 So saying, Prabhu went to embrace them all and left, and all fell down there fainting. 138 After a time they rose up and went sadly to their houses, and Sanātana Gosvāmin went to Vṛndāvana.

139 By now, Rūpa Gosvāmin had come to Mathurā, and Subuddhi Rāya met him at the Dhruva-ghat. 140 Subuddhi Rāya had been a ruler in Gauḍa, formerly, and Husain Khān Saiyad was his servant. 141 He gave him a commission to excavate a tank; he made a mistake, and Rāya hit him with a whip.

127. The place was the house of Candraśekhara.

140. Gauḍa-*adhikārī*: ruler, which presumably means a tributary *rājā* under the Muslim empire. Husain Shāh (r. 1493-1518), at the time of Caitanya the ruler of all Bengal, was presumably formerly under Subuddhi Rāy. Abdul Karim (*Social History of the Muslims in Bengal*, 147) considers this a tradition only, and cites this passage and the *Gazetteer* for Murshidabad, p. 20. Husain was of noble Arabian lineage; "it is however certain," says Stewart, "that, on his first arrival in Bengal, he was for some time in a very humble situation." (*History of Bengal*, 110).

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142 Afterwards, when Husain Khān himself became king of Gauḍa, he paid much respect to Subuddhi Rāya. 143 His wife, seeing the marks of the whipping on his body, told the king to whip Subuddhi Rāya. 144 But the king said, "Rāya was my protector, and was like a father. It is not proper that I should strike him." 145 His wife said, "If you will not take his life, take his caste." And the king replied, "If I take his caste, he will not live." 146 But his wife wanted to kill him, and the king fell into difficulty; so he caused water from his own water-pot to be put into his mouth. 147 Then Subuddhi Rāya was disgraced, and he left everything and came to Vārāṇasī. 148 He asked for penance from the *paṇḍita*s there, and some said, "Drink hot *ghi* and kill yourself." 149 And others said, "This is nothing; it is a little *doṣa*." And when he heard that, Rāya remained in doubt. 150 Then when Mahāprabhu came to Vārāṇasī, Rāya met him, and himself told him the story. 151 Prabhu said, "Go from here to Vṛndāvana, and constantly have *saṃkīrtana* of the name of Kṛṣṇa. 152 One taking of the name and all your sins and faults will go; and from another name you will gain the feet of Kṛṣṇa." 153 Receiving this command, Rāya went to Vṛndāvana by way of Prayāga, Ayodhyā, and Naimiṣāraṇya. 154 He remained for several days at Naimiṣāraṇya; at that time Prabhu had visited Vṛndāvana and had come to Prayāga. 155 Arriving at Mathurā, Rāya got news of Prabhu, and he was most unhappy that he had not met him. 156 Rāya brought dry wood to sell in Mathurā, and for each load he got five or six *paisa*s. 157 He sustained himself, eating one *paisa*'s worth of *cānā*, and the other *paisa*s he kept at the place of a merchant. 158 When he saw poor Vaiṣṇavas he fed them; and if Gauḍiyās came

142. The following paraphrases *The Cambridge History of India* 3:270-72. Ala-ud-din Husain was a Sayyid, "respectable alike by reason of his lineage, his ability, and his personal character." He was minister to the African ruler, Muzaffar, whom he served "as long as it was possible to do so." The people and the army, wearied of Muzaffar's tyranny, revolted. The troops placed Husain at their head and besieged the king for four months in Gauḍa, at the end of which time he was killed leading a sortie from the city. Husain "proved to be worthy of the confidence reposed in him," for his first act as king was to stop the troops from looting Gauḍa. "The nobles . . . elected Sayyid Husain king in 1493." "Husain was, with the exception of Ilyas, the greatest of the Muslim kings of Bengal"; he instituted several reforms, including expulsion of the African soldiery, and restored the kingdom of Bengal to its former dimensions: to Orissa in the south and Assam in the east. He died a natural death in 1518.

145. Jāti laha: take his caste.

146. The water may have been pure enough; that it was a Muslim's pot (*karoyā*), and the water presumably poored into his mouth by a Muslim would have been enough to destroy Subuddhi's caste.

152. Pāpa: sin, evil action; *doṣa*: fault.

157. Cānā: a type of grain, often mixed with a little water to form a paste.

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he would give them milk and rice and oil for rubbing their bodies. 159 When Rūpa Gosvāmin came, he loved him very much, and he took him as his own companion to the twelve forests [of Vraja]. 160 Rūpa Gosvāmin remained in Vṛndāvana only for a month, and quickly went to search for Sanātana. 161 Prabhu went to Prayāga on the path along the Gaṅgā bank; and when they heard this, the two brothers went along that path.

162 By now, Sanātana Gosvāmin had come to Prayāga, and was coming to Mathurā along the Sarāna Rājapatha. 163 At Mathurā, Subuddhi Rāya met him, and told him all the news of Rūpa and Anupama. 164 The two brothers were on the Gaṅgā road, while Sanātana was on the Rājapatha, and thus they did not meet. 165 Subuddhi Rāya was most affectionate toward Sanātana; but Sanātana did not pay much attention to his affectionate care. 166 Greatly distracted, Sanātana wandered from forest to forest, and he remained a day and a night under each tree and in each bower. 167 He collected *Mathurā-māhātmya śāstras*, and wandering in the forest he uncovered pilgrimage places which had been forgotten. 168 Sanātana remained in this way in Vṛndāvana, and Rūpa Gosvāmin and his brother came to Kāśī. 169 The Maharashtrian *brāhmaṇa*, and Śekhara, and Tapana Miśra—Rūpa met these three. 170 He lived in the house of Śekhara, and he ate at the house of Miśra; and he heard form the mouth of Miśra how Prabhu had taught Sanātana. 171 He heard of the activities of Prabhu at Kāśī from the mouths of the three of them, and was greatly pleased when he heard of his grace to the *saṃnyāsins*. 172 Seeing the love of the people toward Mahāprabhu, and when he heard *kīrtana* in the people's mouths, he was delighted. 173 So Rūpa remained there for ten days and set off for Gauḍa, and these were the activities of Rūpa and Sanātana.

174 Now while Mahāprabhu was going to Nīlādri, he was greatly happy, going alone on the forest path. 175 He was going along in happiness, with Balabhadra as his companion, and as before, he played in many ways with the deer and other creatures. 176 When he came to Āṭhāranālā, he sent the *brāhmaṇa*

162. Sarāna Rājapatha: king's highway, main road between Allahabad and Mathurā.

167. *Mathurā-māhātmya*: these seem not to have been specific *śāstras*, but all *śāstras* which celebrated the greatness of Mathurā, a genre which has become quite popular among the Vaiṣṇavas who visit or live in Vraja. Rūpa Gosvāmin, Raghunātha Dāsa Gosvāmin, Kavikarṇapūra, Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī, Narahari Cakravartī, Viśvanātha Cakravartī, are credited with writing such texts.

174. "Alone" presumably means without great crowds of people, for the very next couplet tells us that Balabhadra was with him.

176. [Rādhāgovinda Nātha reads the compound "*bhaṭṭācārya-brāhmaṇe*" as a *tatpuruṣa*, suggesting "the *brāhmaṇa* who belonged to (Balabhadra) Bhaṭṭācārya," i.e., his cook, who would have

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Bhaṭṭācārya to inform his *bhaktas*. 177 Hearing the news, it was as if his *bhaktas* lived again, it was as if breath came back into their bodies, and their senses became aware. 178 In joy and delight the *bhaktas* came running, and coming to Narendra, they met Prabhu there. 179 Prabhu bowed to the feet of Bhāratī and Purī, and both embraced Mahāprabhu in *prema*. 180 Svarūpa Dāmodara and Gadādhara Paṇḍita, Jagadānanda, Kāśīśvara, Govinda, Vakreśvara, 181 Kāśī Miśra, Pradyumna Miśra, and Dāmodara Paṇḍita, Haridāsa Ṭhākura and Śaṅkara Paṇḍita, 182 and many other *bhaktas* fell at the feet of Prabhu. And he, overcome with *prema*, embraced them all. 183 All the *bhaktas* floated on a sea of *ānanda*, and taking them all, Prabhu went to have *darśana* of Jagannātha. 184 When he saw Jagannātha, Prabhu was overcome with *prema*; and with his *bhaktas* he danced and sang for a long time. 185 The servants of Jagannātha brought him garlands and *prasāda*, and the temple servant Tulasī came and bowed to his feet. 186 'Mahāprabhu has come'—the cry went around the town, and Sārvabhauma and Rāmānanda and Vāṇīnātha came to meet him. 187 With all of them Prabhu went to the house of Miśra, and Sārvabhauma and Paṇḍita Gosvāmī offered him invitations. 188 Prabhu said, "Bring *mahāprasāda* to this place; today I shall feast here with you all." 189 Then both brought Jagannātha-*prasāda*, and Mahāprabhu ate with them all.

190 And thus has been told how Prabhu, having visited Vṛndāvana, returned again to Nīlādri. 191 He who hears this with faith, in a short time gains the feet of Caitanya. 192 This has been a survey of the *madhya līlā*; and his going and coming took six years. 193 The last eighteen years he lived at Nīlācala, and with his *bhaktas* he had *kīrtana-vilāsa*.

194 Let me now summarize in order the *madhya līlā*, for in the summary one can taste the story [again]. 195 In the first chapter were the *sūtras* of the final *līlā*, and within that there were extensive descriptions of some parts of it. 196 In the second chapter was a description of the ravings of Prabhu, and within that a survey of the various *bhāvas*. 197 In the third chapter was the story of the *saṃnyāsa* of Prabhu, and how he had *vilāsa* at the house of the *ācārya*.

accompanied Caitanya and Balabhadra on their journeys. Kṛṣṇadāsa, however, has made no mention of this man before, nor has any other biographical text, and it was precisely to serve Caitanya as a cook that Balabhadra was chosen in the first place. The compound can be broken apart easily as two appositional nouns—manuscript orthography connects almost all words—or it can be read as a *karmadhāraya* compound with the same meaning, i.e., the *brāhmaṇa* Bhaṭṭācārya. TKS]

179. Brahmānanda Bhārati, student of Keśava Bhāratī, and Paramānanda Purī, student of Īśvara Purī.

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198 In the fourth was a taste of the activities of Mādhava Purī, and a description of stealing of the *kṣīra* and the establishment of Gopāla. 199 In the fifth was a description of the actions of Sākṣigopāla, which Nityānanda told and which Prabhu enjoyed. 200 In the sixth was the saving of Sārvabhauma, and in the seventh the journey to pilgrimage places and the release of Vāsudeva. 201 In the eighth was a detailed description of the conversation with Rāmānanda, and how [Prabhu] himself heard the essence of all the true conclusions. 202 The ninth spoke of the journey to pilgrimage places in the south, and the tenth of the meeting with all the Vaiṣṇavas. 203 The eleventh described the *saṃkīrtana* around the Śrī-*mandira*, and the twelfth the cleansing of the Guṇḍicā temple. 204 In the thirteenth was the dancing of Prabhu before the car, and in the fourteenth the *darśana* of the Horapañcamī-*yātrā*. 205 In it also was the story of the *bhāvas* of the Vraja-*devīs*, which Svarūpa told, and which Prabhu enjoyed. 206 In the fifteenth the qualities of *bhaktas* were described by the holy mouth, and also the eating at the house of Sārvabhauma and the saving of Amogha. 207 In the sixteenth was the journey to Vṛndāvana by way of Gauḍadeśa, and again to Nīlācala from Nāṭaśālā. 208 In the seventeenth was the description of his sports on the way to Vṛndāvana. 209 In the nineteenth was the trip from Mathurā to Prayāga, and there also was the inspiring of Śrī Rūpa with *śakti*. 210 In the twentieth chapter was the meeting with Sanātana, and in it was a description of the *svarūpa* of Bhagavān. 211 In the twenty-first was a description of the sweetness and the divinity of Kṛṣṇa, and in the twenty-second various descriptions of *sādhana-bhakti*. 212 In the twenty-third *prema-bhakti rasa* was described, and in the twenty-fourth the *ātmārāma śloka* was explained. 213 In the twenty-fifth were the activities of the Vaiṣṇavas dwelling at Kāśī, and the return again from Kāśī to Nīlācala. 214 Thus the summary of the twenty-five chapters, and in listening to it one can taste the meaning of the book. 215 Thus has been described in brief the essence of the *madhya līlā*; it could not be completely described in a crore of books.

216 Prabhu wandered from country to country to save *jīvas*. He himself having tasted *bhakti*, he made it manifest: 217 the Kṛṣṇa-*tattva*, *bhakti-tattva*, *prema-tattva*, the essence of these, and of the *bhāva-tattva*, *rasa-tattva*, and *līlā-tattva*; 218 and he propagated *tattva-rasa* of the *Bhāgavata*; he caused the world to know that the *Bhāgavata* is like Kṛṣṇa [himself]. 219 Sometimes he expounded with his own mouth, for the sake of his *bhaktas*, and sometimes he listened to the words from the mouths of his *bhaktas*. 220 More gracious or liberal than Caitanya, or more loving to his *bhaktas*, there is none in the three worlds. 221 Listen, O *bhaktas*, with faith to that *līlā*, and by its grace you will

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gain the feet of Caitanya. 222 By its grace you will gain the essence of the Kṛṣṇa-*tattva*, and you will gain the other shore of the ultimate meaning of all the *śāstras*.

223 The essence of the nectar of the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*,
hundreds of streams of it,
flowing in the ten directions,
that is the *līlā* of Caitanya,
the eternal lotus-pond,
and the swan of the mind moves on it.

224 O *bhaktas*! hear my humble words.
Let the dust of your feet
be the ornament of my body,
I entreat you. [refrain]

225 The ultimate ends of *bhakti* to Kṛṣṇa,
on which bloom forests of lotuses:
taste the nectar of it.
In the forest of white lilies of *prema-rasa*,
blooming night and day:
loose the bees of your minds within it.

226 *Bhaktas* in many *bhāvas*,
cakravākas and swans,
all play upon it.
The lovely lotus-stalk of Kṛṣṇa-play,
which can be gotten all the time,
is eaten by the *bhakta*-swans.

227 Moving on that lotus-pond,
becoming swans and *cakravākas*,
[you should] always sport there.
It will dispel all sadness,
and you will gain great joy,
and easily will the delights of *prema* come.

226-27. Cakravāka: curlew or heron.

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228 This nectar constantly,
the clouds—*mahāntas* and *sādhus*—
rain on the garden of the world.
And in it bloom the fruits of *prema*,
and *bhaktas* eat of them,
and after them the people of the world, to live.

229 Full of the nectar of the Caitanya-*līlā*,
and the lovely camphor of Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*,
both mixed together are very sweet.
By the grace of *guru* and of holy men,
who tastes this
knows the true depth of sweetness.

230 Except for the nectar of that *līlā*,
if anything is drunk,
the life of the *bhakta* will be weakened.
If a drop of it is drunk,
body and mind are fruitful,
and he laughs and sings and dances.

231 So drink this nectar,
there is nothing else like it,
with profound faith in your mind.
Do not fall into the pit of foolish logic,
that foul and harsh whirlpool;
in falling into it, all is destroyed.

232 Śrī Caitanya and Nityānanda,
Advaita and the other *bhaktas*,
and all *bhaktas* who hear—
the holy feet of all of you
let me take as ornaments upon my head,
in which all my desires will be fulfilled.

233 Śrī Rūpa and Sanātana
and the feet of Raghunātha and Jīva
I take on my head. My hope is in them.
Filled with the nectar of the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*,
the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,'
the lowly Kṛṣṇadāsa sings a little.

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Śloka 48.

May this book, the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, offered to Caitanya, be a source of satisfaction to Śrī Madanagopāla and to Śrī Govindadeva.

Śloka 49.

That this nectar of the *līlā* of Gaura is very obscure, and is not appreciated by low and vile people or obtainable by them, what is the harm for me in that? It spreads joy throughout—and it is tasted by those of pure hearts and minds.

END OF MADHYA-LĪLĀ

Śloka 48. See *upasaṃhāra, śloka* 2.

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Antya Līlā

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Antya Līlā
Chapter 1

Śloka 1.
Whose grace makes lame men able to cross mountains and dumb men recite the *śruti*—to that Īśvara, Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, I bow down.

Śloka 2.
May those holy men be my support in my blindness, by giving me the staff of their own grace, for the way is difficult and again and again my feet stumble.

1 Śrī Rūpa, Sanātana, Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa, Śrī Jīva, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, and Raghunātha Dāsa—2 I bow at the feet of these six *gurus*, by whom all obstacles are destroyed and desires fulfilled.

Śloka 3.
Though I am slow-witted and crippled, let those who are my refuge, whose lotus-feet are possessions to me, let them, Rādhā and Madanamohana, in their love-play, be glorified.

Śloka 4.
I meditate upon Rādhā and Govindadeva, as they sit on a throne in the beautiful jeweled chamber, beneath the wishing-tree in the forest of the heavenly Vṛndāvana, served by most beloved female friends.

Śloka 3. See 1.1.*śl.*15; 2.1.*śl.*3. This and the next two *ślokas* comprise the formal *maṅgalācaraṇa* for all three *līlās* of the text.
Śloka 4. See 1.1.*śl.*16; 2.1.*śl.*4.

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Śloka 5.

May that blessed Gopīnātha, the sound of whose flute attracted the *gopīs* to him, as he sat at the foot of the banyan tree, beginning the *rāsa-rasa*, be the source of blessings unto us.

3 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*. 4 Thus I have described the *madhya-līlā* in brief; now hear, O *bhaktas*, a short description of the *antya-līlā*. 5 In the middle of the *madhya-līlā* were the *sūtras* of the *antya-līlā*; I described it briefly in the previous book. 6 I am very old, and I know that death is near, and so I have given a description of certain parts of the *antya-līlā*. 7 [Now I shall write] according to the *sūtras* which were previously written; what I have not written, that I shall write in detail.

8 From Vṛndāvana, Prabhu came to Nīlācala, and Rūpa Gosvāmin sent the news of this to Gauḍa. 9 When she heard it, Śacī was delighted, as were all the *bhaktas*, and all together travelled to Nīlācala. 10 There were many *bhaktas* who lived in Kulīnagrāma, and many from Khaṇḍa, and they all met with Ācārya and with Śivānanda and came. 11 Śivānanda took care of all the ghat [tolls], and he protected everybody and provided them with places to stay. 12 And there was a dog which went with Śivānanda, and he gave it food, and took it with him and protected it. 13 One day they came to a river crossing, and the Oḍiyā boatman did not allow the dog on his boat. 14 So the dog remained behind, and Śivānanda was very distressed. So he gave ten *paṇas* of cowries and got the dog across. 15 On another day, Śivānanda stopped at a ghat-keeper's, and his servant forgot to give food to the dog. 16 Śivānanda came in the evening, at meal time, and he asked the servant, "Has the dog had food?" 17 And when he heard that the dog had not been fed, he was upset, and he sent ten men to look for the dog. 18 They looked but could not find the dog, so

Śloka 5. See 1.1.*śl.*17; 2.1.*śl.*5.

6. Kṛṣṇadāsa was unsure whether or not he would be able to live to write the *antya-līlā*, so he included parts of it in précis form in *madhya*.

11. On the way from Bengal to Orissa, it was evidently necessary to pass through the lands of various *rājās*, all of whom collected tolls from travellers. Ghat does not necessarily mean a landing place on a river; it can also mean toll stations on the open road; see *Mahārāshṭa purāṇa*, p. 68. Some MSS add a couplet to the effect that Śivānanda knew the roads of Orissa, implying that the other *bhaktas* did not, and this is why he took upon himself to make all these arrangements.

12. The chronology of this incident is unclear, for Kṛṣṇadāsa has mentioned it in 2.1.129-31 as taking place within the first few years of Caitanya's stay in Puri, yet it is reported to have occurred after meeting Rūpa in Prayāga.

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the ten returned, and Śivānanda fasted, in his distress. 19 In the morning he got up and looked for the dog, but could not find it anywhere, and all the Vaiṣṇavas were astounded. 20 And so everyone, anxious and distressed, moved on to Nīlācala, and as before they all met Mahāprabhu. 21 With all of them he had *darśana* of Jagannātha, and with all of them Mahāprabhu took food. 22 And as before, Mahāprabhu sent them all to their own houses, and the next morning they came to him. 23 And when they came they all saw that the dog was there, sitting just a little distance from Prabhu. 24 He was throwing it kernels of coconut from the *prasāda*, was laughing and saying "Say Kṛṣṇa Rāma Hari." 25 The dog was eating the kernels and saying "Kṛṣṇa" again and again, and when they saw this the people were amazed. 26 Śivānanda, when he saw the dog, bowed down and humbly begged forgiveness for his offence. 27 The next day no one caught sight of the dog, for it had gained a perfected body and had gone to Vaikuṇṭha. 28 Such was the divine *līlā* of the son of Śacī, for he caused a dog to say the name of Kṛṣṇa, and freed it.

29 Now according to the command of Prabhu, Rūpa came to Vṛndāvana, and he had in mind to write a drama of the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*. 30 He began the drama at Vṛndāvana, and there he wrote the *maṅgalācaraṇa* and the *nāndī-ślokas*. 31 While he was on the path he was reflecting on the composition of the drama, and he made some notes and began to write a little. 32 In this way the two brothers came to the Gauḍa country, and when they had reached Gauḍa, Anupama died. 33 Rūpa Gosvāmin made his way to Prabhu, for to see Prabhu his mind was agitated. 34 Because of Anupama he had been delayed a little; he had come after the *bhaktas*, but he could not catch up with them. 35 There is in Oḍiya country a village by the name of Satyabhāmāpura, and he rested for one night in that village. 36 In the night he saw a dream—a woman of divine beauty. Coming before him she said to him very tenderly, 37 "Compose a separate drama of me; by my grace the drama will be masterful." 38 When he

24. Śasya: kernel, usually used with reference to corn or other grain, and perhaps here meaning the edible meat of the coconut.

29. Nāṭaka: drama.

30. Maṅgalācaraṇa: introductory *ślokas* to the *iṣṭa-devatā* of the writer, for the purpose of the destruction of obstacles and prayers for the fulfillment of the work. *Nāndī-ślokas* are almost the same thing, asking for blessings, making obeisances, etc.

31. Kaḍacā: notes.

32. Anupama or Vallabha had died (*gaṅgāprapti haila*) on the banks of the Gaṅgā in Bengal as they were on the way to Puri.

35. Satyabhāmā was one of Kṛṣṇa's three most beloved and faithful wives in the Dvārakā-*līlā*; she was the goddess of this village, and the woman who appears to Rūpa in his dream.

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had seen the dream, Rūpa reflected on it, "It is the command of Satyabhāmā that a separate drama be composed. 39 I have collected together the *līlās* of Vraja and Pura; now let me compose the work in two parts." 40 And reflecting in this way he quickly came to Nīlācala, and when he had arrived he went to the house of Haridāsa. 41 Haridāsa Ṭhākura was very gracious to him, "Prabhu told me that you would come." 42 When he had seen the *upala-bhoga*, Prabhu would come every day to see Haridāsa, and he came very shortly. 43 Haridāsa said, "Rūpa makes obeisance," and Prabhu embraced Rūpa, together with Haridāsa. 44 So taking Haridāsa, the three sat together, and for some time they asked questions about one another's well being, in friendly conversation. 45 When Gosvāmī asked news of Sanātana, Rūpa replied, "I have not been able to meet him. 46 I was coming along the Gaṅgā road, and he the Rājapatha, and thus we did not meet. 47 I heard at Prayāga that he had gone to Vṛndāvana." And he made known the news of Anupama's death. 48 Gosvāmī, having had a house given to him, left, and the *bhaktas* of Gosvāmī, his companions, came to meet Rūpa.

49 The next day Mahāprabhu with all the *bhaktas*, graciously had Rūpa introduced in the assembly. 50 Rūpa bowed to the feet of them all, and graciously they all embraced him. 51 To Advaita and Nityānanda Prabhu, Prabhu said, "Be gracious in mind and in body to Rūpa. 52 By the grace of you both his power is such that he can describe the *bhakti-rasa* of Kṛṣṇa." 53 All the *bhaktas* of Prabhu, Gauḍiyā and Oḍiyā, all were vessels of affection for Rūpa. 54 Every day Prabhu would come and meet him, and the *prasāda* which he had gotten in the temple he gave to the two of them. 55 Sitting with the two of them, he would have friendly conversation for some time, until he left to perform the midday rituals. 56 Such were the daily activities of Prabhu, and by the grace of Prabhu, Rūpa gained unparalleled joy. 57 With his *bhaktas*, Prabhu cleansed the Guṇḍicā, and came to the Āiṭoṭā, where they ate in the forest. 58 They ate *prasāda* and all the *bhaktas* shouted "Hari!" and when they saw it the hearts of Haridāsa and Rūpa were delighted. 59 They got at the door of Govinda the *prasāda* of the leavings of Prabhu, and drunk with *prema*, the two began to dance.

39. Pura: Dvārakā; he was to write two dramas, one of the Vraja-*līlā*, and one of the Dvārakā-*līlā*.

54. The two of them: Rūpa Gosvāmin and Haridāsa Ṭhākura.

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60 Another day, Prabhu was sitting together with Rūpa, and Prabhu, that crest-jewel of omniscience, began to say, 61 "Do not bring Kṛṣṇa out from Vraja, for Kṛṣṇa never leaves Vraja to go anywhere."

Śloka 6. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*, *pūrva-khaṇḍa* 5.461 [quoting *Yāmala Tantra*]:

The Kṛṣṇa of the Yādava race is other; he who is full [*svarūpa*] is higher than he; for he never leaves Vṛndāvana to go elsewhere.

62 When he had said this, Mahāprabhu went to his midday rituals, and Rūpa Gosvāmin was a little astonished, and thought, 63 "Satyabhāmā ordered me to compose a separate drama, and knowing this Prabhu also ordered me to compose separately. 64 Previously the two dramas were together, but now I shall make two." 65 And thus reflecting he wrote separately two *nāndī prastāvanās* and two *saṃghaṭanās*. 66 He had had *darśana* of Jagannātha in the Car Festival, and he watched the dancing and singing of Prabhu before the car. 67 When Śrī Rūpa Gosvāmin heard the *śloka* to which Prabhu danced, he right then composed a *śloka* on the meaning of that *śloka*. 68 I discussed all these matters previously; still, I shall speak of them briefly.

69 During the *kīrtana* Prabhu recited a common *śloka*. Why did he recite this *śloka*? That no one knows. 70 Of all, only Svarūpa Gosvāmin knew the meaning of the *śloka*, and he caused Prabhu to taste a verse appropriate to that *śloka*. 71 Rūpa Gosvāmin knew the intention of Mahāprabhu, so he composed a *śloka* commensurate to its meaning, and Prabhu was pleased with it.

61. This is a curious remark, and can only be understood in the following way. Rūpa had been intending to write a single work covering both the Dvārakā and the Vraja *līlās*, which would certainly not have been antipathetic to the *śāstras*, for the *BhP* itself does the same thing. But influenced by Satyabhāmā in the dream, Rūpa had decided to write two dramas instead. Caitanya here seems to be reinforcing the argument for that, saying that in the unmanifest eternal *līlā* it is the Kṛṣṇa at Vraja that counts, that the two-armed cowherd boy is the *svarūpa*, and that the four-armed son of Vasudeva and Kṛṣṇa the mighty king, while partaking of this *svarūpa*, are subsidiary. Therefore, if Rūpa is to write of the true, eternal *līlā*, he had better stick to the Vraja-*līlā*. This seems to be borne out by *śloka* 6.

65. Prastāvanā: prologue, in which the matter of the drama is presented. *Saṃghaṭanā*: plot, the joining of certain incidents to certain incidents, and the statement and establishment of the *bhāva* and *rasa* of the drama.

68. See 2.1.

69. Sāmānya: common.

70. Pada: verse.

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Śloka 7. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 382 [anonymous]:

He who stole my virginity on the banks of the Revanadi, he is now my husband. The nights of [the month of] Caitra are fragrant with the scent of the blooming jasmine, and the wind like honey is blowing from the *kadamba*-grove. And I, that same *nāyikā*, absorbed in that joy, am here. Even so, my heart is not at ease; it longs constantly for the foot of the Vetasī tree on the banks of the Reva.

Śloka 8. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 383 [quoting Rūpa Gosvāmin]:

O friend, that Kṛṣṇa whom I met in Kurukṣetra is now my love, and I am Rādhā. We both enjoy this love-making. Yet my heart longs for the grove on the banks of the Kālindī, which cherished the fifth note of his sweet flute throbbing inside it.

72 He wrote this *śloka* on a palm-leaf, and put it in the roof of his cottage, and Rūpa Gosvāmin went to bathe in the sea. 73 At that very time, Prabhu was coming to meet him, and [looking] up into the roof, he found the *śloka* and began to read it. 74 When he had read the *śloka* Prabhu was overcome with *prema*, in happiness; and at that time Rūpa Gosvāmin was returning from his bath. 75 When he saw Prabhu he fell prostrate in the courtyard; but Prabhu grabbed him by the clothes and began to say, 76 "How did you know the depths of my heart?" And so saying he embraced Rūpa deeply. 77 Prabhu took the *śloka* and he showed it to Svarūpa, and to test Svarūpa he asked him, 78 "How does Rūpa know what is innermost in my heart?" Svarūpa said, "I know that you yourself have been gracious to him. 79 Otherwise no one would know this meaning. You have been gracious—this is my deduction." 80 Prabhu said, "He met me at Prayāga, and knowing him to be a proper vessel, I was gracious to him. 81 Then, communicating power to him, I instructed him. You tell to him the characteristics of *rasa*." 82 Svarūpa said, "When I saw this *śloka*, I knew that you had granted him your grace."

Śloka 9. *Nyāya:*

From the fruit can the origin of the fruit be deduced.

Śloka 7. See 2.1.*śl.*6; 2.13.*śl.*6. Also found in Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa* 1.4 and Viśvanātha's *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* 1.10.

Śloka 8. See 2.1.*śl.*7; 3.1.*śl.*13.

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Śloka 10. *Naiṣadhīya* 3.17:

We, who feed on the front parts of the various lotus-stalks of the golden lotuses of the river of heaven, gain riches in the form of bodies appropriate to that food; for one learns the qualities from their source.

83 So remaining for the four months, the Vaiṣṇavas returned to Gauḍa, and Rūpa Gosvāmin remained at the feet of Mahāprabhu.

84 One day Rūpa was writing his drama, when Mahāprabhu arrived unexpectedly. 85 In respect both arose and bowed, and embracing them both Prabhu sat down on a seat. 86 Taking a leaf, he asked, "What manuscript are you writing?" And when he saw the script, the heart of Prabhu was pleased. 87 Rūpa's letters were like a string of pearls, and being charmed, Prabhu praised his hand. 88 Prabhu saw the *śloka* on the leaf, and while reading it he was overcome with *prema*.

Śloka 11. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 1.33:

With what nectar the two syllables of the name Kṛṣṇa are composed we do not know; for dancing on the lips they create a desire for having many mouths, and as they sprout within the ears they create a desire for having ten million ears; and as companions of the court of the mind they conquer the functioning of all the senses.

89 When he heard the *śloka*, Haridāsa was delighted, and he began to dance, praising the meaning of the *śloka*. 90 "We know from the mouths of *sādhus* and from the *śāstras* the greatness of the name of Kṛṣṇa, but no where have we ever heard such of the sweetness of the name." 91 Then Mahāprabhu embraced them both, and went to the sea to perform his midday rituals.

92 Another day Mahāprabhu, having seen Jagannātha, was with Sārvabhauma and Rāmānanda and Svarūpa and some others, 93 and all together they were going to meet Śrī Rūpa, and on the way they were discussing his qualities, and he began to say to them all 94 that he had read the two *ślokas*, and that he was very pleased; and he spoke of the qualities of his own *bhakta* as if with five mouths. 95 It was to test Sārvabhauma and Rāmānanda that he spoke to them of the qualities of Śrī Rūpa. 96 It is the nature of Īśvara that he does not take

85. Both: Rūpa and Haridāsa.
86. Akṣara: "script," Rūpa's handwriting.
Śloka 11. See 3.1.*śl.*14.

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offence at his *bhaktas*, and that he considers a little service as much, and that his grace is up to [the giving of] himself.

Śloka 12. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*dakṣina-vibhāga, vibhāva-laharī*] 2.1.138:

The heart of Puruṣottama is pure: he does not see even the most serious offences of his servants, he glorifies even a tiny service done by one of them, and he does not manifest malice even toward malefactors.

97 The two saw Prabhu coming with his *bhaktas*, and they bowed down and made obeisance to his feet. 98 Prabhu joined them both with the *bhaktas*, and with his *bhaktas* Prabhu sat down on the *piṇḍā*. 99 Rūpa and Haridāsa both sat below the *piṇḍā*; in the presence of the company they did not rise up upon the *piṇḍā*. 100 And Prabhu commanded, "Read, O Rūpa, the *śloka* which you read before." But out of modesty Rūpa did not read it, and remained silent. 101 Then Svarūpa Gosvāmin read the *śloka*, and when they heard it the minds of all were astonished.

Śloka 13. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 383 [quoting Rūpa Gosvāmin]:

O friend, that Kṛṣṇa whom I met in Kurukṣetra is now my love and I am Rādhā. We both enjoy this love-making. Yet my heart longs for the grove on the banks of the Kālindī, which cherished the fifth note of his sweet flute throbbing inside it.

102 Rāya and Bhaṭṭācārya said, "Except for your grace, how could he know your heart? 103 Formerly, infusing [*śakti*] within me, you spoke of the ultimate perfect goals, such that Brahmā does not gain the end of all those ultimate perfect goals. 104 From that I know that previously he has gained your grace, and that apart from you there is no interpretation of your heart."

105 Prabhu said, "Recite, O Rūpa, that *śloka* of the drama which, when they hear it, dispels the grief and sorrow of people." 106 When Prabhu had commanded him again and again finally Rūpa Gosvāmin recited that *śloka*:

97. The two are Rūpa and Haridāsa.
98. Piṇḍa: a small, raised seat for honored guests.
Śloka 13. See 2.1.*śl.*7; 3.1.*śl.*8.

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Śloka 14. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 1.33:

With what nectar the two syllables of the name Kṛṣṇa are composed we do not know; for dancing on the lips they create as desire for having many mouths, and as they sprout within the ears, they create a desire for having ten million ears; and as companions of the court of the mind they conquer the functioning of all the senses.

107 Rāmānanda Rāya and as many *bhaktas* as were there present were astonished with joy when he heard the *śloka*. 108 And all agreed, "We have heard the infinite greatness of the name, but never have we heard its sweetness so described." 109 And Rāya said, "Let us know what book that is, within which lies this mine of ultimate perfection." 110 Svarūpa said, "He was composing a drama on the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*, describing in one place the Vraja-*līlā* and the Pura-*līlā*. 111 He had begun, but, now, receiving the order of Prabhu, he is dividing it up and making two dramas. 112 One is *Vidagdhamādhava*, and the other *Lalitamādhava*, and in the two dramas is all the wonder of *prema-rasa*."

113 Rāya said, "Read the *nāndī-ślokas* and let us hear them." And Śrī Rūpa, respecting the command of Prabhu, read the *ślokas*.

Śloka 15. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 1.1:

May the spiced curds of Hari's play, which tames the madness of the sweetness of the nectar of the moon, and is scented with the camphor of the love of Rādhā and the others, entirely dispel your thirst, which is led to wander the pathways of *saṃsāra* which are difficult because of the rising of [fierce] heat.

114 Rāya said, "Give the description of the *iṣṭa-deva*"; but in the presence of Prabhu, Rūpa did not recite it. 115 Prabhu said, "Speak; why are you modest in my presence? Let the assembly of Vaiṣṇavas hear the fruits of the book." 116 Then Rūpa Gosvāmin recited the *ślokas*, and when Prabhu heard them he said, "What was just heard is much too excessive praise."

Śloka 14. See 3.1.*śl.*11.

112. Rūpa's *Vidagdhamādhava* is on the Vraja-*līlā*, and *Lalitamādhava* on the Dvārakā-*līlā*.

113. [It is not insignificant that Rāmānanda Rāya is the interlocutor, for along with Svarūpa he was the most accomplished of the Nīlācala *bhaktas* in understanding the *bhakti-rasa-śāstra*, and had himself composed a drama of recognized accomplishment, the *Jagannāthavallabha nāṭaka*. TKS]

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Śloka 16. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 1.2:

In order to bestow the wealth of *bhakti* for himself, which for a long time had gone unbestowed, a *bhakti* of elevated and radiant essentiality, Hari has descended in the Kali age out of compassion, with the beautiful sheen of gold and blazing like a [blooming] *kadamba* [flower]; and Śacīnandana must forever sparkle in the hollow of your heart.

117 Hearing this *śloka*, all the *bhaktas* said, "You have crowned us with success, causing us to hear this *śloka*."

118 Rāya said, "In what part of the prologue does the hero appear?" And Rūpa said, "He arrives at the proper time, called '*pravartaka*'."

Śloka 17. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Nāṭakacandrikā* 31:

The entrance of a person suggested in the introduction at the appropriate time is *pravartaka*.

Śloka 18. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 1.17:

Now springtime has come, in which the full-moon [night], when planets are obscured, brings together at night the full lord of the planets of the full night, in whom new love has arisen, with the radiant Rādhā, for a play.

119 Rāya said, "Speak and let us hear of the *prarocanā* and the rest." And Rūpa said, "I know that it is the desire of Mahāprabhu to hear."

Śloka 19. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 1.15:

The troupe, radiant by nature, of the *bhaktas* whose minds are unfettered, has come forth; the composition, blossoming with beauties, of the friend of the cowherds' wives, is [ready]; the ground within the forests of Vṛndāvana becomes the stage for the dance; I think the maturing of the circle of merit of people like me now becomes manifest.

Śloka 16. See 1.1.*śl.*4; 1.3.*śl.*2.

118. The scene is set by the *sūtradhāra*, reading the *ślokas* which describe the time, place, and the nature of the characters in the play. The *pravartaka* is in *śloka* 18, seventeen *ślokas* into the drama. See J. A. B. van Buitenen, *Two Plays of Ancient India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), 19-20, 27-28.

Śloka 18. The *śloka* depends on the figure called *śleṣa*, double meaning. The second reading is: "The springtime has come, in which the goddess of the full moon is filled with anxiety, and having gained new love that full Īśvara will unite with the radiant Rādhā for their love-play."

119. The *prarocanā* comes before the introduction of the characters, and sets the drama in place, time, and mood.

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Śloka 20. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 1.13:
O wise men, this composition which has been revealed by me, even though my form is insignificant by nature, is concerned with the qualities of Hari, and will make you fulfilled in your purposes. For does not fire, produced by rubbing wood, [even] by a Pulinda, take away the impurities within gold?

120 Rāya said, "Tell us the causes of the arising of *prema*, and of the ascertainment of *pūrva-rāga*, and of strivings for it, and of the working of it." 121 Gradually Rūpa Gosvāmin described all of this, and when they heard it the *bhaktas* of Prabhu were spell-bound.

Śloka 21. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 2.19:
Even hearing the syllables of the name of this one Kṛṣṇa obliterates my mind; the sound of the flute of another one brings on a series of tender madnesses; and even merely seeing him in a picture, he, of a beauty of a moist cloud, sticks in my mind. This is most difficult for me; love is born for these three, and I think death is preferable.

Śloka 22. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 2.16:
O friend, this ache in the heart of Rādhā is completely incurable; even medical treatment in such matters turns into blame.

Śloka 23. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 2.48:
O handsome one, I have placed your image in my temple and you are dwelling there. In various places you, strong, obstruct me, whenever I am afraid and try to flee.

Śloka 24. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 2.26:
When she sees a peacock tail before her, she immediately begins to tremble; at the mere sight of a garden again and again her eyes fill with tears and she sobs loudly. I do not know what new demon has entered the mind of the young girl, and produced this astonishing play of unprecedented acting.

Śloka 20. It is also usual for the poet to express his own humility and inability to write properly; here Rūpa does it by a pun on the word "form" (*rūpa*), meaning that both he, Rūpa, and the form of the play are inadequate.

Śloka 21. "These three": the bearer of the name, the player of the flute, and the youth in the picture.

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120 Rāya said, "Tell us the causes of the arising of *prema*, and of the ascertainment of *pūrva-rāga*, and of strivings for it, and of the working of it." 121 Gradually Rūpa Gosvāmin described all of this, and when they heard it the *bhaktas* of Prabhu were spell-bound.

Śloka 21. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 2.19:
Even hearing the syllables of the name of this one Kṛṣṇa obliterates my mind; the sound of the flute of another one brings on a series of tender madnesses; and even merely seeing him in a picture, he, of a beauty of a moist cloud, sticks in my mind. This is most difficult for me; love is born for these three, and I think death is preferable.

Śloka 22. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 2.16:
O friend, this ache in the heart of Rādhā is completely incurable; even medical treatment in such matters turns into blame.

Śloka 23. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 2.48:
O handsome one, I have placed your image in my temple and you are dwelling there. In various places you, strong, obstruct me, whenever I am afraid and try to flee.

Śloka 24. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 2.26:
When she sees a peacock tail before her, she immediately begins to tremble; at the mere sight of a garden again and again her eyes fill with tears and she sobs loudly. I do not know what new demon has entered the mind of the young girl, and produced this astonishing play of unprecedented acting.

Śloka 20. It is also usual for the poet to express his own humility and inability to write properly; here Rūpa does it by a pun on the word "form" (*rūpa*), meaning that both he, Rūpa, and the form of the play are inadequate.

Śloka 21. "These three": the bearer of the name, the player of the flute, and the youth in the picture.

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Śloka 25. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 2.70:
If Kṛṣṇa is cruel to me, why should this be counted as your offence? Do not weep in vain; but do this last act for me; tie me by the arms to the branches of the *tamāla* tree, that my body may for a long time occupy the forests of Vṛndāvana, motionless.

122 Rāya said, "Tell us of the nature of *bhāva*." And Rūpa said, "This is the *bhāva* of relation to Kṛṣṇa."

Śloka 26. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 2.30:
O beautiful, in whose heart love for the son of Nanda awakes, there clearly arise for him crookedly sweet powers. This love has two kinds of effects: it drives away by pain of the same kind the fierce bitterness of a serpent's poison; and again, it shrivels up the pride of nectar and honey by a rain of bliss.

123 Rāya said, "Tell us the signs of natural *prema*." Rūpa Gosvāmin said, "The *dharma* of *prema* is natural."

Śloka 27. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 5.4:
In whom praise brings indifference and gives pain to the heart, who holds condemnation as a wonderful joke which gives joy, who is never reduced by any faults or expanded by any qualities: thus sports the character of natural love.

Śloka 28. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 2.59:
The moon-faced one, having heard of my cruelty and having torn up the sprout of *prema*, with pained heart will she be patient and steadfast, with her face averted from me? Or will she, afraid of the bow of the cruel Kandarpa, abandon her life? Alas, the tender, budding, creeper of desire has been uprooted by me in my stupidity.

Śloka 29. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 2.60:
In the hope of the happiness of whose embrace my deep sense of shame toward elders was dulled by me, O friend, and you, dearer to me than

Śloka 25. *Tamāla*: a hearty fruit-bearing tree, *Xanthochymus pictorius*, with dark bark and contrasting white blossoms.
Śloka 26. See 2.2.*śl*.7.

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life, were wounded, nor did I respect even that very great *dharma* revered by chaste women—even neglected by him, foul woman that I am, I am alive; shame on this patience.

Śloka 30. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 2.69:
Controlled by our own natural girlhood, we were playing in our homes, and knew not the least bit of good or evil; is it right that we are now taken to a condition without refuge; how is it right that this indifference is glorified by you?

Śloka 31. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 2.53:
Our hearts tormented and stained, we are going today to Yama's city. And still he does not abandon that clever smile which stores deceit. O understanding Rādhā, by what deep tricks has your *prema* become deeper for this sly village-dwelling cowherd cheat?

Śloka 32. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 3.13:
O Kṛṣṇārṇava! the Rādhā-stream of new sweetness, vast, has carried away the bridge of *dharma*, and abandoning her tree-husband for a distant path, has smashed with its velocity the mountains of [obedience to] elders and has reached you; how then, with the waves of your words, are you turning it back?

124 Rāya asked, "The sound of the flute in Vṛndāvana, and Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa—how have you described them? 125 Speak; let us hear; your poetry is most wonderful." So gradually, Rūpa Gosvāmin spoke, having made obeisance.

Śloka 33. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 1.41:
The dripping sweet smelling honey of the pollen of the buds of the mango trees again and again makes prisoners of the bees, and the gentle breeze from the sandalwood mountains agitates [them]—this Vṛndāvana fills me with incomparable joy.

Śloka 34. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 1.42:
O friend! this Vṛndāvana is surrounded by heavenly creepers, with their tops covered with blossoming flowers, filling the bees which drink the

Śloka 31. *Ābhīra*: "cowherd," the pastoral tribe of central India, whose hero Kṛṣṇa perhaps originally was; see R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, and Minor Religious Systems*, (Varanasi: Indological Bookhouse, 1965 [reprint 1913 ed.]),52-54.

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pollen with joy and causing them to sing songs which are pleasing to the ear.

Śloka 35. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 1.48:
In some places the bees sing sweet songs, in some places the cool wind blows, in some the creepers dance, in some the forest is drunk with the perfume of the jasmine flowers, and in some the pomegranates are full of juice; thus this Vṛndāvana fills all my senses with delight.

Śloka 36. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 3.2:
Both parts three fingers long, inlaid with sapphires and covered with rubies in the part next to it, and between these two parts pure gold, glittering with faultless diamonds—this most beautiful flute appears in the hands of Hari.

Śloka 37. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 5.19:
O flute! your birth is in high family, and you are pure by your birth, your resting place is in the hand of Puruṣottama. O friend, why alas have you taken your wrong initiation with the *mantra* of charming the beautiful-bodied women of the *gopas*, from that [cruel] *guru*?

Śloka 38. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 4.9:
Friend flute! you are a row of huge holes, you are trifling, knotty, and full of harshness, without sweetness; still, by what merit have you gained the deep bliss of the embrace of Hari, and his eternal kiss?

Śloka 39. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 1.44:
The sound of the flute stopped the waves of the sea and again and again filled Tumburu with wonder and shook Sanandana and the others from their meditation; it caused the creator to forget creation. It caused the ardor of Bali to tremble and caused Bhogīndra to roll about, with waves of yearning it split the depth of the cauldron of the [Brahmā]-egg, and rolled on.

Śloka 40. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 1.36:
By the glittering of whose eyes the lustre of the blue lotus is put to shame, by the brilliant yellow of whose clothes the lustre of fresh saffron

Śloka 39. "Waves of the sea" can also be read "passage of the clouds," with equally good sense. Tumburu is the name of a *ṛṣi*, as is Sanandana. Bhogīndra: Ananta the cosmic serpent.

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is paled, by whose forest-clothes the grandeur of divine garments is lost, and the hue of whose body is like emeralds—thus sparkles the body of Hari.

Śloka 41. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Lalitamādhava* 4.27:
O friend! whose right leg meets his left halfway below the knee, his body a little bent in three places, his shoulders bent; whose oblique glance moves to and fro; on whose closed lips rests the flute, held in his restless fingers, and whose bee-like brows are dancing—O beautiful one! appropriate that foremost highest joy.

Śloka 42. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Lalitamādhava* 1.106:
O beautiful faced one! by the cutting brilliance of the corners of his eyes, long and whetted, the rocks of *dharma*, and body, and family honor have been all at once cut—who is this wonderful architect of the universe, who creates cowsheds with countless emeralds?

Śloka 43. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Lalitamādhava* 1.102:
Whose radiance of body dims the brilliance of sapphires, and who is this new youth, the moon of the family of Vrajendra? O friend, the sound of his flute playfully cuts the obstacle of the knots which tie the skirts of women of stable families, and conquers all.

Śloka 44. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 1.60:
The radiance of her eyes conquers by its power the new blue lotus, and the brightness of her face dims that of a forest of blooming lotuses, and the glistening of her body brings shame to gold—somehow these various beauties of Rādhā are glorious.

Śloka 45. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 5.31:
The moon in the daytime is without beauty; as alas is the hundred-petalled one in the evening. So with what can I compare the face of my beloved, always radiant with beauty?

Śloka 46. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 2.78:
A smile on her face—a wave of intoxicating *rasa*; her brows dancing like bows of Kandarpa confuse the bees drunken with honey, and the sidelong glance of the fire-eyelashed woman has pierced my heart.

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126 Rāya said, "Your poetry is a stream of nectar. Now recite the *nāndī-ślokas* of the second drama." 127 And Rūpa said, "You are like the sun, and I am insignificant, like a firefly. 128 Opening my mouth before you is audacity." And so saying, he recited the *nāndī-ślokas*.

Śloka 47. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Lalitamādhava* 1.1:
Putting to shame the lotus-faces and the cuckoo-like breasts of the lovely women of the *asuras*, may that full moon of fame, Mukunda, which brings delight to the hearts of the always longing *cakora*-like friends, give you joy forever.

129 Rāya asked, "Will you recite the second *nāndī*?" And with diffidence, Rūpa began to recite.

Śloka 48. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Lalitamādhava* 1.4:
He who has risen on the earth is distributing to all the nectar of his own *prema* and is established as the primary king of *brāhmaṇas*, and who has driven away the darkness of ignorance and has conquered the hearts of all the world, may that moon, the son of Śacī, bestow on me his shelter.

130 Hearing this, Prabhu was delighted in his heart, but outwardly he was somewhat angry, and he said, 131 "Your poetry of the Kṛṣṇa-*rasa* is a sea of nectar; why have you dropped into it this salt of false praise?" 132 Rāya responded, "The poetry of Rūpa is full of nectar. And into it he has put a drop of camphor." 133 Prabhu said, "Rāya! Are you pleased at this? It shames me to hear, and people will laugh." 134 Rāya said, "When they hear this, people will be pleased. In the *maṅgalācaraṇa* is remembered the *iṣṭa-deva*."

135 And then he said [to Rūpa], "In what part does the hero enter?" And Rūpa Gosvāmin recited the particulars of it.

Śloka 49. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Lalitamādhava* 1.20:
While dancing, when that Kalānidhi kills the king of the Kirātas here on the stage, it is proper that he take the hand of Tārā at the appropriate time.

127-28. See the commentary to v. 113.
Śloka 49. Kalānidhi: Kṛṣṇa. The Kirāta king is Kaṃsa, and Tārā is Rādhā.

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136 This is a part of the *vīthī* prologue and is called '*udghātyaka*,' and reciting it before you is a wave of vanity.

Śloka 50. Viśvanātha's *Sāhityadarpaṇa* 6.289:
When people join words of incomprehensible meaning with other words in order to make them comprehensible, that is called *udghātyaka*.

137 Rāya said, "Describe first the particulars of his body." And Rūpa gave a brief synopsis.

Śloka 51. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Lalitamādhava* 1.50:
Destroying all shame, it draws Rādhā from her home into the forest—that go-between, sent as the soft sound of the flute of her lover, is victorious.

Śloka 52. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Lalitamādhava* 1.49:
All the dust tells of Hari['s return], and the darkness allows them union. The ways of the women of Vraja are not revealed to the *śruti*, although it sees all.

Śloka 53. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Lalitamādhava* 2.23:
O friend, beautiful as a new cloud, wanton as a drunken young elephant, who is that bold youth? When has he come to Vraja? Alas with his fickle glances, roaming in Vṛndāvana, like a thief, the wealth of steadfastness he steals from the storehouse of my heart.

Śloka 54. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Lalitamādhava* 2.22:
She who is the divine play-pond in which the war elephant of my heart plays, who is glory of the full moon of autumn for my *cakora*-eyes, who is the beautiful enchanting star-ornaments to the sky of my breast, that Rādhā, for whom I have longed for so long, is mine.

136. Vīthī is a term usually applied to a one-act drama on the theme of love, though here Kṛṣṇadāsa seems to mean it as a part of the prologue itself. The term *udghātyaka* is defined in *śloka* 50, and means unexpected juxtapositions which give words new definitions. For example, in *śloka* 49, *kalānidhi* is a word for the moon; the moon does not dance, so by the participle "dancing" one knows that something else is meant; this is defined by the killing of Kaṃsa, one of Kṛṣṇa's deeds, and when the meaning "Kṛṣṇa" is thus derived (meaning "dark-colored"), the word *tārā*, "star," also takes on new meaning.

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138 When he had heard this, Rāya said at the feet of Prabhu, praising the poetry of Rūpa as with a thousand mouths, 139 "This is no poetry, this is a stream of nectar; it has the marks of a drama [but] is the essence of the ultimate truths. 140 This is a wonderful description of the varieties of *prema*, and when I listen to it my ears and mind whirl in delight.

Śloka 55. [proverb]:
Why should that poet compose poetry, why should the hunter shoot his arrows, unless, lodging in the heart of another, they cause the head to whirl?

141 Except for your power, these are not the words of a *jīva*; by your *śakti* you have caused him to speak, that is my deduction."

142 Prabhu replied, "I met him at Prayāga, and by his qualities my mind was pleased. 143 His poetry is filled with sweetness, and well ornamented. Apart from such poetry there is no propagation of *rasa*. 144 So all of you be gracious to him, and give him this boon: that he describe endlessly the *prema-rasa* of the Vraja-*līlā*. 145 His elder brother is named Sanātana, and he has no equal in knowledge on the earth. 146 As you have renounced the things of the world, so he has done. And humility, renunciation, and learning have been fixed in him. 147 These two brothers I sent to Vṛndāvana, and I gave them power, to propagate the *bhakti-śāstras*."

148 Rāya said, "You are Īśvara, and do what you wish to do. You are able to make a wooden doll dance. 149 All that *rasa* which you preached through my mouth, all that I see in his writings. 150 In your mercy to *bhaktas* you want the *rasa* of Vraja to be manifest, and that which you cause to do will be done, for the world is in your control."

151 Then Mahāprabhu embraced Rūpa, and had him bow to the feet of the assembly. 152 Advaita amd Nityānanda and all the *bhaktas*, bestowing grace on Rūpa, embraced him. 153 All the hearts of the *bhaktas* were astonished, when they saw Prabhu's grace to Rūpa, and the pure qualities of Rūpa. 154 Then Mahāprabhu took all his *bhaktas* and went away, and Haridāsa Ṭhākura embraced Rūpa, 155 and Haridāsa said, "Your fortune is endless; who knows the

149. [The reference is to their meeting on Caitanya's trip south, described in 2.8. TKS]
Śloka 56. See 2.19.*śl.*14.

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greatness of all that you have described?" 156 Śrī Rūpa replied, "I know nothing at all. What Mahāprabhu caused me to say, I said."

Śloka 56. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, sāmānyabhakti-laharī*] 1.1.2:
By whose inspiration in my heart I, most insignificant Rūpa, have been set into motion, I bow to the lotus feet of that Hari, Caitanyadeva.

157 And in this way the two delightedly talked of Kṛṣṇa; and Rūpa passed the time in happiness, with Haridāsa.

158 So all the *bhaktas* of Prabhu remained for four months, and Gosvāmī bade them farewell, and they set off for Gauḍa. 159 Śrī Rūpa remained in Nīlācala at the feet of Prabhu, and in Prabhu's company, watched the Swing Festival in delight. 160 At the end of the Swing [Festival], Prabhu bade Rūpa farewell, and with much grace infused him with power. 161 "Go to Vṛndāvana, and remain there, and I at once shall send Sanātana there. 162 You determine the *rasa-śāstras* of Vraja, and recover all those pilgrimage places which have been hidden. 163 Preach the *bhakti* of the *rasa* of the service of Kṛṣṇa, and I shall go there once to see you." 164 So saying, Prabhu embraced him, and Rūpa Gosvāmin took his feet upon his head. 165 He begged leave from Mahāprabhu's *bhaktas*, and again came to Vṛndāvana, passing through Gauḍa on the way. 166 Thus has been told again the meeting with Rūpa; and he who hears this gains the feet of Caitanya.

167 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

159. *Dola-yātrā*: Swing Festival. The deities are taken from the temple to the *dola-bedī*, a large stone arch from which the swing is suspended.

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Antya Līlā
Chapter 2

Śloka 1.

I bow to the revered lotus feet of my *guru*, and to my *gurus*, and to Vaiṣṇavas, and to Śrī Rūpa, with Jīva, with the Raghunāthas, and with his elder brother. And I bow to Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, together with his followers, and to Nityānanda, and Advaita, and to the feet of Śrī Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, and to her two companions Lalitā and Viśākhā.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 The Gaura-*avatāra* was to save all people, and the source of that salvation is of three kinds: 3 the *darśana* of his own person, and to the *bhakta-jīva* who was worthy sometimes he gave inspiration, and sometimes by appearance. 4 He saved almost everyone by the *darśana* of his personal presence. He possessed the body of Nakula Brahmacāri. 5 He appeared before Pradyumna Nṛsiṃhānanda. For the salvation of people is the nature of Īśvara. 6 He carried all the world across by *darśana* of the presence, and whoever saw him once was fulfilled.

7 The *bhaktas* of the land of Gauḍa came every year, and again returned to Gauḍa after having met with Prabhu. 8 And people from many countries came

Śloka 1. I.e., one *dīkṣā guru* and several *śikṣā gurus*. See 3.3.*śl.*1.

2. The three kinds are given in v. 3: by giving *darśana* of his actual person, as to those who came to visit him in Puri (*sākṣād-darśana*), by possession (*āveśa*), entering into another person and inspiring him, and by "appearance" (*āvirbhāva*), manifestation of himself in several places at once; as will be seen, his appearances can usually be seen only by a few selected persons. These three types of revelation are also explained in 1.10.54.

4. *Āviṣṭa*: possessed.

5. Pradyumna was his given name, and Nṛsiṃhānanda was the title given him by Caitanya. These are the "*sūtras*," which will be treated in detail in the rest of the chapter.

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to Jagannātha, and when they saw the feet of Caitanya they were fulfilled. 9 People of Saptadvīpa and Navakhaṇḍa, and *devas*, *gandharvas*, *kinnaras*—in the guise of men—came. 10 And when they had seen Prabhu they became Vaiṣṇavas, and all sang "Kṛṣṇa" and danced in an ecstasy of *prema*. 11 In this way he saved the three worlds by *darśana*. There were many family people who were not able to come there, 12 and Prabhu, to save all those, and those of all countries, possessed the bodies of *jīvas* as worthy *bhaktas*. 13 Through those *jīvas* he manifested his own *śakti*, and at the *darśana* of them, people in all the countries became Vaiṣṇavas. 14 By this kind of inspiration he saved the three worlds. Such was a possession which happened in Gauḍa; let me survey it.

15 There was, at Āmbuyāmuluka, one Nakula, a *brahmacārī*. He was a most devout Vaiṣṇava, most prominent. 16 It was in his mind to save the people of Gauḍa country, and Prabhu possessed the heart of Nakula. 17 Nakula was as if star-struck, controlled by *prema*, and he became mad, laughing and weeping and dancing and singing. 18 Tears and trembling and stupefaction and sweating—these were the *sāttvika* signs, and he constantly danced in *prema*, and shouted loudly. 19 Such was the beauty of the golden color of his body, and such was his constant possession by *prema*, that all the people in Gauḍa came to see it. 20 Whoever saw him, he said to him, "Speak the name of Kṛṣṇa!" and at the sight of him people became violent in *prema*. 21 "The body of Nakula is possessed by Caitanya"—when he heard this, Śivānanda came in doubt. 22 He wanted to test it, so remaining outside, he reflected in this way, 23 "If he by himself were to cause me to say 'I am here,' and if he by himself would repeat my *iṣṭa-mantra*, 24 then I would know that he is possessed by Caitanya." And thus reflecting, Śivānanda remained at a distance. 25 There were countless people there, coming and going; and in the crush of people, no one could see anything. 26 The possessed *brahmacārī* said, "Śivānanda is there at a distance. Some of you go and summon him." 27 So people ran in the four directions,

9. The seven islands and the nine parts of the Jambudvīpa. The seven islands of Saptadvīpa which compose the world are: Jambu, Plakṣa, Śālmala, Kuśa, Krauñca, Śāka, and Puṣkara. The nine divisions or Navakhaṇḍa of Jambudvīpa are Nābhi, Kimpuruṣa, Harivarṣa, Ilāvṛta, Ramyaka, Kuru, Hiranmaya, Bhadrāśva, and Ketumāla. *Gandharvas* and *kinnaras*: celestial musicians.

11. Saṃsārī: family people

15. Āmbuyāmuluka: a place near Kālanā in Barddhamān (Burdwan) district.

17. Grahagrasta: star-struck, under the influence of the planets to such a degree that self-control is no longer possible.

17-18. For these and other signs, see text and commentary to 1.7.86-93; 1.17.5; 2.8.135; 2.18.151-74; and 2.23.31.

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calling "Śivānanda! Who is Śivānanda? The *brahmacārī* summons you!" 28 When he heard this, Śivānanda Sena was astonished, and was overjoyed, and came, and making obeisance he sat near him. 29 The *brahmacārī* said, "You are doubtful; listen carefully, and that doubt will be removed. 30 Your Gaura-Gopāla-*mantra* has four syllables; abandon the disbelief that is in your heart." 31 Then Śivānanda Sena was convinced, and he paid him all kinds of respect and devotion. 32 Thus is the unknowable power of Mahāprabhu; now hear of his appearance.

33 He was in the house of Śacī, and at the dance of Nityānanda, and at the *kīrtana* of Śrīvāsa, and in the house of Rāghava. 34 And in these four places Prabhu was always present, for it is the true nature of Prabhu to be controlled by *prema*. 35 When he manifested [himself] before Nṛsiṃhānanda, he ate food there; listen carefully to this.

36 There was a nephew of Śivānanda, whose name was Śrīkānta Sena, and because of the mercy of Prabhu, he was very fortunate. 37 Each year he would first come alone there, his heart being most anxious to see Prabhu. 38 And Mahāprabhu, when he saw him, was very gracious to him, and he remained with Prabhu for two months. 39 Then Prabhu gave him a command to go to Gauḍa, "Forbid the *bhaktas* to come here. 40 This year I shall go there myself, and there I shall meet with Advaita and all the rest. 41 And say to Śivānanda that I, in this month of Pauṣa, shall certainly come unexpectedly to his house. 42 Jagadānanda is there, and he will give [me] food. Tell them all that this year they should not come." 43 So Śrīkānta came and spread the news in Gauḍa, and when they heard it, the hearts of the *bhaktas* were delighted. 44 Ācārya Gosvāmī was leaving, but he remained, and Śivānanda and Jagadānanda waited expectantly. 45 When the month of Pauṣa came, both made preparations, and [each day] they waited expectantly until the evening. 46 The month passed in this way, and Gosvāmī did not come, and Jagadānanda and Śivānanda were very sorrowful. 47 Then, unexpectedly, Nṛsiṃhānanda came there, and they both greeted him and sat him down in the place. 48 Seeing their sorrow, then, Nṛsiṃhānanda said, "Why do you both look so joyless?" 49 So Śivānanda told

30. Rādhāgovinda Nātha gives the *mantra* as "*klīṃ kṛṣṇa klīṃ*," these four syllables.

32. Āvirbhāva: appearance.

33. Rādhāgovinda Nātha distinguishes between *nitya āvirbhāva* and *sāmayika āvirbhāva*; he was permanently (*nitya*) in these four places; at appropriate times (*sāmayika*) he appeared at others.

44. Advaita was on the verge of leaving for the annual visit to Puri, but when he heard Śrīkānta's news, he decided to stay in Navadvīpa.

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him everything. "Prabhu told us that he would come; why has he not come?" 50 And when he heard this the *brahmacārī* said, "Be at ease; I shall bring him on the third day." 51 The two knew the power of his *prema*, and they were certain that he would bring Prabhu there. 52 Pradyumna Brahmacārī was his own name; Gauradhāma had given him the name Nṛsiṃhānanda. 53 So after having meditated for two days, he said to Śivānanda, "I have brought Prabhu to Pānīhāṭigrāma. 54 Tomorrow at noon time he will be in my house. Bring things to cook, and I shall give him food. 55 Then I shall bring him quickly here. Be certain of that; have no doubt at all. 56 Whatever is wanted, arrange it diligently. Hear me: afterwards I shall cook it very quickly. 57 So bring materials for cooking, whatever is wanted." And Śivānanda brought there whatever was asked for. 58 From the morning he cooked unceasingly, and he made many kinds of food—various curries, and *piṭhā*, and *kṣīra*. 59 He spread out separate food for Jagannātha, and made another meal for Caitanya. 60 And he also laid a separate place for his *iṣṭa-deva* Nṛsiṃha, and having presented these to the three, he went outside and meditated. 61 And he saw that Caitanya Gosvāmī had come suddenly and was sitting there. He had eaten all three portions, and there was nothing at all left. 62 Pradyumna was delirious with joy, and streams of tears fell from his eyes; then he shouted, "Alas, what have you done, what have you done? 63 You are one with Jagannātha, and might eat his food; but why do you eat the food of Nṛsiṃha? 64 Today Nṛsiṃha will fast, and when the Ṭhākura remains fasting, how can the servant live?" 65 Even though, when he saw the eating, he was delighted in his heart, for the sake of Nṛsiṃha he showed grief externally. 66 Kṛṣṇa is *svayaṃ bhagavān*, Caitanya Gosvāmī, and there is no division between Nṛsiṃha and Jagannātha. 67 Pradyumna had a deep desire to know this, and to show him Prabhu ate the food. 68 So having eaten, Prabhu went to Pānīhāṭi, for he was very satisfied, seeing the array of curries. 69 Śivānanda said, "Why did you shout?" And he said, "See the conduct of your Prabhu. 70 Alone he ate what had been prepared for three people, and Jagannātha and Nṛsiṃha are fasting." 71 When he heard this there was doubt in the mind of Śivānanda as to whether he spoke in

52. See commentary to 1.17.85.

53. Pānīhāṭigrāma: a village in Twenty-four Parganas district.

55-56. These couplets do not appear in some MSS.

71. [This seems to distinguish between a "literal" truth that is grounded in phenomenal events witnessed and verified by those in an ordinary state of waking consciousness (*bāhya*) and an interior reality (*antara*) which is experienced by the individual under the control of *prema* and not al-

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a fit of *prema*, or whether he spoke truth. 72 When the Brahmacārī said again to the Śivānanda, "Again bring preparations, and let me cook for Nṛsiṃha." 73 And again Śivānanda brought the articles of food, and having cooked them he offered them to Nṛsiṃha.

74 Now at the end of the rainy season, Śivānanda went with the *bhaktas* to Nīlācala and saw the feet of Prabhu. 75 And one day in the assembly, Prabhu was carrying on conversation, and he began to speak of the qualities of Nṛsiṃhānanda, 76 "In the last rainy season, in Pauṣa, he fed me, and never have I eaten such delicious curries." 77 When he heard this, the *bhaktas* were astonished, and conviction was born in the mind of Śivānanda. 78 In just this way he always ate at the house of Śacī; and at the house of Śrīvāsa he watched the *kīrtana*. 79 And he came again and again and watched the dancing of Nityānanda, and always appeared in the house of Rāghava. 80 Where there is intense *prema*, Gaura Prabhu is there, controlled by *prema*; and where he is controlled by *prema*, he gives *darśana*. 81 Who can tell the limits of the *prema* of Śivānanda? Controlled by his *prema*, Gaura returns again and again. 82 Thus then have been described the appearances of Gaura, and he who hears it knows the power of Caitanya.

83 In Puruṣottama, Bhagavān Ācārya lived near Prabhu; he was a most devout Vaiṣṇava, most learned and cultivated. 84 His mind was seized by the *sakhya-bhāva*; he was an *avatāra* of a *gopa*, and he was most friendly with Svarūpa Gosvāmī. 85 Single-mindedly he took refuge at the feet of Caitanya, and from time to time he offered invitations to Prabhu. 86 He cooked rice and various curries at his house, and he would bring Prabhu there alone and feed him. 87 His father was much concerned with the affairs of the world, and his name was Śatānanda Khān. The Ācārya was indifferent to worldly things, and was an outstanding ascetic. 88 His younger brother was called Gopāla Bhaṭṭācārya, and he had studied *vedānta* at Kāśī, and had come to live with him. 89 The Ācārya introduced him to Prabhu, and Prabhu, indwelling in men, was not very happy in his heart. 90 But because he was a relative of the Ācārya, outwardly he behaved fondly. Prabhu had no joy except in Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*. 91 One day the Ācārya said to Svarūpa Gosvāmī, "Gopāla has finished his study

ways accessible to others present. For the three states of consciousness, see 3.18.74-77 and commentary. The doubt expressed by Śivānanda suggests that the latter (*premāveśa*) may have on occasion been used improperly to validate certain devotional claims. TKS]

80. For the idea of control by *prema*, see 1.4.216; 1.7.138; 1.17.71,*śl.*5; 2.23.26.

89. Antaryāmī: indwelling.

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of *vedānta* and has come here. 92 Let us all go together and discuss the *Bhāṣya* with him." In an anger [born] of love Svarūpa said to him, 93 "Your mind has been destroyed by your association with Gopāla, that a desire has grown in you to listen to the *māyāvāda*. 94 Are you a Vaiṣṇava, that you would listen to this *Bhāṣya* which has to do with the physical? Have you abandoned the *bhāva* of the service of that which is to be served, and consider yourself as Īśvara? 95 He who is a great *bhāgavata*, the wealth of whose heart is Kṛṣṇa, if he listens to the *māyāvāda*, even his heart can be turned." 96 And the Ācārya said, "Kṛṣṇa is established in the hearts of all, and the *Bhāṣya* is not able to turn the hearts of all." 97 Svarūpa said, "Even if one listens to the *māyāvāda*, one only hears '*Cit-brahma*. *Māyā*. False.' 98 and 'Īśvara is imaginary knowledge on the part of the *jīva*'; and 'everything is unknown'—the hearing of such as this bursts the ears and the hearts of *bhaktas*." 99 Ashamed and afraid, the Ācārya remained silent, and the next day he sent Gopāla back to his own country.

100 One day the Ācārya extended an invitation to Prabhu, and he prepared rice in his house and various curries. 101 There was a *kīrtanīyā* of Prabhu named Choṭa Haridāsa; the Ācārya called him and said to him, 102 "Go to the place of Śikhi Māhitī's sister in my name and beg of her a *māna* of *orāiyā* rice." 103 The name of Māhitī's sister was Mādhavīdevī; she was old, and ascetic, and a great Vaiṣṇava. 104 Prabhu wrote that the followers of Rādhā Ṭhākurāṇī in the world were three and one-half people: 105 Svarūpa Gosvāmī, Rāya Rāmānanda, Śikhi Māhitī, and the half was his sister. 106 So Haridāsa begged the rice and brought it from her place, and when he saw it the Ācārya was

92. Bhāṣya: Śaṅkara's commentary on the *Brahma Sūtras*.

94. Śārīraka bhāṣya: "which . . . physical." The idea is that as the Vedāntins make no distinction between *jīva* and Īśvara, the bodily self can be considered as divine.

97. I.e., these are words, offensive to the ear of a Vaiṣṇava, which keep coming up in the discourses of the Māyāvādins.

100. Ācārya refers to Bhagavān Ācārya of the previous story.

102. Orā: the name of a particular kind of winter rice (*śāli*). *Māna* is a measurement, according to Rādhāgovinda Nātha, somewhat less than a seer (about two pounds).

104. Lekhā kare: wrote; Kṛṣṇadāsa probably means something more like "considered."

105. It is not clear whether she was considered a half because she was a woman and therefore by nature less, or for some other reason. It seems unlikely that Caitanya considered these four as the only vessels for the service of Rādhā out of all the *bhaktas*; it would be more reasonable to assume that he meant in these four the *bhāva* of service to Rādhā was strongest; it was said in the *GGUD* that in the Vraja-*līlā* Svarūpa was Viśākhā (160), Rāmānanda was Lalitā (120-24), Śikhi Māhitī was Rāgalekhā (189), and Mādhavī was Kalakelī (189).

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delighted. 107 In affection he prepared those foods that Prabhu loved best—*deula-prasāda*, balls of ginger, lime and citrus fruit with salt. 108 And at midday Prabhu came and sat down to eat, and seeing the *śāli* rice he asked the Ācārya, 109 "Where did you get this most excellent rice?" And the Ācārya replied that he had begged it of Mādhavīdevī. 110 Prabhu said, "Who went to beg it?" And the Ācārya told him that it had been Choṭa Haridāsa. 111 Praising the rice, Prabhu ate it, and when he went to his own home he gave this instruction to Govinda, 112 "From today you will respect this order: do not allow Choṭa Haridāsa to come here." 113 And when the door was forbidden him, Haridāsa became very saddened; and no one could tell him why the door had been closed against him.

114 For three days Haridāsa fasted; and Svarūpa and some others went and asked Mahāprabhu, 115 "Prabhu, what offence has Haridāsa committed? Why have you shut the door against him; he is fasting." 116 Prabhu said, "An ascetic has had conversation with a woman; I cannot look upon his face. 117 The senses irresistibly cleave to worldly things; a woman carved of wood steals the mind even of a *muni*.

Śloka 2. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 9.19.17 [quoting *Manu Saṃhitā* 2.215]:
With even mother, sister, or daughter one should not sit too close for the senses are strong and pull even wise men.

118 All those who are small *jīvas* make false renunciation; loosing their senses they wander about conversing with women." 119 So saying, Prabhu went inside; and seeing the intensity of the Gosvāmī all were silent.

120 The next day all were together at the feet of Prabhu, and they petitioned him regarding Haridāsa: 121 "It is a small offence, Prabhu. Be gracious to him. Now he has learned, and will not offend again." 122 Prabhu said, "My mind is not controlled by me. An ascetic who talks with women does not see me. 123 All of you go to your own duties; leave this idle talk. If you speak of it again, you will see me here no more." 124 When they heard this they all put their hands over their ears, and they got up and went to their own duties. 125 And

107. Prasāda from the temple (*deula*), balls (*cāki*) of ginger (*ada*), lime and citrus fruit (*lembu*) with salt (*labaṇa*).

116. Prakṛti: woman, material nature; *vairāgī:* ascetic, i.e., a Vaiṣṇava ascetic.

122. See commentary on v. 80 above.

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Mahāprabhu went to perform the midday rituals. There is no understanding the *līlā* of Mahāprabhu.

126 The next day they all went to Paramānanda Purī, and they entreated him, "Persuade Prabhu to be propitious." 127 So Purī Gosvāmī came alone to Prabhu; having greeted him, Prabhu seated him respectfully. 128 He asked, "What is your wish? Why have you come?" And he entreated him, "For your grace to Haridāsa." 129 Hearing this, Mahāprabhu said, "Listen, Gosvāmī. Remain in this place, Gosvāmī, with all the Vaiṣṇavas. 130 By your leave, I go to Ālālanātha. I shall stay there alone, with only Govinda as my companion." 131 And so saying Prabhu summoned Govinda, and making obeisance to Purī he got up and went away. 132 Purī Gosvāmī ran madly after Prabhu, and pleaded with him to remain at home. 133 "What you wish, you do, for you are the non-dependent Īśvara, and who is able to say anything to stop you? 134 All your work has been for the good of people, and I do not know all that is in the depths of your heart." 135 So saying, Purī Gosvāmī went to his own place, and all the *bhaktas* went to the place of Haridāsa. 136 Svarūpa Gosvāmī said, "Listen, Haridāsa. We all speak for your good. Have faith. 137 Prabhu has fallen into stubbornness; but he is the non-dependent Īśvara. Some day he will be merciful, for his heart is full of mercy. 138 You [also] have been obstinate, and that makes his obstinacy grow. So bathe and eat, and the anger will dissipate itself." 139 So saying, they had him bathe and eat, and having encouraged him, they went to their own homes.

140 When Prabhu was going to have *darśana* of Jagannātha, Haridāsa, saw him, but remained at a distance. 141 Mahāprabhu is an ocean of mercy; who is able to understand? He punishes his loving *bhakta*, to make him understand *dharma*. 142 Seeing this, all the *bhaktas* were terrified, and they gave up conversation with women, even in their dreams. 143 In this way Haridāsa passed a year, and still there was no favor towards him in the heart of Mahāprabhu. 144 At the end of one night, bowing to Prabhu, he left for Prayāga, telling no one anything about it. 145 He was resolved to gain the feet of Prabhu, and he entered the Triveṇī and took his life. 146 And at that time, in his divine body, he came to the place of Prabhu. Gaining the mercy of Prabhu, he remained

130. Govinda is Caitanya's personal servant, who according to some accounts accompanied Caitanya south on his pilgrimage.

133. *Svatantra*: non-dependent.

145. Triveṇī: where the Gaṅgā, Yamunā, and Sarasvatī rivers flow together, near modern Allahabad.

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there, invisible. 147 There, invisible, in the body of a *gandharva*, he sang songs; he sang songs to Prabhu in the night, and no one else heard.

148 One day Mahāprabhu asked his *bhaktas*, "Where is Haridāsa? Bring him to me." 149 They all replied, "On the anniversary day, Haridāsa got up in the night and went away, and no one knew." 150 When he heard this, Mahāprabhu remained smiling a little, and all the *bhaktas* wondered, in their hearts. 151 One day Jagadānanda, Svarūpa, Govinda, Kāśīśvara, Śaṅkara, Dāmodara, and Mukunda 152 were going to bathe in the sea, and they heard from a great distance a sound like Haridāsa singing. 153 They saw no man, they only heard the sweet song. And Govinda and the others all together decided that 154 Haridāsa had taken poison and killed himself, and that for that sin he had become a *brahmarākṣasa*; 155 for they saw no form; they only heard the song. But Svarūpa said, "This is a false conclusion. 156 For all his life he sang Kṛṣṇa-*kīrtana* and served Prabhu. He is a vessel of the mercy of Prabhu and has died at Kṣetra. 157 He has not had a bad end, but a good one. We shall certainly know afterwards this trick of Prabhu."

158 A Vaiṣṇava came to Navadvīpa from Prayāga, and he told everyone there the news of Haridāsa— 159 how in his determination he had entered the waters of the Triveṇī. When they heard it, the minds of Śrīvāsa and the others were astonished. 160 At the end of the rains Śivānanda took all the *bhaktas* and joyfully went to meet Prabhu. 161 When Śrīvāsa asked, "Where is Haridāsa?" Prabhu answered, "Man enjoys the fruits of his own actions." 162 Then Śrīnivāsa told him the story, how resolutely he had entered the Triveṇī. 163 And when he heard it, Prabhu smiled and said with delighted heart, "He has made this penance for seeing a woman." 164 Svarūpa and the others then considered this among them, "By the power of the Triveṇī, Haridāsa has gained the feet of Prabhu."

165 Such was the *līlā* which the son of Śacī did, and when they hear it, the ears and hearts of *bhaktas* are soothed. 166 Because of his own mercy, people learned renunciation, the cause of the manifestation of profound love to his own

147. Gandharva: a celestial musician.

149. "Varṣa-pūrṇa dina" probably means the exact day when, a year previously, Caitanya ostracized him, so "anniversary," when a full year has passed.

154. Brahmarākṣasa: one kind of ghost or spirit; the penalty for suicide is wandering in the form of a ghost. Svarūpa, however, says in the next couplets that such an end for as pure a *bhakta* as Haridāsa was is impossible, and that whatever has happened has been a result of the power of Caitanya.

162. Śrīnivāsa = Śrīvāsa.

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bhaktas. 167 The greatness of the places of pilgrimage, the companionship of his soul to his own *bhaktas*—Prabhu accomplished many things in one *līlā*. 168 The *līlā* of Caitanya is sweet, and profound as the sea. People do not understand it; only steadfast *bhaktas* understand. 169 Have faith and listen to the actions of Caitanya; do not engage in philosophical discussion [of them], for in such argument arises confusion.

170 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

167. Haridāsa had killed himself at the Triveṇī, a great pilgrimage-place; Kṛṣṇadāsa is saying that it was partly because of that that this true reward came about.

168. [This statement is not simple hyperbole, for the attitude expressed here toward suicide is in direct conflict with Caitanya's own critique of suicide when Sanātana was contemplating it; see 3.4.54-66. TKS]

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Antya Līlā
Chapter 3

Śloka 1.

I bow to the revered lotus feet of my *guru*, and to my *gurus*, and to Vaiṣṇavas, and to Śrī Rūpa, with Jīva, with the Raghunāthas, and with his elder brother. And I bow to Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, together with his followers, and to Nityānanda and Advaita, and to the feet of Śrī Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, and to her two companions Lalitā and Viśākhā.

1 Glory, glory to Gauracandra, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 At Puruṣottama there was a son of an Oriya *brāhmaṇa*; he had no father, and he was greatly beautiful and of sweet disposition. 3 He would come to Gosvāmī every day and make obeisance, and he would talk with Prabhu, and Prabhu was his life. 4 And Prabhu loved him, and was gracious toward him. Dāmodara was not able to bear this love. 5 So again and again he forbade the *brāhmaṇa* boy to come, but the latter could not stand to live if he did not see Prabhu. 6 So every day he would come, and Prabhu loved him very much. Where they are loved, there they come—such is the way of boys. 7 Seeing this, Dāmodara was greatly pained in his heart, and he could not speak, for the boy would not obey his prohibitions. 8 One day the boy came to Gosvāmī, and Gosvāmī affectionately asked him about various things. 9 And after a time, the boy rose up and went away. And unable to bear it, Dāmodara began to speak, 10 "He is learned in giving instructions to others, and he is called a Gosvāmī. Gosvāmī, Gosvāmī, now we will know what kind of Gosvāmī he is. 11 Now all the people will sing of the beauty and qualities of Gosvāmī, and then Gosvāmī

Śloka 1. See 3.2.*śl.*1.

4. Dāmodara is Dāmodara Paṇḍita, not Svarūpa Dāmodara.

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will be famous in Puruṣottama." 12 When he heard this, Prabhu said, "What do you mean, Dāmodara?" And Dāmodara replied, "You are the non-dependent Īśvara. 13 You act as you wish, and who can gainsay it? But can you stop the mouths of the foul-mouthed world? 14 You are a *paṇḍita*, but you don't consider this: Why do you show such affection to the son of a *brāhmaṇa* widow? 15 Even though the *brāhmaṇa* woman is ascetic and chaste, still she has a fault: she is young and beautiful. 16 You also are young and very handsome. You give people an opportunity to gossip." 17 So saying, Dāmodara was silent. And delighted, Gosvāmī smiled inwardly and decided, 18 "He has said this in a wave of pure *prema*. There is no one who loves me as Dāmodara does." 19 And having decided that, Prabhu rose up to perform the midday rituals.

The next day he summoned Dāmodara to him privately. 20 Prabhu said, "Dāmodara, go to Nadīyā, and when you get there, remain near my mother. 21 I see no other protector for her apart from you. Because of that you gave me warning. 22 Among my people there is none as impartial as you, and if one is not impartial, *dharma* is not protected. 23 What cannot be had from me, can be had from you. You have punished me, not to speak of others. 24 So go and remain in my mother's house, at my mother's feet; before you, no one will behave as they like. 25 But come from time to time to see me, though you should quickly return there again. 26 Convey to my mother a crore of my obeisances; tell her words of my happiness, and thus give her happiness. 27 [Say] 'To cause you to hear constantly stories of himself, Prabhu has sent me here to you.' 28 And when you tell her this, much delight will be born in her mind; and too, cause her to reflect upon this secret thing: 29 'again and again I come to your house, and eat all those delicious curries. 30 I eat them, and you know that; but outwardly, in your agony of separation, you consider it a dream. 31 On the past Māgha-*saṅkrānti* you cooked; you prepared various *piṭhā*s and curries and *kṣīra* and *pāyasa*. 32 When you had made the food-offering to Kṛṣṇa, you went to meditate. My image was before

12. Svatantra: non-dependent.

21. I.e., you warned me because of love for me.

23. I.e., Caitanya is unable to go himself to Navadvīpa because of his vow; but Dāmodara is not so restrained.

29ff. Throughout this whole passage, Kṛṣṇadāsa alternates between direct and indirect discourse; for consistency, it has all been put into the second person: these are the words that he is directing Dāmodara to say to his mother.

30. Viraha: agony of separation.

31. Saṅkrānti: the last day of the month, when the sun passes from zodiacal sign to another. Māgha: January-February.

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you, and tears filled your eyes. 33 I went with great commotion and ate everything; and seeing that I had eaten, you were very happy. 34 After a while, wiping away your tears, you saw that the leaf was empty; it was as if you had seen a dream, that Nimāi had eaten the food. 35 In a condition of external *viraha*, again you were deluded, and you began to think that you had not prepared the food. 36 You saw the cooking vessels—they were all filled with rice; and again, having purified the place, you began to prepare another food offering. 37 In this way again and again I ate; by your pure *prema* I am attracted. 38 It is by your command that I am at Nīlācala; and by the power of your *prema* I am taken near you.' 39 In this way, again and again, cause her to remember; in my name, bow at her feet." 40 So saying, he had *prasāda* of Jagannātha brought, and he gave [him] some separately for the Vaiṣṇavas, and some to give to his mother.

41 Then Dāmodara set off and came to Nadīyā, and greeting the mother, he remained at her feet. 42 He gave *mahāprasāda* to the Ācārya and to the other Vaiṣṇavas; the *paṇḍita* did that which Prabhu had commanded. 43 Before Dāmodara no one acted unrestrainedly, for all had fear of him, and behaved diffidently. 44 When he saw in any of Prabhu's people the least transgression of honor, he reprimanded him, and thus honor was maintained. 45 So [Prabhu's] reprimanding by Dāmodara has been told, and in the hearing of it ignorance and impiousness are driven away. 46 The *līlā* of Caitanya is deeper than a crore of seas; for what reason he did anything, no one can understand. 47 Thus, I know nothing at all of the deep meaning; and thus, deficiently, I give the external meaning.

48 One day Prabhu met Haridāsa; and in the course of conversation he asked him, 49 "Haridāsa, in the Kali age, Yavanas are innumerable; they injure cows and *brāhmaṇas* and do very evil things. 50 How will all of these be saved? Not seeing the means for that, my sorrow is profound." 51 And Haridāsa answered, "Prabhu, do not be concerned. Look at the world of the Yavanas, and do not reflect sadly. 52 For all the Yavanas will be easily freed. They say '*Hārāma, hārāma*,' and thus speak a semblance of the name. 53 In profound *prema*, *bhaktas* say '*hā rāma, hā rāma*'; see the good fortune of the Yavanas, that they take the name. 54 Even though the meaning is different, and though the intention of the name is other, still the power of the name is unconquerable.

52. *Hārāma*; Persian for "boar," or in general for unclean things. The name of which this is a "semblance" is of course Rāma. See Introduction, p. 112, n. 238.

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Śloka 2. *Nṛsimha Purāṇa*:
Wounded by a boar's tusk, a *mleccha* will again and again shout '*hārāma*'! and thus gains release; what then of him who sings [the name] with faith?

55 Ajāmila called his son Nārāyaṇa, thus bringing the messenger of Viṣṇu, who freed him from his bonds. 56 The two syllables of '*rāma*' are not separate; and the word '*hā*,' uttered in *prema*, is an ornament to them. 57 This is the nature of all the syllables of the name, that even if they are separated they do not lose their own power.

Śloka 3. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin's *Haribhaktivilāsa* 11.289 [quoting *Padma Purāṇa*]:
One name, uttered by anyone, or sent along the path of memory, or heard, whether purely or impurely pronounced or whether they are separated or not, that truly brings salvation. If that is cast among impious people who are attached to greed for people and wealth and the body, O *brāhmaṇa*, [only then] is it not quickly fruitful.

58 From a hint of the name is the destruction of all sins.

Śloka 4. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*dakṣina-vibhāga, vibhāva-laharī*] 2.1.103 [quoting *Padma Purāṇa*]:
Even a touch of the sun of his name, risen in the cavern of the heart, destroys the darkness of all great sins, O storehouse of qualities. So worship sincerely and constantly him who is the diadem of greatest fame, most delectable to those whose minds glow with faith, purifier even of the pure.

59 From a hint of the name is the destruction of *saṃsāra*.

55. The name of the deity pronounced for any reason, is efficacious; *BhP* 6.2.10, 18: Ajāmila was dying, and pronounced the name of his son, and because of that the messengers of Viṣṇu came, rather than the messengers of Yama, and freed him from the bondage of *saṃsāra*.

56-57. Even if the two syllables "*rā*" and "*ma*" had elements between them, as for example in *rājamahiṣī*, their repetition would be efficacious. In "*hārāma*" there is not even such separation, and the syllable "*hā*," which is an exclamation, merely enhances their effect.

Śloka 3. This is quite a departure from the Vedic tradition, in which mispronunciation of a *mantra* is a great fault, and may indeed bring disaster rather than the reverse.

58. Singlets precede the next several *ślokas*.

Śloka 5. *Dhāma*: Vaikuṇṭha. See 3.3.*śl*.11.

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Śloka 5. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 6.2.49:

Even Ajāmila, at the time of his death, pretending to call his son, pronounced the name of Hari, and gained the *dhāma*; what is to be said of others, who take [the name] in faith?

60 In a hint of the name is *mukti*, and this is seen in all the *śāstras*. The witness of this is Ajāmila in the *Bhāgavata*."

61 Hearing this, delight pervaded Mahāprabhu's heart, and again as a trick he asked him, 62 "On the earth there are many *jīvas*, moving and unmoving; what kind of release is there for all of these?" 63 And Haridāsa said, "Prabhu, toward whom is your mercy? Formerly, you saved the moving and unmoving [creatures]. 64 You made *saṃkīrtana* loudly, and creatures moving and unmoving heard it. 65 And even while they listened, for creatures that move *saṃsāra* was destroyed. And the sound struck the unmoving, and from that an echo arose. 66 But it was not an echo—for they were singing *kīrtana*. This story of your mercy cannot be told. 67 The whole world was filled with loud *saṃkīrtana*, and hearing it, creatures moving and unmoving danced in an ecstasy of *prema*. 68 Such you did in Jhārikhaṇḍa, while going to Vṛndāvana; Balabhadra Bhaṭṭācārya has told it to me. 69 And how Vāsudeva petitioned on behalf of *jīvas*, and then you promised that *jīvas* would be freed. 70 Your *avatāra* is to save the world; and you have promised that before your *bhaktas*. 71 To that end you have propagated loud *saṃkīrtana*, and you have cut the ties of *saṃsāra* for unmoving and moving *jīvas*." 72 Prabhu said, "When all *jīvas* will be freed, will this Brahmā-world be totally empty?" 73 And Haridāsa said, "While you are in the mortal state, so all the kinds of *jīvas*, moving and unmoving, 74 you will send to Vaikuṇṭha, having released them all. And again you will arouse *karma* in subtle *jīvas*, 75 and those *jīvas* will become here moving and unmoving. And in that way you will fill the Brahmā-world as before. 76 For as Raghunātha took all of Ayodhyā and went to Vaikuṇṭha, and Ayodhyā was filled with other *jīvas*, 77 now you have appeared and have spread out a market, and no

69. Vāsudeva Datta wanted to take the sins of all *jīvas* on himself, that they might be freed; see 2.15.158-64.

74-75. Some of those released will again return to enjoy or suffer the fruits of the *karma* of previous lives; they remain in the sea of causation after death, until again summoned to the earth.

76. Rāma (Raghunātha), when he went to Vaikuṇṭha, took with him all the people of the city of Ayodhyā; but again it was filled with those *jīvas* who still had to work out their *karma*.

77. *Hāṭa pātiyācha*: spread out a market, the meaning of which is unclear. Perhaps Kṛṣṇadāsa is saying that Caitanya has brought into the world the possibility of salvation through the name,

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one understands this profound play. 78 So formerly Kṛṣṇa took *avatāra* in Vraja, and broke the *saṃsāra* of all the *jīvas* of the Brahmā-worlds.

Śloka 6. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.29.16:
From whom this [creation] gains release, concerning this Īśvara of *yogeśvaras*, this *bhagavat* Śrī Kṛṣṇa, free from birth, this should not be a matter of wonder to you.

Śloka 7. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 4.15.10:
This Bhagavān seen, praised, remembered, even by him devoted to malice, gives fruit hard to gain even by *suras* and *asuras*; what then of those who are deeply devoted to him?

79 So you have taken *avatāra* in Navadvīpa, and have saved the *jīvas* of all the Brahmā-worlds. 80 He who says, 'The greatness of Caitanya is perceived by me,' let him think that way; again, for me, only this is certain: 81 of your shoreless ocean of nectar of infinite greatness, not one drop is in my heart or in my speech."

82 When he heard this, Prabhu was astonished inwardly, "How does Haridāsa know the profundities of this *līlā* of mine?" 83 And delighted in his heart he embraced him, but he forbade all this to be publicly circulated. 84 The nature of Īśvara is that he wants to hide his divinity; but he was not able to hide it from the *bhaktas*, and they understood.

Śloka 8. Yamunācārya's *Stotraratna* 18:
The possibility of being superior or equal to the three limitations is hidden by your *māyā*; but certain ones, single-mindedly devoted to you, remain gazing on the true form of your divinity.

85 Then Mahāprabhu went to join his own *bhaktas*, and he spoke of the qualities of Haridāsa as if with a hundred mouths. 86 To speak of the qualities of his *bhaktas* gave Prabhu great pleasure; and in that the best of his *bhaktas* was Śrī Haridāsa. 87 The qualities of Haridāsa are innumerable and unparalleled; some of them have been described in part, but their limit has not been

and that access to it is as available to people as the goods at the weekly market (*hāṭa*), or just as a vendor handles goods, Caitanya traffics in *saṃkīrtana* to *jīvas*.

83. Caitanya evidently forbade Haridāsa to speak this way.

Śloka 8. See 1.3.*śl*.17.

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reached. 88 Śrī Vṛndāvana Dāsa, in the *Caitanya-maṅgala*, has revealed some of the qualities of Haridāsa. 89 It is impossible to tell all, for the deeds of Haridāsa are endless; he who tells a little of them purifies himself. 90 Those which Vṛndāvana Dāsa has not described, hear, O *bhaktas*, some of those qualities of Haridāsa.

91 When Haridāsa abandoned his own home, he remained many days in the forests of Beṇāpola. 92 He was alone in the forest, and he made a hut and served the *tulasī*, and recited in *kīrtana* night and day three lakhs of names. 93 He lived by begging at the houses of *brāhmaṇas*, and because of his glory all the people worshiped him. 94 The ruler of that country was called Rāmacandra Khān; he had malice towards Vaiṣṇavas, and was a greatly impious man. 95 He could not bear the worship of the people towards Haridāsa, and he devised many schemes to degrade him. 96 In no way did Haridāsa have any fault. So as a way of degrading him, he had prostitutes brought. 97 He said to the prostitutes, "This Haridāsa is an ascetic; all of you destroy the *dharma* of his asceticism." 98 Among the prostitutes there was one who was young and beautiful, and she said, "In three days' time I shall have stolen his mind." 99 And Khān said, "Let my footmen go with you, and when he unites with you they will seize him and bring him here." 100 The prostitute said, "The first time I will go without companions; the second, I shall take your footmen to seize him."

101 In the nighttime that prostitute put on beautiful clothes, and went joyfully to the dwelling place of Haridāsa. 102 Bowing to the *tulasī*, she went to the door of Haridāsa, and bowing to the Gosvāmī, she remained standing there.

88. One of the most moving of these tales is of how Haridāsa was summoned before the Muslim *qāzi* because of his supposed apostacy, and how he was whipped through twenty-two market places, being sustained by his faith. See Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *CBh* 1.11.[= 1.16 GM ed.], a translation of which can be found in Stewart, "The Exemplary Devotion of the 'Servant of Hari'," in *The Religions of India in Practice*, ed. Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 564-77; see also Dimock, "Muslim Vaiṣṇava Poets of Bengal" in *Languages and Areas: Studies Presented to George V. Bobrinskoy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967), 28-36.

91. There is some question as to whether Haridāsa was born a Muslim, or whether he was converted. *CBh* 1.11.234 [= 1.16.237 GM ed.] has him describe his family as "low" (*nīcakula*), which Rādhāgovinda Nātha, for example, feels means non-*brāhmaṇa* Hindu. But the *CBh* passage referred to above, in which he defends himself before the *qāzi*, certainly suggests that he was born a Muslim. In any case, he came from the village of Buḍhana in Yaśohara (Jessore) district in the east; Beṇāpola was also an area of that district.

94. This is not the same Rāmacandra Khān mentioned in *CBh* 3.2.80-145, who was the ruler of Chatrabhoga village in Twenty-four Parganas, and who assisted Caitanya when the latter was on his way to Orissa.

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103 Uncovering her body and showing him, she sat down in the door, and began to say in a most melodious voice, 104 "O Ṭhākura, you are most handsome and in the blush of youth; seeing you how could any woman contain herself? 105 My mind is greedy for union with you, and if I do not have you there is no reason to live any more." 106 Haridāsa said, "I shall make you that promise. But [my recitation of] the number of the names [of Kṛṣṇa] is still not finished. 107 You sit there and listen to the *nāma-saṃkīrtana* until it is. When I have finished the names, I shall do what you wish." 108 Hearing this, the prostitute remained seated, and Haridāsa made *kīrtana* until the morning. 109 Seeing that it was morning, the prostitute arose, and going to Khān she told him everything. 110 "Today he has given me his promise; tomorrow I will certainly have union with him."

111 The next day in the evening, the prostitute came, and Haridāsa encouraged her much, 112 "Yesterday you were sorrowed; but I will not offend you, that I shall certainly promise you. 113 Now sit here and listen to the *nāma-saṃkīrtana*, and when the names have been fulfilled, then your wish will also be fulfilled." 114 So the prostitute made obeisance to him and to the *tulasī*, and sat in the doorway and listened to the names, and she said 'Hari, Hari.' 115 The end of the night came, and the prostitute was very restless, and seeing her condition, Haridāsa said to her, 116 "I make a sacrifice of taking a crore of names every month. This vow I have made, and I am coming to the end of it. 117 'Today it will be completed,' was my thought, and although I took names the whole night long, I was unable to complete it. 118 Today it will be complete, and my vow will be fulfilled; then I shall have intercourse with you, as you desire." 119 So the prostitute went and told this to the Khān, and the next day in the evening came to the place of Ṭhākura.

120 Bowing to Ṭhākura and to the *tulasī*, she sat in the doorway and listened to the names, saying "Hari, Hari." 121 "The names will certainly be finished today," said Haridāsa, "and today I shall fulfill your desire." 122 And while he was still at *kīrtana*, the end of the night came. And in the company of the Ṭhākura, the prostitute's mind was turned. 123 Bowing deeply she fell at the feet of the Ṭhākura, and humbly told him the story of Rāmacandra Khān. 124 "As a prostitute I have committed infinite sins; be merciful and save me, wretched as I am." 125 Ṭhākura said: "I know all about the Khān. He is ignorant and stupid, so I do not take offence from him. 126 That day [when you came] I was going to go from this place, but I remained for three more days, to save you." 127 The prostitute said, "Be gracious, and instruct me; what should I do, that the agonies of *saṃsāra* pass from me?" 128 Ṭhākura said, "Give the

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goods of your house to a *brāhmaṇa*, then come to this house and remain here. 129 Take the name incessantly, and serve the *tulasī*, and quickly you will gain the feet of Kṛṣṇa." 130 So saying, instructing her about the name, the Ṭhākura rose up and went away, saying "Hari Hari." 131 So the prostitute took the orders of her *guru*, and she gave whatever there was in her house to a *brāhmaṇa*. 132 She shaved her head and remained with one cloth in that house, and night and day she took the name three lakhs of times. 133 She served the *tulasī* and fasted, [only] chewing; and as she controlled her senses, *prema* manifested itself. 134 She became a famous Vaiṣṇava, a very great person, and many great Vaiṣṇavas went to have *darśana* of her. 135 And seeing the actions of the prostitute, the people were astonished, and they spoke of the greatness of Haridāsa, and made obeisance.

136 Rāmacandra Khān sowed the seed of offence, and that seed became a tree and soon bore fruit. 137 The fruit of offence to a great man is a matter wonderful to relate; let me tell of it here. Listen, you *bhaktas*. 138 By nature Rāmacandra Khān was anti-Vaiṣṇava, and in his offence to Haridāsa he was like an *asura*. 139 He condemned the Vaiṣṇava-*dharma* and he showed contempt for Vaiṣṇavas, and because of his offences of many days he reaped the consequences. 140 When Nityānanda Gosvāmī came to Gauḍa, he began to wander about, preaching *prema*. 141 Preaching *prema* and trampling the impious—the Avadhūta wandered about with these two purposes. 142 All-knowing, Nityānanda came to his house, and coming there he sat upon the *durgā-maṇḍapa*. 143 He had many people with him, and they filled the courtyard; and from within [the house] Rāmacandra Khān sent servants, 144 and the servants said, "Gosvāmī, the Khān has sent us to arrange for you to stay in the home of a householder. 145 At the house of the milkman there is a cowshed which is very large. This place is very small, and there are many people with you." 146 He was within [the courtyard], and when he heard this he came outside angrily, and roaring with laughter the Gosvāmī began to say, 147 "He speaks truly. This house is not fit for me. It is fit for *mlecchas* to murder cows." 148 So saying the Gosvāmī rose up and went off angrily, and to punish him he did not remain

133. Either she was chewing to allay her hunger, but not eating, or she was chewing the *tulasī* to control her senses; the Bengali has both possibilities.

136. His attempted degradation of Haridāsa was his offence (*aparādha*), and that was the seed of his destruction.

140. Caitanya had instructed Nityānanda to return to Bengal from Puri to preach.

142. Rāmacandra Khān was a Hindu, and had in his courtyard a covered platform (*durgā-maṇḍapa*).

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in the village. 149 Now Rāmacandra Khān gave an order to his servant, that where Gosvāmī had sat the earth should be dug away, 150 and all the courtyard of the temple cleansed with cowdung and water. And still Rāmacandra was not satisfied. 151 Rāmacandra was a thief, and he did not pay his tax. Because of that the *mleccha ujīra*, being angry, went to his house. 152 Going there, he lived in the *durgā-maṇḍapa*, and he killed things that should not be killed, and he cooked the meat in that place. 153 He kept Rāmacandra, with his wife and his sons, captive, and he remained in the house for three days, looting the village. 154 In that house for three days he cooked forbidden things, and the next day he took everything and went away. 155 So the people and wealth and caste of Khān—all were destroyed, and for a long time the village remained deserted. 156 So it is in the village and in the country where there is disrespect to a great man; by the fault of a single man, the whole country is ruined.

157 So Haridāsa Ṭhākura travelled to Cāndapura, and coming there he remained at the house of Balarāma Ācārya. 158 There were two men—Hiraṇya and Govarddhana, who were *majumdār*s of the kingdom, and the name of their *purohita* was Balarāma. 159 He was a receptacle of the grace of Haridāsa, for he was devoted to *bhakti*. He kept Ṭhākura in that village with great care. 160 He made *kīrtana* by himself in a thatched-roofed cottage, and he took his food at the house of Balarāma Ācārya. 161 Raghunātha Dāsa was a boy, a student, and he would go to see Haridāsa Ṭhākura, 162 and the grace of Haridāsa was upon him. It was because of that grace that he gained Caitanya. 163 The stories of the greatness of Haridāsa in that place, O *bhaktas*, are wonderful. Let me tell one. 164 One day Balarāma entreated him humbly, and took him to the court of the *majumdār*s. 165 When they saw Ṭhākura, the two brothers arose out of respect, and touching his feet, they gave him a seat and paid him respect. 166 There were many *paṇḍitas* there in the court, and *brāhmaṇas*, and holy men; these two brothers, Hiraṇya and Govarddhana, were great *paṇḍitas*. 167 They all spoke of the qualities of Haridāsa as if with five mouths, and when they heard

151. The Muslim ruler evidently sent his advocate (*ujīra*: wazir, see *The Mahārāshṭra Purāṇa*, pp. 6, 8) to collect the taxes, or in lieu of that to destroy Rāmacandra Khān by breaking his caste and taking his goods.

152. He evidently slaughtered cattle and cooked the meat in that sacred place.

157. Cāndapura is a village near Saptagrāma.

158. *Majumdāra*: records keeper; *muluka*: kingdom, here probably meaning the territory of Saptagrāma rather than the whole of Bengal.

159. Haridāsa will frequently be referred to as Ṭhākura.

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it the two brothers were greatly delighted. 168 Ṭhākura made *kīrtana* with three lakhs of names; and among the *paṇḍitas* the question of the greatness of the name arose. 169 And some said, "From the name is the destruction of sins," and others said: "From the name is the release of *jīvas*." 170 And Haridāsa said, "These are not the two fruits of the name; in the fruit of the name is the arising of *prema* to the feet of Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 9. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.2.40:
The man, thus aroused, his affection inspired by his own *nāma-saṃkīrtana*, with spinning thoughts, like a madman, transported beyond the world of men, sometimes laughs out loud, sometimes weeps, sometimes cries out, and sometimes sings and dances.

171 The destruction of sins and *mukti* are secondary results of the name; an example of it is in the manifestation of the sun.

Śloka 10. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 16 [quoting Lakṣmīdhara]:
As the sun does to the sea of the darkness, so one pronunciation of the name of Hari, beneficent to the world, conquers all the sins of men.

172 Explain, O *paṇḍitas*, the meaning of this *śloka*." But all said, "You explain the meaning." 173 And Haridāsa said, "It is as the rising of the sun. While the sun is still not risen, the darkness begins to be dispelled, 174 as do fear and terror of thieves and ghosts and *rākṣasas*; and when the sun rises there are manifested auspicious things and the doing of that which is proper. 175 So at the beginning of the rising of the name, sins and the rest are dispelled; and when it is risen there is the manifestation of *prema* at the feet of Kṛṣṇa. 176 *Mukti* is an insignificant result, from a hint of the name.

Śloka 11. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 6.2.49:
Even Ajāmila, at the time of his death, pretending to call his son, pronounced the name of Hari, and gained the *dhāma*; what is to be said of others, who take the name in faith?

170. I.e., these are not the two primary fruits, not the reasons why the name should be taken. *Prema* is the primary fruit, and these others follow naturally.
Śloka 9. See 1.7.*śl.*4; 2.9.*śl.*20; 2.23.*śl.*20; 2.25.*śl.*34.
Śloka 11. See 3.3.*śl.*5.

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177 *Bhaktas* do not take that *mukti*, but Kṛṣṇa wishes to give it.

Śloka 12. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.29.13:
Even if I myself am prepared to give it, my people do not take to *sālokya*, *sārṣṭi*, *sārūpya*, *sāmīpya* or *ekatva* without serving me.

178 There was a *brāhmaṇa* there, by the name of Gopāla Cakravartī, and he was head collector at the house of the *majumdār*s. 179 He remained in Gauḍa, and he paid the taxes to the Bādshāh, and he sent twelve lakhs of coins [every year] to the Bādshāh. 180 He was young, and a *paṇḍita*, and very handsome, and when he heard "a hint of the name gives *mukti*" he could not bear it. 181 Angry, he said these fierce words, "You listen, O *paṇḍita*s, to the theories of this emotionalist. 182 That *mukti* which does not appear in the knowledge of *brahma* in a crore of births, he says is in a hint of the name." 183 Then Haridāsa said: "Why do you doubt it? The *śāstra*s say that *mukti* is in only a hint of the name. 184 And compared to the happiness of *bhakti*, *mukti* is most insignificant; thus *bhakta*s do not touch *mukti*."

Śloka 13. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrvavibhāga, sāmānyabhakti-laharī*] 1.1.39 [quoting *Haribhaktisudhodaya* 14.36]:
O *guru* of the world, for me who has been established in the pure sea of the joy of the realization of your true form, even that happiness of dwelling in the place of *brahma* is like a tiny puddle of water in the imprint of a cow's hoof.

185 The *brāhmaṇa* said, "If there is no *mukti* in a hint of the name, then you cut off your nose—make this promise." 186 And Haridāsa said, "If there is no

177. [For the kinds of *mukti*, see 1.3.16; 2.6.239. Rādhāgovinda Nātha's commentary on this couplet includes a detailed explanation of the powers of the name, types of offence to the name, etc. TKS]

Śloka 12. See 1.4.*śl.*36; 2.6.*śl.*23; 2.9.*śl.*24; 2.19.*śl.*24.

178. Ārindā: collector, tax-collector.

179. He remained at Gauḍa, which was the capital of Bengal, and there transmitted to the court of the king or Nabāb the taxes which Hiraṇya and Govarddhana paid the government, amounting to twelve lakhs of rupees every year.

181. Bhāvaka: emotionalist.

Śloka 13. See 1.7.*śl.*5; 2.24.*śl.*9.

185. Presumably this means that Gopāla is wagering that Haridāsa cannot prove that the *śāstras* actually do support this argument, not that they intend to wait to see if *mukti* is gained. If this is true, they never do get to the argument, for Gopāla is laughed out of the assembly. The wager is paid off in v. 196 below.

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mukti in a hint of the name, then I shall cut off my nose—that is for certain." 187 Then all the people in the court laughed, and the *majumdārs* reproached that *brāhmaṇa*. 188 Balāi Purohita rebuked him, saying, "You are a foolish hair-splitter; what do you know of *bhakti*? 189 You have insulted Haridāsa Ṭhākura; everything of yours will be destroyed, and you will gain no welfare." 190 When he heard this, Haridāsa rose up and went away, and the *majumdārs* let that *brāhmaṇa* go. 191 With everyone, they fell at the feet of Haridāsa, and Haridāsa smiled and said in a gentle voice, 192 "What is your fault in this? He is an ignorant *brāhmaṇa*, and he also has no fault in this, for his mind is attached to philosophical dispute. 193 The greatness of the name is not perceived by logic; from where would he know all these truths? 194 Go home, and may the blessing of Kṛṣṇa be on you all. Let no one be grieved because of me." 195 Then that Hiraṇya Dāsa went to his own home, and he closed his door to that *brāhmaṇa*. 196 Within three days that *brāhmaṇa* became a leper. His long nose melted and fell off. 197 His fingers and toes, which had been like *campaka* and *kalikā* buds, shrivelled up and melted in his leprosy. 198 When they saw it, all the people were struck with wonder, and they praised Haridāsa and made obeisance to him. 199 Even though Haridāsa did not find fault with the *brāhmaṇa*, Īśvara made him suffer the fruits of it. 200 The nature of a *bhakta* is to forgive a fault [committed] because of ignorance; and the nature of Kṛṣṇa is not to be able to bear an insult to his *bhaktas*.

201 When he heard of the leprosy of the *brāhmaṇa*, Haridāsa was saddened; and having spoken of it to Purohita Balāi, he came to Śāntipura. 202 Meeting the Ācārya, he bowed and paid his respects, and Advaita embraced him and paid him respect. 203 He built a hut on the bank of the Gaṅgā and gave it to him [to dwell in] alone, and caused him to listen to the meaning of *bhakti* according to the *Bhagavad Gītā*. 204 He ate every day at the house of the Ācārya, and the two of them together tasted the stories of Kṛṣṇa. 205 Haridāsa said, "Gosvāmī!

188. Balāi: Balarāma. "Hair-splitter" is *ghaṭa-paṭiyā*, which has the following interesting derivation: in searching for a definition of the undivided *brahman*, the Māyāvādins make the analogy of the sky (*paṭākāśa*) being reflected in an earthen pot (*ghaṭa*), or space contained within that pot: when the pot is broken, the space within the pot joins the infinite space and is undivided from it.

201. Kṛṣṇadāsa has Haridāsa moving from Burhana to Beṇāpola to Cāndapura in Saptagrāma, and from there going to Śāntipura. Vṛndāvana Dāsa, however, mentions neither Beṇāpola nor Cāndapura; see *CBh* 1.11 [= 1.16 GM ed.].

203. Gophā: hut, which more usually means "cave"; it may mean here a hut made of earth. [Vṛndāvana Dāsa tells of another episode in this hut where a poisonous serpent came and was converted by Haridāsa's chanting; see *CBh* 1.11.169-95 [= 1.16 GM ed.]. TKS]

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I ask you humbly, why do you give me rice every day? 206 Here there are many very great *brāhmaṇas*, of highest families, and I am lowly and humble; do you not feel fear and shame? 207 Your actions are not of this world, and I feel fear in speaking of them, that you would show me such mercy, by which I am protected." 208 The Ācārya said, "You should not fear, for that which I do is according to the *śāstras*. 209 If you eat there is the feeding of a crore of *brāhmaṇas*." And so saying he gave him a *śrāddha* plate to eat. 210 And he reflected on the salvation of the world—how would the non-Vaiṣṇava world be saved? 211 The Ācārya resolved to bring an *avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa, so he began to perform *pūjā* with water and the *tulasī*. 212 And Haridāsa in his hut made *nāma-saṃkīrtana*, that Kṛṣṇa would take an *avatāra*—this was his wish. 213 So because of the *bhakti* of these two, Caitanya made his descent, and propagating the name and *prema*, he saved the world.

214 Another unworldly deed of his there is, in the hearing of which people are astonished. 215 Do not indulge in argument about it, for it is beyond the perception of logic. But hear it with faith and with trust. 216 One day Haridāsa was sitting in his hut making *nāma-saṃkīrtana* in a loud voice. 217 The night was bright with light of moon and stars and all the ten directions were pure and clear, and the waves of the Gaṅgā were glittering in the light. 218 The *tulasī* at the door was on the cleansed *piṇḍi*. When they saw the beauty of the cottage, the hearts of people were refreshed. 219 At that time, a woman came into the courtyard, and the place became golden and glowing by radiance of her body. 220 By the perfume of her body everything all around was charmed, and the ears were thrilled by the sound of her ornaments. 221 Approaching, she made obeisance to the *tulasī*, and having circumambulated the *tulasī*, she went to the door of the hut. 222 With palms together she bowed to the feet of Haridāsa, and sitting in the doorway she said to him in a gentle voice, 223 "You, possessed of qualities and beauty, are praiseworthy in the world. I have come for union with you. 224 Be kind, and promise me; for being kind to lowly people is the nature of a holy man." 225 So saying, she manifested various

206. Kulīna-samāja: "highest families"; a *samāja* is in such a context an association of families of the same caste, regulating itself under the control of the elder, or *samāja-pati*. See Inden, *MRBC*.

209. The feeding of one Vaiṣṇava has the same merit as feeding a crore of *brāhmaṇas*. *Śrāddha-pātra*: see 1.10.42.

214-48. This story appears to be a transformation of the above-mentioned episode, vv. 91-135.

218. Piṇḍi: the small platform on which the *tulasī*-plant is placed.

225. Bhāva: emotion; clearly here suggesting erotic advances.

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emotions in such a way that in seeing it the steadfastness of a *muni* would be destroyed. 226 But Haridāsa was unshaken, for his heart was grave, and gently he began to say to her, 227 "The *saṃkīrtana* of a number of names—I have determined on this as a great sacrifice, and I have vowed to do this every day. 228 As long as the *kīrtana* is unfinished, I can have no other desire; but when the *kīrtana* is finished, then the vow will be completed. 229 So sit in the doorway and listen to the *nāma-saṃkīrtana*; when the names are finished I shall make love with you." 230 So saying he made *nāma-saṃkīrtana*, and the woman sat there and listened to the names. 231 And while the *kīrtana* was going on, morning came, and seeing that it was morning, the woman got up and left.

232 In this way the third day came, and she showed many emotions, by which the mind of Brahmā would be stolen. 233 But the mind of Haridāsa was always attached to the name of Kṛṣṇa, and the manifestation of her womanly passion was weeping in the forest. 234 On the third day, when the end of the night came, the woman began to speak to Ṭhākura, 235 "For three days you have cheated me, giving me false hope, and night and day there is no conclusion to these names of yours." 236 Haridāsa Ṭhākura said, "What can I do? I have settled on something, how can I abandon it?" 237 Then the woman made obeisance to him and said, "I am Māyā, and I have come to test you. 238 I have enchanted everything—*jīvas*, Brahmā and the rest; you alone I could not enchant. 239 You are a great *bhāgavata*, and in *darśana* of you, and in hearing your *kīrtana* of the Kṛṣṇa-name, 240 my mind is purified, and wants to take the name of Kṛṣṇa; so be gracious to me, and instruct me in the Kṛṣṇa-name. 241 In the Caitanya-*avatāra* is a flood of the nectar of *prema*; all *jīvas* float in *prema*, and the earth is blessed. 242 That miserable *jīva* who does not float in this flood will never be saved in a crore of *kalpas*. 243 Formerly I got the Rāma-name from Śiva, but I had a desire to take the Kṛṣṇa-name from you. 244 The name of Rāma is the source of *mukti*, and so is the rescuer; but the name of Kṛṣṇa is 'that which takes one across,' and gives the gift of *prema*. 245 So give me the Kṛṣṇa-name, and I shall serve it; give me that blessing; make me float upon that flood of *prema*." 246 So saying, she bowed to the feet of Haridāsa, and Haridāsa said, "Perform Kṛṣṇa-*saṃkīrtana*." 247 Receiving

233. "Weeping in the forest": i.e., fruitless, carried on where no one would respond.

238. Haridāsa is beyond the reach and control of *māyā-śakti*; he is directly controlled by the *svarūpa*, being pure.

242. *Kalpa*: a day and a night of Brahmā, or 432 million years.

244. One can gain *mukti* by the name of Rāma, and by that name one is pulled out of the sea of *saṃsāra*; but by the name of Kṛṣṇa one is taken across that sea.

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this instruction and delighted, Māyā went away. Not everyone will believe these stories. 248 But let me tell a reason for belief in them, and in the hearing of it faith will appear in everyone.

249 Enticed by the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa in the Caitanya-*avatāra*, Brahmā, Śiva, Sanaka, and the rest, took birth upon the earth. 250 They took the name of Kṛṣṇa, and danced, and floated on the flood of *prema*; and Nārada and Prahlāda came and were manifested in human form. 251 Lakṣmī and the others, all enticed by the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa, were born in human form and tasted the *prema* in the name. 252 What of others? Vrajendranandana himself, in *avatāra*, tasted the *prema-rasa*. 253 What then is the wonder in the devotee Māyā begging for *prema*? For apart from the name and the mercy of holy men there is no *prema*. 254 This is the nature of the *līlā* of Caitanya Gosvāmī—that the three worlds, transformed by *prema*, dance and sing. 255 Kṛṣṇa and the rest—all things moving and unmoving, drunk with the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa, make *saṃkīrtana* to him. 256 Svarūpa Gosvāmī has written of this *līlā* in his *Kaḍacā*, and I have heard it all from the mouth of Raghunātha Dāsa. 257 I have written about all these *līlā*s only in brief; for I am an insignificant *jīva* and write only by the grace of Caitanya. 258 So has been told the story of the greatness of Haridāsa Ṭhākura, and in hearing it, the ears of *bhakta*s are soothed.

259 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

249. [According to Kavikarṇapūra's *GGUD*, Haridāsa Ṭhākura is Brahmā (93-95); Advaitācārya is Śiva (76-80); Sanaka and the others are as follows (107-108): Kāśīnātha is Sanaka; Lokanātha is Sānanda; Śrīnātha is Sanātana; Rāmanātha is Sanātkumāra. TKS]

250. Brahmā and Prahlāda together entered into Haridāsa (*GGUD* 93-95); Nārada entered into Śrīvāsa (*GGUD* 90).

251. Jānakī and Rukminī together entered into Lakṣmī, Caitanya's first wife (*GGUD* 45-46); Satyabhāmā into Viṣṇupriyā, his second wife (*GGUD* 46-47); Rādhā and Lalitā into Gadādhara (*GGUD* 146-55); Viśākhā into Svarūpa (*GGUD* 160); and so on. Rādhāgovinda Nātha gives a lengthy catalogue, based on *GGUD*, in his commentary on the verse.

252. Vrajendranandana, Kṛṣṇa, was of course Caitanya.

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Antya Līlā
Chapter 4

Śloka 1.

From death did Śrī Gaura save Śrī Sanātana, who had returned from Vṛndāvana, controlling him with affection; and [then] he purified him by examination.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 When Rūpa had gone from Nīlācala to Gauḍa, Sanātana came to Nīlācala from Mathurā. 3 He came alone along the Jhārikhaṇḍa path, sometimes fasting, and sometimes chewing. 4 From his severe fasting, and from the waters of the Jhārikhaṇḍa, his body broke out, and pus ran from the sores. 5 But he was indifferent, and he reflected as he went along the path, "I am low-born; this body of mine is entirely worthless. 6 If I go to Jagannātha, I will not get *darśana* of him, and I shall never be able to have *darśana* of Mahāprabhu. 7 I have heard that he is dwelling near the temple, and it is not in my power to go near the temple. 8 The servants of Jagannātha will turn me away, according to their duty; and if I touch them I shall commit a great offence. 9 So if I leave this body in a holy place, I would have peace from this pain, and gain the blessed state. 10 Jagannātha will come outside during the Car Festival; I shall abandon this body under the wheels of the car. 11 Before Mahāprabhu, with Jagannātha looking on, I shall leave this body under the car; this is the highest

3. The Jhārikaṇḍha is, as has been seen, the jungle region where, on the map of present-day India, the states of West Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa converge.

6. Because he considered himself impure and untouchable, he felt that he would not be able to enter the temple of Jagannātha.

9. As we have seen in the case of Choṭa Haridāsa, suicide in a sacred place such as the Triveṇi does not have the same terrible results that suicide of an ordinary sort has.

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end of man." 12 So having determined this, he came to Nīlācala, and asking directions of people, he reached the place of Haridāsa. 13 He bowed to the feet of Haridāsa, and Haridāsa, recognizing him, embraced him. 14 His mind was very agitated to see Mahāprabhu; [knowing this], Haridāsa said, "Prabhu will come here." 15 And at that very time Prabhu, who had gone to see the *upala-bhoga*, came with his *bhaktas* to meet Haridāsa.

16 When they saw Prabhu, both fell prostrate at his feet; Prabhu raised Haridāsa up and embraced him. 17 And Haridāsa said, "Sanātana makes obeisance." And when he saw Sanātana, Prabhu was astonished. 18 Prabhu came forward to embrace Sanātana; but Sanātana backed away and said, 19 "Do not touch me, Prabhu! I fall at your feet. I am low and a vile person, and now there are sores on my body." 20 But by force Prabhu embraced him, and the oozings from the sores touched the holy body of Mahāprabhu. 21 Prabhu introduced Sanātana to all the *bhaktas*, and Sanātana bowed to the feet of them all. 22 With all of them, Prabhu sat upon the *piṇḍā*, and Haridasa and Sanātana sat at the foot of it. 23 Mahāprabhu asked about Sanātana's well-being, and he replied, "It is most wonderful, now that I have seen your feet." 24 And he asked of the welfare of the Gosvāmīs of the Vaiṣṇavas at Mathurā, and Sanātana informed him that all was well with them. 25 Prabhu said, "Rūpa was here for ten months; just ten days ago he left here for Gauḍa. 26 Your brother Anupama has died; it was well, for his *bhakti* to Raghunātha was very profound." 27 Sanātana said, "My birth was in a low family; the *dharma* of my family has been *adharma* and *anyāya*. 28 Leaving aside hatred for such a family, you promised us that by your grace, my family would be blessed. 29 That brother Anupama, from the time of his boyhood, has worshiped Raghunātha with profound devotion. 30 Day and night he meditated on the name of Raghunātha, and he constantly listened to and sang the *Rāmāyaṇa*. 31 Rūpa and I are his elder brothers, and he remained with us both all the time. 32 All together we listened to stories of Kṛṣṇa and to the *Bhāgavata*, and we two tested him. 33 'Listen, O Vallabha. Kṛṣṇa is the highest sweetness; his beauty and sweetness and *prema-vilāsa* are vast. 34 So worship Kṛṣṇa with us, we three brothers together will remain in the delight of the stories of Kṛṣṇa.' 35 In this way we would talk to him again and again; and out of regard for us two, his mind was

15. Upala-bhoga: a morning food-offering to Jagannātha.

26. Anupama was a *bhakta* of Raghunātha, i.e., Rāma.

27. Whether the family of Sanātana was really "opposed to *dharma*" and "opposed to justice" (*nyāya*) is a matter of debate; it is possible that his father was a convert to Islam. But this may also be a conventional expression of humility, especially for one who has been in the employ of Muslim rulers. See *PHM* 73-75.

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turned a little bit. 36 'Shall I transgress so much the commands of you both? Give me the *dīkṣā-mantra*, and I shall worship Kṛṣṇa.' 37 So he said; but in the night-time, he reflected, 'How can I abandon the feet of Raghunātha?' 38 And all night long he remained awake weeping, and in the morning he entreated us both: 39 'I have sold my head to the feet of Raghunātha; I cannot snatch my head away, and I am greatly pained. 40 Be kind, both of you; give me your permission to serve, in birth after birth, the feet of Raghunātha. 41 The lotus-feet of Raghunātha cannot be left; when I think of leaving them, my breath leaves [my body].' 42 Then we both embraced him, and praised him, saying, 'Your *bhakti* is profound and pure.' 43 Thus you have given a tiny bit of your mercy to our family; all are blessed by it, and all pain has been cut away." 44 Gosvāmī said, "In the same way was Murāri Gupta; previously I tested him, and he felt this same way. 45 That *bhakta* is blessed, who does not abandon the feet of his Prabhu; and that Prabhu is blessed, who does not abandon his own people. 46 And if by ill chance his servant goes to some other place, that blessed Ṭhākura seizes and drags him [back] by the hair. 47 It is good that you have come here; remain here in this house with Haridāsa. 48 Both of you are foremost in the *rasa* of Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*; taste the *rasa* of Kṛṣṇa, take the Kṛṣṇa-name." 49 So saying, Mahāprabhu arose and went away, and he sent *prasāda* for both of them by means of Govinda.

50 In this way Sanātana remained at the place of Prabhu; and seeing the wheels of the car of Jagannātha, he bowed in respect. 51 Prabhu came every day to meet with them both, and they spoke for some time in pleasant conversation about Kṛṣṇa. 52 And every day he got holy *prasāda* from the temple of Jagannātha, and coming there he gave it to them both every day. 53 One day Prabhu came and met them both, and suddenly he began to speak to Sanātana, 54 "Sanātana, Kṛṣṇa is not gained by those who abandon their bodies, otherwise tens of millions would give up their bodies every instant. 55 We do not gain Kṛṣṇa by abandonment of the body, but by worship; there is no other means of gaining Kṛṣṇa except *bhakti*. 56 Abandoning the body, etc., is the *dharma* of *tamas*; but in the *dharma* of *rajas* and *tamas* the feet of Kṛṣṇa are

39. Muñi beciyācho māthā: "sold my head," i.e., totally dedicated myself to.

44. I.e., Murāri was also a Rāma-*bhakta*; see 2.15.138-157.

46. I.e., if a servant abandons his own Prabhu and turns elsewhere, as Kṛṣṇadāsa did with the Bhaṭṭamāris, that Prabhu feels so deeply for that servant that he puts him back on the right path.

54. Dehatyāga: abandon the body, i.e., commit suicide.

56. People who move about in the darkness (*tamas*) cannot discriminate among objects; similarly people who follow kinds of *dharma* which are dark cannot discriminate right from wrong and

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not attained. 57 Apart from *bhakti*, *prema* toward Kṛṣṇa never arises, and except for *prema* there is no other means of gaining Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 2. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.14.20:
O Uddhava, only that very powerful *bhakti* toward me is able to compel me; I am not [compelled by] *yoga*, *sāṃkhya*, *dharma*, Vedic study, *tapas*, or renunciation.

58 Abandoning the body is the *dharma* of *tamas*, and is the cause of falling; by it the *sādhaka* does not gain the feet of Kṛṣṇa. 59 The truly loving *bhakta*, in separation, wants to abandon his body; but in love, Kṛṣṇa joins him, and he is not able to die. 60 Separation, for one who is profoundly loving, cannot be borne, and in that condition the one who loves desires his own death.

Śloka 3. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.52.43:
O lotus eyed one, great ones like Umāpati desire to bathe in the dust of your lotus feet, to dispel the darkness of the soul; if I cannot gain that grace of yours, then emaciated with *vratas* [of asceticism] I shall abandon all life [and gain it] after a hundred births.

Śloka 4. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.29.38:
O Aṅga, the burning desire which is born in us by your sweet song and your smiling glance, sprinkle on it the stream of nectar of your lips; otherwise, O friend, we shall burn our bodies in the fire of separation's anguish and by meditation shall go near to your feet.

61 So abandon this ill-conceived notion and listen to *kīrtana*, and quickly you will gain the feet of Kṛṣṇa. 62 It is not because of low caste that one is unfit

proper from improper; further, *rajas* and *tamas* are material *guṇas*, and by following religious paths which employ material nature, Kṛṣṇa, who is full of *cit* and *ānanda*, immaterial, cannot be gained.

Śloka 2. See 1.17.*śl.*5; 2.20.*śl.*13; 2.25.*śl.*31.

58. Pātaka: "falling," into hell, which is the dessert of the suicide.

59. Sometimes this longing for death occurs, as with Rukmiṇī in *BhP* 10.52.43, and the *gopīs* in *BhP* 10.29.35; but, says Caitanya, the cause of this is not the gaining of Kṛṣṇa, for Kṛṣṇa cannot be gained this way; it arises from a desire to end the separation. The motives are different, and so therefore are the ends. Besides, when *prema* is so strong, Kṛṣṇa knows this and comes to the *bhakta*, making the suicide unnecessary.

Śloka 4. Viraha: separation's anguish.

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for worship of Kṛṣṇa; a *brāhmaṇa* of pure family is not [necessarily] fit for worship. 63 He who worships is great; the non-*bhakta* is low and worthless; there is no consideration of caste, family, and such, in Kṛṣṇa-worship. 64 Bhagavān is more merciful to the lowly than to one who is full of pride in his wealth, learning, and family.

Śloka 5. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 7.9.10:

I consider a *śvapaca* whose mind, speech, efforts, wealth, and life are devoted to him to be better than a *brāhmaṇa* who, though he possess the twelve qualities, has his face averted from the lotus-footed, lotus-navelled one; such a one purifies his family, but the prideful one does not.

65 And the best kinds of worship are the nine kinds of *bhakti*; they contain the great power to give Kṛṣṇa and Kṛṣṇa-*prema*. 66 And among them the best of all is *nāma-saṃkīrtana*; from the name, without offences [to the name], comes the wealth of *prema*."

67 When he heard this, Sanātana was astonished; "Prabhu does not like it, that I have decided on my death. 68 Mahāprabhu is omniscient, and has forbidden me." And holding the feet of Prabhu, he said to him, 69 "You are the non-dependent Īśvara, omniscient and merciful; as you cause me to dance, so I dance, for I am not self-dependent. 70 But I am low and despicable, of mean nature; what would be the purpose of your keeping me alive?" 71 Prabhu said, "Your body is my own wealth; you have dedicated yourself to me. 72 Why do you wish to destroy the goods of another? Can you not discriminate between *dharma* and *adharma*? 73 Your body is my chief instrument; with this body I shall attain much that is necessary: 74 the determination of the truths of the *bhaktas* and *bhakti* and Kṛṣṇa-*prema*, and the duties of Vaiṣṇavas and the proper conduct of Vaiṣṇavas, 75 and the establishing of service and of Kṛṣṇa-*prema* and Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*, the saving of lost pilgrimage places and the teaching of asceticism. 76 Mathurā and Vṛndāvana are places beloved of me, and there I want

Śloka 5. See 2.20.*śl*.4; 3.16.*śl*.3.

65. For the nine kinds, see 2.22.55-85.

69. *Svatantra*: non-dependent, self-dependent.

73. Caitanya considers Sanātana as the instrument through which he will teach the truths of *bhakti*; that instruction is what is necessary.

74. For Sanātana's role in establishing proper Vaiṣṇava duty and conduct, see text and commentary to 2.1.30 and 2.24.236-57. See also below vv. 90-92.

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to propagate all these *dharmas*. 77 Because of the order of my mother I live in Nīlācala, and it is not within my own power to teach *dharma* there. 78 So all these works I shall do with that body; how can I bear it when you want to abandon it?" 79 Then Sanātana said, "I bow to you; who can know your profound heart? 80 [It is] as if by magic a wooden doll is caused to dance, and the doll itself does not know, it only dances and sings. 81 So he whom you cause to dance, dances; he does not know who causes him to dance." 82 Then Prabhu said to Haridāsa, "Haridāsa, listen. He wants to destroy the property of another. 83 One does not eat or give away the goods entrusted to another; forbid him to do it, lest he do an unjust thing." 84 And Haridāsa said, "We have vain pride. Who can know your profound heart? 85 You do certain deeds through certain people; if you do not cause him to know, who is able to know? 86 In this way you have appropriated him; no one else is as fortunate as he." 87 Then Mahāprabhu embraced them both, and rose and went to perform his midday rituals.

88 Haridāsa embraced Sanātana and said, "The limit of your good fortune cannot be described. 89 Prabhu has said that your body is 'my own wealth'; there is no one who is as fortunate as you are. 90 Those deeds which he cannot do with his own body, he will cause you to do in Mathurā. 91 That which Īśvara wants to cause to be done, is completed. Your good fortune cannot be described. 92 The determination of proper action, and the [propagation of the] *śāstras* of the doctrine of *bhakti*—these he will cause you to do; his intention is understood. 93 This body of mine has not come into the activities of Prabhu, and it has been useless, born in this land of Bhārata." 94 Sanātana said, "Who else is equal to you? You are the most fortunate among the people of Mahāprabhu. 95 The work of the *avatāra* of Prahbu is the preaching of the name, and that work of his Prabhu has done through you. 96 Each day you make three lakhs of *nāma-saṃkīrtanas*, and before all you tell of the glory of the name. 97 Some observe [these practices] in themselves, and do not preach; and some preach but do not act properly. 98 You do both these things: observance and preaching of the name. You are the *guru* of all, to be honored by the whole world." 99 Thus the two conversed in various pleasant ways, remaining together and tasting the stories of Kṛṣṇa.

77. "There": in Vṛndāvana.
92. *Siddhānta*: doctrine, conclusions.

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100 At the time of the annual celebration all the *bhaktas* of Gauḍa came, as they had before, to have *darśana* of the Car Festival. 101 And Prabhu danced before the car, and when he saw this, Sanātana was astonished. 102 All the *bhaktas* remained there for the four months of the monsoon, and Prabhu had Sanātana join with them all. 103 Advaita and Nityānanda and Śrīvāsa, Vakreśvara, Vāsudeva, Murāri, Rāghava and Dāmodara, 104 Purī, Bhāratī, Svarūpa, Gadādhara Paṇḍita, Sārvabhauma, Rāmānanda, Jagadānanda, Śaṅkara, 105 Kāśīśvara, Govinda, and the rest—all the people of Prabhu—he caused Sanātana to mingle with them all. 106 Appropriately he had him bow to the feet of them all, and he made him the vessel of the grace of them all. 107 Sanātana became, because of his own qualities and because of his wisdom, the vessel of the friendship, or the grace, or the honor of some, as was appropriate. 108 And when all the Vaiṣṇavas went to Gauḍadeśa, Sanātana remained at the feet of Mahāprabhu. 109 And with Prabhu he watched the Swing Festival and the rest, and day by day his joy grew, in the company of Prabhu.

110 Sanātana had come in the previous Vaiśākha, and it was in the month of Jyaiṣṭha that Prabhu had examined him. 111 In Jyaiṣṭha, Prabhu came to Yameśvara-*ṭoṭā*, and he took food there, at the request of his *bhaktas*. 112 In the middle of the day, when it was time for eating, he had Sanātana called. His joy grew, that Prabhu had called him. 113 In the middle of the day, the sands of the sea beach were like fire, but that was the path that Sanātana went along. 114 So delighted was he at heart that Prabhu had summoned him that he did not know that his feet were burnt by the hot sand. 115 His feet blistered as he went to Prabhu. Mahāprabhu was resting after eating. 116 Govinda gave him the leaf with the remnants of the meal, and when he had received this *prasāda*, Sanātana came to Prabhu's side. 117 Prabhu inquired, "By what path did you come, Sanātana?" And Sanātana said, "I came along the shore." 118 Prabhu said, "How could you come along the hot sands? The path through the lion-gate is cool; why did you not come that way? 119 You have sores on your feet because of the hot sand, and you cannot walk; how did you bear it?" 120 Sanātana replied, "I did not get much pain, and I did not know that there

100. Ratha-yātrā: Car Festival of Jagannātha.

109. Dola-yātrā: Swing Festival.

110. Vaiśākha: the first month of the Bengali calender, April-May; Jyaiṣṭha: May-June.

111. There is a garden to the southwest of the temple of Jagannātha which is called the Yameśvara-*ṭoṭā*.

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were blisters on my feet. 121 I do not have the right to go through the lion-gate, especially as that place is frequented by the servants of the *ṭhākura*. 122 At that time the servants were all coming and going, and if I had touched anyone it would have been disaster for me." 123 When he heard this, the mind of Mahāprabhu was filled with delight, and being pleased he began to say to him, 124 "Even though you are the purifier of the world, and by your touch even *devas* and *munis* are purified, 125 still, it is the nature of a *bhakta* to protect honor; and the protection of honor is the ornament of a holy man. 126 People scorn the transgression of honor, and [he who transgresses] is ruined in this world and in the next. 127 You have preserved that honor, and you have made my heart pleased. If you had not done so, what other person would have?" 128 So saying, Prabhu embraced him, and the pus from his sores touched the holy body of Prabhu. 129 Again and again he tried to prevent him, but still he embraced him, and when the pus touched his body, Sanātana was distressed. 130 And Prabhu and his *sevaka* both went home.

The next day, Jagadānanda met Sanātana, 131 and the two sat together and talked of Kṛṣṇa. Sanātana, in misery, entreated the *paṇḍita*, 132 "I came here to see Prabhu and to break my misery, but Prabhu does not allow me to do that which I desire. 133 I forbid him, but still Prabhu embraces me, and the pus from my sores touches his body; this is a great offence, and there is no salvation from it. 134 And not seeing Jagannātha, my sorrow is endless. 135 I came here for good, but the opposite has happened. I cannot determine what I can do to bring good about." 136 The *paṇḍita* said, "Vṛndāvana is the proper place for you to live; when you have seen the Car Festival, go there. 137 This was the command of Prabhu to your two brothers; so go to Vṛndāvana, and there you will gain all happiness. 138 You came for the purpose of seeing the feet of Prabhu, and have done so; when you have seen Jagannātha in the car, then leave." 139 Sanātana said, "You have given me good advice. I shall go there, to the country that Prabhu has assigned me." 140 So saying, both arose and went about their own duties, and the next day Mahāprabhu came to meet him.

141 Haridāsa bowed to the feet of Prabhu, and Prabhu embraced Haridāsa in *prema*. 142 But Sanātana bowed extending himself fully prostrate from a distance. Prabhu called him again and again, to embrace him. 143 But in fear

121. The *ṭhākura*: Jagannātha.
130. The *sevaka* (servant), says Rādhāgovinda Nātha, was Sanātana.
142. *Daṇḍa-praṇāma*: fully prostrate like a stick on the ground.

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of offence, he did not go to him, so Mahāprabhu went over to join him. 144 But Sanātana drew back, and Mahāprabhu forcibly seized him and embraced him. 145 Then taking the two of them, Mahāprabhu sat on the *piṇḍā*; and greatly distressed, Sanātana began to say, 146 "I came for the purpose of good, but the opposite has happened. For I am not worthy, and each day I commit offence. 147 By nature I am low-born, evil and filled with sin; when you touch me it is an offence for me. 148 The pus which oozes from the sores on my body touches your body; and still, by force, you touch me. 149 You have not the slightest revulsion to touch a foul thing; but by this offence I am totally destroyed. 150 Nothing good will come of my remaining in this place. So give me your command, that when I have seen the car I may go to Vṛndāvana. 151 I asked the advice of Jagadānanda Paṇḍita, and he suggested that I go to Vṛndāvana."

152 When he heard this, Mahāprabhu was furious in his heart, and being angry at Jagadānanda, he rebuked him, 153 "Jagā the child of yesterday, now has become so proud that he begins to advise even you. 154 In piety and in actions you are superior to him, and he advises you; he does not know his own worth. 155 You are advisor to me; you are proven worthy of honor, and that boy does such things as give instructions to you."

156 Hearing this, Sanātana held the feet of Prabhu and began to say, "Today Jagadānanda has come to know great good fortune. 157 And today I have become aware of my own misfortune. In the world there is none as lucky as Jagadānanda. 158 You cause Jagadānanda to drink the stream of the nectar of being one of your intimate people; you cause me to drink praise and honor, essence of the *nimba* and *nisindā* trees. 159 Even now you do not know me as intimate; I am an unfortunate man, and you are the non-dependent Bhagavān."

160 When he heard this, Mahāprabhu was a little ashamed, and to satisfy him he began to say, 161 "Jagadānanda is not more dear to me than you are; I cannot bear the transgression of respect. 162 Where you are proven, learned in the *śāstras*, Jagāi is a young boy, born yesterday. 163 You have the power to teach me; how many times have you caused me to understand *bhakti* and right conduct? 164 Yet he instructs you; this cannot be borne. This is the reason that I reproached him. 165 I do not praise you because of your external knowledge; but your qualities cause you to be praised, and such indeed is your quality.

153. Baṭuyā: "child" or "kid."

158. "By getting angry at Jagadānanda, you have shown that you feel deeply and personally about him; but me you praise, and that is a sign of distance." The sap of the *nimba* and *nisindā* trees is extremely bitter to the taste, their fruits sour.

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166 Even though some hold many people dear to their hearts, in the cases of [only] some there is a birth of *bhāva*, by the nature of love. 167 You feel a contempt toward your body; but your body seems to me like the nectar of immortality. 168 Your body is not material, it is never material; but still you perceive it as material. 169 Even if your body were material, I could not neglect it, for in material nature there is no perception of things as pure or impure.

Śloka 6. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.28.4:
Is there pure or impure within the duality which is insubstantial?
Such purity and impurity, as it is called in speech, that is false; such [distinctions] are only in the mind.

170 Perception of the duality of pure and impure—this is all in the nature of the mind; 'this is good, and that is bad'—all this is error.

Śloka 7. *Bhagavad Gītā* 5.18:
They are wise who see no difference between the *brāhmaṇa* endowed with learning and humility, the cow, the elephant, the dog, and the *śvapaca*.

Śloka 8. *Bhagavad Gītā* 6.8:
Whose soul is satisfied with *jñāna* and *vijñāna*, who is indifferent, who has conquered the senses, to whom a lump of earth, a rock, and gold are the same, that *yogī* is called truly yoked.

166. Although one person may regard many people as dear to him, by the nature of love the feelings toward them differ from person to person. Caitanya says that he has love for both Sanātana and Jagadānanda, but that it is of different kinds; his love for Sanātana is such that he cannot help praising him.

168. Sanātana has as a true *bhakta* gained a perfected body, beyond the material.

169. This is rather a strange statement, for the very notions of *vidhi* and *aparādha* have basically to do with distinctions between proper and improper actions, and good and evil. One possible explanation is that Caitanya is speaking as a *saṃnyāsin*, who has cut himself off from social regulation, and to whom notions of pure and impure are meaningless. Such lack of distinction is also characteristic of the followers of the *jñāna-mārga*; when identity or freedom is gained, the distinctions become meaningless. [This is reminiscent of an argument Caitanya used as a child when he sat in the garbage heap. See text and commentary to 1.14.40-44, 67-71. TKS]

170. "In the nature of the mind": it is a false and imaginary distinction, imposed not by reality but by the fallible mind's perception of reality.

Śloka 8. Jñāna and *vijñāna*: "theoretical" and "practical knowledge," as Edgerton translates them, but "insight" and "knowledge" according to van Buitenen's final translation. *Yukta*: "yoked" with the eternal in the ultimate condition; this is the end for which the *yogin* strives.

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171 I am a *saṃnyāsin*, and my *dharma* is to consider all things as the same; sandalwood paste and mud seem to me the same. 172 For this reason I cannot let you go; for if I felt contempt, my own *dharma* would disappear."

173 Hariḍasa said, "Prabhu, that which you have said is external and misleading; I do not honor it. 174 You have been gracious to all of us wretched people, in propagating your quality of mercy on the lowly." 175 And Prabhu smiling said, "Hear me, Haridāsa and Sanātana; I speak the inner truth—so my heart is disposed toward you. 176 I consider that you should be reared with care, and I consider myself as the rearer; and there is no attribution of fault by the rearer to those who are reared. 177 I consider myself unworthy of honor, and I consider all of you as my children, 178 [just as] a mother, when the filth of her son touches her body, is not overcome with revulsion, but gains even more happiness. 179 The filth of the beloved child seems like sandalwood to the mother; so the discharge from Sanātana's body does not arouse revulsion in me."

180 And Haridāsa said, "You are Īśvara, full of mercy; the depths of your heart cannot be known. 181 Vāsudeva had melting leprosy on his body, full of worms, and you, merciful, embraced him. 182 And when you had embraced him his body became like that of Kandarpa; who can understand the waves of your grace?" 183 Prabhu replied, "The body of a Vaiṣṇava is never material; the body of a *bhakta* is immaterial, full of *cit* and *ānanda*. 184 At the time of initiation the *bhakta* dedicates himself, and at that time Kṛṣṇa makes him like

173. Haridāsa rebukes Caitanya for speaking like a *jñānin*, and says that all such lack of distinction such as he has been putting forward is superficial; the real reason why Caitanya seeks to embrace Sanātana is because he does see such distinctions; he does see that Sanātana's body is vile, but he embraces it anyway, because he has come to save lowly people.

176. Caitanya considers them like his children, and to a mother or father nothing about a beloved child is detestable. Further, in v. 177, he says that such love is natural, and there is nothing praiseworthy in it.

181. See 2.7.133-46.

182. Kandarpa: Kāma-deva, the beautiful god of love.

184. *Ātma-samarpaṇa*: "dedicates himself"; Viśvanātha comments on the dedication formula, which includes the word *niveditātmā*: "Myself and whatever I call mine, in this world and the one to follow, all that I have, O lord Kṛṣṇa, I lay completely at your feet." There seems to be a bit of a paradox here; if Kṛṣṇa at the time of initiation makes the *bhakta* like himself (like, because Kṛṣṇa by his nature is without a second), why all the arduous procedure of *sādhana-bhakti* and the rest? Rādhāgovinda Nātha answers: this means that initiation is the beginning of the process of the attainment of the perfected body; Kṛṣṇa accepts the *bhakta* at this point, and because of that grace the *bhakta* is able to proceed along the path of *bhakti*. It does not mean that the *bhakta*'s responsibility is over, but that if everything else goes well, attainment is assured.

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himself. 185 He makes that body full of *cit* and *ānanda*, and he worships his feet in this non-material body.

Śloka 9. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.29.34:
When a mortal leaves all *karma* and dedicates himself to me, I wish to change him; he gains immortality and is fit to become [like] myself.

186 Kṛṣṇa has made these pustules break out on the body of Sanātana, and he has sent him here to test me. 187 If I had contempt for him and did not embrace him, I would gain from Kṛṣṇa punishment for that offence. 188 This is the body of a follower, it does not stink; from the first day I gained from his body the perfume of sandal." 189 And in truth, when Prabhu embraced him, at his touch the odor was like sandalwood. 190 Prabhu said, "Sanātana, do not consider sorrow; at your embrace I gain great happiness. 191 Remain here with me for this year, and at the end of the year I shall send you to Vṛndāvana." 192 And so saying he embraced him again; the pustules disappeared, and his body became like gold. 193 When he saw this, Haridāsa was astonished, and he said to Prabhu, "This is a trick of yours. 194 You made him drink that water at Jhārikhaṇḍa, with the aim, through that water, of causing him to break out in sores. 195 Through those sores you were testing Sanātana. No one knows the tricks of this *līlā* of yours." 196 Embracing them both, Prabhu went to his own house; and both were filled with *prema* by the qualities of Prabhu.

197 Thus Sanātana stayed at the place of Prabhu, and talked with Haridāsa of the qualities of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya. 198 When he had seen the Swing Festival, Prabhu bade him farewell, that he could go to Vṛndāvana and teach all those things. 199 When it was time to take leave from the feet of Prabhu, the condition of those two at that separation cannot be described. 200 Along that path which Prabhu had taken to Vṛndāvana, Sanātana decided to go. 201 Along that path, in whatever villages or rivers or mountains he had had *līlā*, he wrote [a description of] all these as he heard them from Balabhadra Bhaṭṭācārya. 202 He met all the *bhakta*s of Mahāprabhu; Sanātana went along that path and saw those places. 203 Whatever *līlā*s Prabhu had along that path, in whatever places, when he saw those places Sanātana was overcome with *prema*. 204 In this way Sanātana came to Vṛndāvana, and afterwards Rūpa Gosvāmin joined him there. 205 For one year Rūpa Gosvāmin was delayed in Gauḍa; he divided and dis-

Śloka 9. See 2.22.*śl*.49.
188. *Pariṣada-deha*: "follower," one who is in Kṛṣṇa's retinue.

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tributed his wealth and property among his kinsmen. 206 That wealth which he had at Gauḍa, he brought there and distributed to his kinsmen and to *brāhmaṇas* and to temples. 207 The Gosvāmin, having made known all that was in his heart, settled [matters] and quickly came to Vṛndāvana.

208 The two brothers together lived at Vṛndāvana, and together carried out the order of Prabhu. 209 They brought many *śāstras* and recovered lost pilgrimage places, and propagated the service of Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana. 210 Sanātana wrote the book [*Bṛhad*]*bhāgavatāmṛta*, from which is known the truths of *bhakti* and the *bhakta* and of Kṛṣṇa. 211 He wrote the books *Siddhāntasāra* and *Daśama-ṭippaṇī*, from which are known *prema* and the *rasa* of the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*. 212 And he wrote the *Haribhaktivilāsa*, with rules for the conduct of Vaiṣṇavas, in which the shore of the duties of Vaiṣṇavas is gained. 213 And he wrote many other books, who can count them all? And he established the service of Madanagopāla and of Govinda. 214 Rūpa Gosvāmin wrote the essence of all books, the [*Bhakti*]*rasāmṛta*[*sindhu*], in which is expounded the *rasa* of Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*. 215 And he wrote another book, *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* by name, in which one gains the shore of the *rasa* of the *līlā* of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. 216 [He wrote] *Vidagha-* and *Lalitamādhava*, the twinned dramas wherein the *rasa* of the play of Kṛṣṇa can be fully experienced. 217 He composed a lakh of other books, starting with *Dānakelikaumudī*, and in all those books the *rasa* of Vraja is propounded. 218 And the son of the younger brother, Śrī Vallabha Anupama was a great *paṇḍita*, whose name was Śrī Jīva Gosvāmin. 219 He left everything and came to Vṛndāvana later; he composed many *bhakti-śāstras*. 220 He wrote the best of books, by name the *Bhāgavata-sandarbha*, and in that the shore of the ultimate knowledge of the *bhagavat* is reached. 221 He wrote the essence of books, the *Gopālacampū*, in which he shows the essence of the *līlā* and *rasa* and *prema* of Vraja. 222 He published the inner truth of the Kṛṣṇa-*prema* in his

208-22. For a similar list of books composed by the Gosvāmins, see 2.1.28-40.

210. [*Bhāgavatāmṛta* is commonly called the *Bṛhadbhāgavatāmṛta* to distinguish it from Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*. TKS]

212. See text and commentary to 2.1.30; and above vv. 74, 90-92. Interestingly the *maṅgalācaraṇa* of the *HBhV* itself [1.1.2] states that the text was written by "Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, the pupil of Prabodhānanda," at the pleasure of Rūpa, Sanātana, and Raghunātha Dāsa, and there is no reason to doubt that statement. As previously noted, Sanātana did write a commentary on it, called *Digdarśanī*. The mention of Raghunātha Dāsa is interesting, for it means that the text was written after Caitanya's death; Raghunātha did not leave Puri to go to Vṛndāvana until Caitanya had died.

222. [This couplet is not found in all MSS and may be a later addition, for it not only repeats the title of the the *Bhāgavata-sandarbha* of v. 220, but calls it by its later appellation, the *Ṣaṭ-*

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Ṣaṭ-sandarbha. He distributed four lakhs of books. 223 Jīva Gosvāmin went from Gauḍa to Mathurā, having begged leave from Nityānanda Prabhu. 224 Prabhu in love held his feet on his head, and embraced him because of his relationship with Rūpa and Sanātana. 225 He gave his command, "Go quickly to Vṛndāvana; Prabhu has given that place to your family." 226 So receiving this order he came, and reaped the fruits of the command. Writing many *śāstras*, he preached *bhakti* for a long time. 227 These three *gurus* and Raghunātha Dāsa—I, their servant, bow to the feet of all of them. 228 Thus has been narrated the reunion of Sanātana [with Prabhu], and he who hears it knows the purpose of Prabhu. 229 The actions of Caitanya are like a stick of sugarcane; one tastes the juice as soon as one bites into it.

230 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta.*

sandarbha. The *Bhāgavata- or Ṣaṭ-sandarbha* is composed of the six *sandarbhas*: *tattva, bhagavat, paramātma, kṛṣṇa, bhakti,* and *prīti.* TKS]

223. Some details about Jīva are known from Narahari Cakravartī's *BhR* 1. It seems that from a very early age Jīva was intellectually precocious, and that very early he was skilled in grammar and other disciplines, and studied constantly. When Caitanya went to Rāmakeli, Jīva was living there with his father Vallabha; like his brothers Rūpa and Sanātana, Vallabha was a servant of Husain Shāh, and it was after meeting Caitanya at Rāmakeli that Rūpa and Sanātana abandoned the world, Rūpa going to his father's village to dispose of the goods. Hearing that Caitanya had left for Vṛndāvana, Rūpa and Vallabha went to Prayāga and met him there. Jīva in the meantime went to Candradvīpa and continued his study, while at the same time manifesting great devotional capacities: "Even as a boy he did not play with boys except in things relating to Kṛṣṇa; he made a *mūrti* of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, and did *pūjā* to it with flowers and sandalwood . . ." While Jīva was at Candradvīpa, Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma appeared to him in a dream, and in the dream merged with the forms of Caitanya and Nityānanda, and "Gaura and Nityānanda Rāya, that sea of mercy, put the lotus of his feet on the head of Śrī Jīva, and in great affection embraced him." Under the pretence of further study, Jīva travelled to Navadvīpa, where he met Nityānanda with great emotion, and Nityānanda put his foot on Jīva's head, and embraced him, and told him that Caitanya had given Vṛndāvana to his family. Jīva then left for Kāśī, where he stayed for a time studying the Vedānta with Madhusudana Vacaspati, and then went on to Vṛndāvana.

229. Rasa: juice.

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Antya Līlā
Chapter 5

Śloka 1.

Infested by the worms of imperfections, tortured by the boils of wickedness, immersed in a sea of misery, I seek refuge with the healer Caitanya.

1 Glory, glory to the son of Śacī, Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, glory glory to the blessed Nityānanda, full of mercy. 2 Glory to Advaita, a sea of mercy, and glory to all the *bhaktas*, glory to Svarūpa, Gadādhara, Rūpa and Sanātana.

3 One day Pradyumna Miśra, bowing to the feet of Prabhu, entreated him, 4 "Mahāprabhu, I am lowly and a miserable householder, and by some good fortune I have gained your feet, hard to gain. 5 It is my desire to listen to the stories of Kṛṣṇa; so be merciful to me and speak to me of him." 6 And Prabhu said, "I know nothing of Kṛṣṇa. Rāmānanda knows everything; I hear it from his mouth. 7 You are fortunate, that you have a mind to hear of Kṛṣṇa; go and hear it from Rāmānanda. 8 The appetite for stories of Kṛṣṇa is yours, and you are most fortunate. Whoever has an appetite to hear of Kṛṣṇa is blessed."

Śloka 2. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.2.8:

If that *dharma*, even though beautifully carried out by men, does not stimulate desire to hear about Viṣvaksena, it is merely labor.

9 Then Pradyumna Miśra went to the place of Rāmānanda, and Rāmānanda's servant seated him upon a seat. 10 Miśra did not see [Rāmānanda] there, and so he asked the servant, and the servant began to tell him the story of Rāya.

Śloka 2. Viṣvaksena: "he whose hosts are everywhere," an epithet of Viṣṇu.

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11 "There are two *devakanyās*, of greatest beauty; they are skilled in song and dance, and young. 12 Rāya takes them both into a lonely garden, and instructs them in the repetition of the songs of his own *nāṭaka*. 13 You remain seated here, and in a little while he will come, and then whatever you command, he will do." 14 So Pradyumna Miśra remained seated there, and Rāmānanda took the two to that secluded place. 15 With his own hands he anointed them and with his own hands he bathed them and cleaned their bodies. 16 With his own hands he put clothes on their bodies and decorated them with ornaments, and still the heart of Rāmānanda was unaffected. 17 His passion was like at the touch of stone or wood—such was the nature of Rāma Rāya at the touch of young women. 18 He served them, attributing to them the perception of 'that which is to be served'; and he attributed [to himself] the natural *bhāva* of a

11. Devakanyā: in some MSS the reading is *devadāsī* (cf. v. 36), both meaning female temple-servants, who sing and dance before the image of the deity. It is a Sahajiyā technique, and a technique of the Tantric tradition as a whole, to do away with sexual desire by constantly exposing it to temptation, the old homeopathic principle of "killing poison by poison" (see *PHM*, 52-54). The story is curious also for its contrast to that of Choṭa Haridāsa, whom Caitanya ostracized for the sin of merely conversing with an old woman. As will be seen, Caitanya not only accepts Rāmānanda's handling of these two young and beautiful girls, but praises him for it. This lends weight to the arguments of those who would claim that Sahajiyās, especially in the person of Rāmānanda, far from being abhorred by Caitanya, were accepted by him as genuine *sādhakas*, and again in the person of Rāmānanda, influenced him deeply. See commentary on v. 18 below. It is a point of considerable contention, however, and another position would claim that there is no sexual overtone to the incident at all, and that Rāmānanda was training the girls to perform in the dramas that he had composed.

12. "His own *nāṭaka*" was the *Jagannāthavallabha Nāṭaka*. Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out that there are many female characters in the drama; but it is likely that Rāmānanda was teaching them the songs to sing before the deity, not for the purpose of acting out the whole drama.

18. Svabhāvika: natural; *āropiyā, āropaṇa*: attribution, a technical Sahajiyā word, the "imposition" of the character of something on something else, though not in an illusory way (see *PHM*, 164); to the Sahajiyās, rather, it is a recognition of reality. One perceives a woman as Rādhā, for example, attributing the characteristics of Rādhā to that woman; here Rāmānanda perceives the girls as "that which is to be served," *sevyā*, i.e., Rādhā, and he perceives himself in his true nature as a woman. Having done this there is no possibility of sexual attraction. It has been pointed out before that in the Vraja-*līlā*, Rāmānanda is Lalitā, one of the most intimate companions of Rādhā.

[Another possibility is that Rāmānanda's practice is a forerunner to the *mañjarī-sādhana* which became so popular, especially among the Vaiṣṇava adepts of Vṛndāvana, including Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. Although more generally described as a *manasika* (mental) practice, *mañjarī-sādhana* conceives of the practitioner as a female servant of Rādhā or one of her friends. This passage may point to an early practice wherein these activities were acted out, not just performed in yogic-style *sādhana*, i.e., in one's perfected body, *siddha-deha*. It could well be that such differences ultimately led to the distinction of mainstream Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism from its "heterodox" counterpart, the Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyā. TKS]

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female servant. 19 The greatness of the *bhaktas* of Mahāprabhu is incomprehensible, and among them the *bhāva* of Rāmānanda reached the limits of *prema-bhakti*. 20 Then he taught the dances to those two, and acting out the deeper meaning of the songs. 21 [He taught them] the signs of the *sañcāri* and *sāttvika* and *sthāyi-bhāvas*, and how to manifest these in acting with expressions of eyes and mouth. 22 And that which Rāya taught them—the revealing of *bhāva* in the dance—both demonstrated that before Jagannātha. 23 Then he fed *prasāda* to them both, and sent them alone to their own place. 24 Each day Rāya would perform such *sādhana*. Does any mere *jīva* know [Rāya's] mind?

25 The servant told Rāya that Miśra had come, and then Rāmānanda quickly came to the court. 26 He greeted Miśra respectfully, and humbly said to him, 27 "You came a long time ago, but no one told me. It is my offence at your feet. 28 By your coming my house is purified. Command me; tell your servant what he should do." 29 Miśra said, "I have come to see you; and I have purified myself by the sight of you." 30 And Miśra looked for a long time, and said nothing at all; then bidding him farewell, Miśra went to his own house.

31 The next day Miśra came into the presence of Prabhu, and Prabhu said, "Did you hear stories of Kṛṣṇa from Rāya?" 32 Then Miśra told him the story of Rāmānanda, and when he heard it Mahāprabhu began to say, 33 "I am a *saṃnyāsin*, and I consider myself indifferent to the world. Not to speak of seeing one, if I so much as hear the name of a woman 34 my mind and body are altered; what man is steady, at the sight of a woman? 35 Hear, everyone, the story of Rāmānanda Rāya. It is not a story to be repeated; it is a matter of wonder. 36 They are *devadāsīs*, single, and young and beautiful, and he himself serves all their bodies. 37 He bathes them and the rest, and dresses them in clothes and jewels, and he sees and touches their hidden parts. 38 And still the heart of Rāmānanda Rāya is unaffected. He teaches them how to display the various passions, 39 and his body and his mind are unaffected, as if by stone

20. Many of the songs of the *nāṭaka* are capable of double interpretation; they can be read either as love songs or as religious songs. Rāya is teaching the girls to show by the stylized facial and manual gestures that the songs should be interpreted as religious.

21. See text and commentary to 2.2.62; 2.8.135; 2.19.154-55; and 2.23.31-32.

24. The use of the term *sādhana* implies that this was a part of the religious discipline of Rāmānanda. For *sādhana*, see commentary on vv. 18-20 above.

34. Vikāra: "altered," mind and body become unsteady.

35. "It is a matter which cannot be described completely."

38. Bhāva: "passions," here not the condition of religious transformation, but those *bhāvas*, *sthāyi* and the rest, which promote the experience of *rasa* in the esthetic sense.

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or wood; how wonderful that his heart is unaffected by the touch of a young woman. 40 This is within the power of Rāmānanda alone, and this I know—that his is a non-material body. 41 He alone knows the condition of his heart; there is no second vessel [able] to know it. 42 Let me make a guess, according to the example of the *śāstras*; of it there is proof in the Śrī *Bhāgavata śāstra*. 43 He who tells, or listens to, with faith, the *rāsa* and the other *vilāsas* of Kṛṣṇa with the women of Vraja, 44 at that time his sexual desire, the illness of his heart, is destroyed. He is not agitated by the three *guṇas*, and he is very calm. 45 He gains *prema-bhakti*, which is sweet and bright, and he always sports with the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa, in joy.

Śloka 3. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.33.39:

He who, with faith, listens constantly to the playing of Viṣṇu with the women of Vraja, and constantly describes it, quickly becomes steady, gains the highest *bhakti* to the *bhagavat*, and quickly rids himself of sexual passion, that disease of the heart.

46 Such are the fruits, for him who listens to or reads this; he who serves day and night is overcome with *bhāva*. 47 What can I say of the fruits of this; they cannot be described. His body is perfected, like one who is eternally perfected. 48 I know that Rāya's worship is in the *rāgānugā*-way; in it, as his body is perfected, there is no thought of women. 49 I listen to talk of Kṛṣṇa at the place of Rāya; if you have a desire to hear, go there again. 50 Take my name—that 'he has sent me here to listen to stories of Kṛṣṇa from you.' 51 Go quickly, while he is still in the court." And when he heard this, Pradyumna Miśra went immediately.

52 He went to meet Rāya, and Rāya greeted him, "Give me your command; why have you come?" 53 And Miśra said, "Mahāprabhu has sent me, that I

40. Like Haridāsa, Rāmānanda's body is perfected, made of *cit* and not the material *guṇas*; this being the case, he cannot be touched by the material *guṇas* (*prakṛti*, woman). It is not that Rāmānanda alone among Caitanya's *bhaktas* has a perfected body, that this type of *sādhana* is his alone. That of Haridāsa was the chanting of the name, etc. See also 3.4.168-72, 183-88.

42. I.e., "though only Rāmānanda really knows his own *bhāva*, let me try to deduce what it is like, basing my conclusions on the *śāstras*."

47. *Nitya-siddha*: eternally perfected; there are two types of perfected ones, those who are eternally perfected and eternally in the retinue of Kṛṣṇa, and those who become perfected, reaching that condition by *sādhana*; Rāmānanda is of the second type, and has reached a perfected condition.

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might listen to talk of Kṛṣṇa from you." 54 And when he heard this, Rāmānanda Rāya was overcome with *prema*, and, delighted in his heart, he began to speak. 55 "By the order of Prabhu you have come to hear of Kṛṣṇa; where shall I get greater good fortune than this?" 56 And so saying he took him to a private place and sat him down. "What do you wish to hear?" he asked Miśra. 57 And he replied, "What you spoke at Vidyānagara, tell me that step by step. 58 Not to speak of others, you are the instructor of Prabhu. I am a mendicant *brāhmaṇa*, and you are my protector. 59 I do not know enough to ask about right and wrong; seeing me as a humble man, be merciful, and speak what you think best." 60 Then Rāmānanda began to speak gradually, and as he spoke the ocean of the nectar of the *rasa* of the words of Kṛṣṇa began to rise. 61 He asked questions of himself, and then gave the answers; it was the third watch, and there was no end to his talk. 62 The two were sunk in *prema*, speaker and listener, speaking and hearing; there was no thought of self; how should they know that it was the end of the day? 63 The servant said, "The day has ended," and then Rāya stopped his talk of Kṛṣṇa and rested. 64 He bade farewell to Miśra, with great respect, and saying "I have been fulfilled," Miśra began to dance.

65 Returning to his house, Miśra bathed and ate, and in the evening came to see the feet of Prabhu. 66 With delighted heart he bowed to the feet of Prabhu, and Prabhu said, "Did you hear of Kṛṣṇa?" 67 And Miśra said, "Prabhu, he made me fulfilled; he drowned me in a sea of nectar of words of Kṛṣṇa. 68 Enough cannot be said of Rāmānanda Rāya; he is not human, he is full of the *rasa* of Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*. 69 Rāya said another thing to me, 'Do not consider that I am speaking of Kṛṣṇa. 70 Śrī Gauracandra speaks these words through my mouth. Whatever he makes me speak, I speak, like a *vīṇā*. 71 He preaches the words, and causes my mouth to speak them; who can know his *līlā* on the earth?' 72 All that sea of Kṛṣṇa-*rasa* that I heard, all that *rasa* cannot be perceived by Brahmā. 73 And you have made me drink such *rasa* that in birth after birth I will be sold at your feet." 74 Prabhu said, "Rāmānanda is a mine of humility; he puts that which is his own on the head of another. 75 That is the

57. The reference is to the conversation between Rāmānanda and Caitanya on the banks of the Godāvari, at Vidyānagara, during Caitanya's pilgrimage to the south; see 2.8.

67. There is sometimes no distinction between second and third persons in the past tense, and Miśra may be saying that Caitanya fulfilled him through the words of Rāmānanda.

70. Vīṇā: the stringed instrument; it plays what the musician makes it play. [There is, however, a popular double-reed wind-instrument of similar name, which may extend the metaphor more aptly. TKS]

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true nature of those who experience deeply—they deny their own qualities and speak of others."

76 Thus has been narrated a bit of the qualities of Rāmānanda Rāya, as he instructed Pradyumna Miśra. 77 Although he was a householder, Rāya was not controlled by the six *vargas*; although he was a man in the world, he gave instruction to a *saṃnyāsin*. 78 To manifest all these qualities of his, [Gaura] sent Miśra to listen to him. 79 Gaura knew well how to make manifest the qualities of a *bhakta*; by various tricks he made these qualities manifest, and so gained his own ends.

80 Hear, O *bhaktas*, of another aspect of the nature of Gaura, how he made evident the depths of his divine nature, 81 how in destroying the pride of *saṃnyāsins* and *paṇḍitas*, he manifested *dharma* through a low-born *śūdra*. 82 Rāya spoke of *prema* and the inner truths of *bhakti*, and he himself and Pradyumna Miśra were the listeners. 83 And through Sanātana [he manifested] the *vilāsa* of the perfection of *bhakti*, and through Haridāsa he manifested the greatness of the name. 84 Through Śrī Rūpa [he manifested] the *līlā* of the *prema-rasa* of Vraja; who can understand the profundities of the play of Caitanya? 85 The *līlā* of Caitanya is a sea of such nectar, of which a single drop can flood the three worlds. 86 So always drink the nectar of the actions of Caitanya, from which comes knowledge of the truths of *bhakti*, and the joy of *prema*.

87 In this way Mahāprabhu with his *bhaktas* sported at Nīlācala, propagating *bhakti*. 88 There was a *brāhmaṇa* of Vaṅga who had written a *nāṭaka* on the actions of Prabhu, and he brought it so that Prabhu could hear it. 89 He was acquainted with Bhagavān Ācārya, and meeting him there, he took up residence in his house. 90 First he read the *nāṭaka* to him, and many Vaiṣṇavas were there with him to listen. 91 And all praised it, [saying that] the *nāṭaka*

77. The six *vargas* are desire, anger, greed, enchantment, drunkenness, and malice. The implication is not that all householders are prey to these conditions, but that freedom from them is more usual in people of other *āśramas*, such as *saṃnyāsa*.

81. The "low-born *śūdra*" is Rāmānanda, a non-*brāhmaṇa*, whose devotion and depth of learning puts *saṃnyāsins* and *paṇḍitas* to shame. [The epithet is probably distributive indicating a recurring action on Caitanya's part, repeatedly effecting his end through Sanātana, Rūpa, Haridāsa, et al., none of whom were *brāhmaṇas*. TKS]

82. "He himself": Caitanya, as in the conversation at Vidyānagara.

83-84. Kṛṣṇadāsa probably means through the books that Sanātana and Rūpa wrote. For a list of these books, see 2.1.28-40; 3.4.208-22.

88. Vaṅga is the ancient name of the south-eastern region of the delta; it may by the time of this text have come to mean all of eastern Bengal. *Nāṭaka*: drama.

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was the greatest and best, and all thought that he should have Mahāprabhu hear it. 92 Whoever had written a song or a *śloka* or a book first brought it to Svarūpa for him to hear. 93 And if it got Svarūpa's approval, then it was read to Prabhu. 94 If there was an artificial *rasa*, or any opposition to the ultimate truths, Prabhu could not bear it, and became angry. 95 Thus Prabhu did not listen to anything first, and he stipulated this matter of correctness. 96 So the Ācārya petitioned Svarūpa, "A *brāhmaṇa* has written an excellent *nāṭaka* on Prabhu; 97 first you listen to it, and see if you like it. If you do, afterwards we shall have Mahāprabhu hear it." 98 Svarūpa said, "You are a most noble *gowāla*, and you have a desire to listen to all kinds of *śāstras*. 99 But in the words of indifferent poets there is seeming *rasa*, and it gives me no joy to listen to opposition to the truths. 100 Those who cannot discriminate between *rasa* and that which seems like *rasa* can never gain the shore of the sea of *bhakti-siddhānta*. 101 Those who do not know grammar, who do not know [poetic] ornamentation, and who know nothing of the ornamentation of drama, 102 such worthless people do not know how to describe the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*, and especially this Caitanya-*vihāra*, which is hard to grasp. 103 Only that man, the wealth of whose heart is the lotus of the feet of Gaura, can describe the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* and the Gaura-*līlā*. 104 It is misery to listen to the poetry of crude poets, as it is delight to listen to sincere poetry, full of true skill. 105 So Rūpa has

94. Rasābhāsa: artificial *rasa*, that which seems at first to be able to give the experience of *rasa*, but which on further examination is not able to do so because of inappropriate use of the *vibhāvas* and the rest.

96. The Ācārya: Bhagavan Ācārya.

98. Whether or not Bhagavān Ācārya was a cowherd by actual caste or not is open to question. His title, Ācārya, would suggest that he was really a *brāhmaṇa*, in which case Rādhāgovinda Nātha's contention that Svarūpa here means that Bhagavān Ācārya was a *gopa* in the Vraja-*līlā* would seem correct. [Bhagavān Ācārya is not listed by Kavikarṇapūra in *GGUD*. TKS]

100-102. Why those who are unskilled as poets are unable to describe the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* is a complicated matter, touched on in the *Introduction*. Essentially the reason seems to be Rūpa's notion, as put forward in his *UNM*, that if poetry is to transmit *rasa*, the poet must be skilled in building it up through the careful use of the *vibhāvas* and the rest, including ornamentation (*alaṃkāra*), and must allow no discordant note. So it is with *bhakti*; the *guru*, who is the artist, must conduct the *bhakta* through the various phases of *sādhana*, with use of *vibhāvas* and the rest, to allow the condition of *sthāyibhāva* to be transformed into religious *rasa*. In order to describe the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*, one must one's self have tasted the *rasa* of it; otherwise discord will creep in unbeknownst to the poet, and the experience of *rasa* will not be gained. See Dimock, "On Religious and Esthetic Experience" in *The Sound of Silent Guns*, 11-20.

104. Vidagdha ātmīya-kāvya: "sincere . . . skill"; Rādhāgovinda Nātha describes *ātmīya* as Kṛṣṇa, indwelling (*ātmā*) in all things.

105. The two dramas are *Vidagdhamādhava* and *Lalitamādhava* described in 3.1.

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started two *nāṭakas*, and in listening to their introductions of them, delight grows."

106 Bhagavān Ācārya said, "Hear it once; when you hear it you will decide it is good or bad." 107 Thus the Ācārya persisted for several days, and giving in to his insistence, Svarūpa consented to listen. 108 With all of them, Svarūpa Gosvāmī sat to listen, and the poet read the *nāndī-śloka*:

Śloka 4. [the *brāhmaṇa*'s verse]:
Making conscious the endless world, which is naturally inert, he has attained to selfhood in the clear-lotus-eyed, golden-hued body called Jagannātha. The *ātmā* of Jaganātha has appeared in this world; may that Kṛṣṇa Caitanya be auspicious to you.

109 When they heard the *śloka*, all the people praised it, but Svarūpa said, "Explain this *śloka*." 110 And the poet said, "Jagannātha is the body, which is beautiful, and Caitanya is the most serene body-essence in it. 111 By his nature he brings consciousness to the inert world, and Mahāprabhu has appeared at Nīlācala." 112 When they heard this, the minds of all were pleased; but Svarūpa was not happy, and he said in an angry voice, 113 "You are a fool! You have ruined yourself completely. You have no faith that these both are Īśvara. 114 Jagannātha Rāya is full *ānanda*, and his true form is *cit*; you have made him inert, transitory, and material in body. 115 Caitanya is *svayaṃ bhagavān*, full of the six divine qualities, and you have made him a mere *jīva*, like a spark to fire. 116 For this offence against them both you will gain misery; this is the reward of those who describe the truths without knowing them. 117 You have made another serious error, for in separating the body from the essence of the body in the case of Īśvara, you have offended. 118 In Īśvara there is never separation of body and essence; the body of the *svarūpa* is *cit* and *ānanda*, and there is no separation.

110. Śarīrī: "body-essence," that which animates and gives consciousness to the body which, made up of matter, is by its nature inert and unconscious.

113. Both Caitanya and Jagannātha are one single Kṛṣṇa-*svarūpa*.

115. This couplet has two meanings. First, the *jīva* is a mere part of Bhagavān, as a spark is a mere part of the fire; and Caitanya is the full fire, full Bhagavān. And secondly, only in the *jīva* are the body and soul, *śarīra* and *śarīrī*, separated; in Īśvara the two are the same, made up of *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*. To imply that Caitanya is one and Jagannātha the other is to make Caitanya a *jīva*. See also v. 117 and v. 188 below.

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Śloka 5. *Kūrma Purāṇa* 5.342:
In Īśvara there is never a division between body and essence.

Ślokas 6-7. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.9.3-4:
6 O highest one beyond everything, your *svarūpa* is open, void of divisions, and pure *ānanda*, and I do not see divisions within it. O *ātman*, I take refuge in this form, creator of the universe but separate from the universe, the soul of all elements and senses, the One. 7 O beneficent to the world, worship of you is the source of auspiciousness, and in meditation that form is certainly revealed by you; O Bhagavān, I make obeisance to you by serving you; by those who associate with false people and by the hell-bound, you are not worshiped.

119 Where is Kṛṣṇa, full of *ānanda* and of divine glory, the lord of *māyā*; and where is the miserable, insignificant *jīva*, the slave of *māyā*?"

Śloka 8. Śrīdhara Svāmin's *Bhāvārthadīpikā* commentary on *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.7.6:
Īśvara, embraced by *hlādinī* and *saṃvit* [*śaktis*], is *sat*, *cit* and *ānanda*; but the *jīva*, covered by ignorance of himself, is subject to many kinds of pain.

120 When they heard this, the minds of the assembly were astonished, "Gosvāmī speaks the truth; he has insulted them both." 121 When he heard this the poet was surprised and ashamed and afraid; he was like a heron in the midst of swans; and he said nothing more.

122 Seeing his misery, Svarūpa's heart became compassionate, and he gave him instruction that would be of benefit to him, 123 "Go, read the *Bhāgavata* in the place of Vaiṣṇavas, and single-mindedly take refuge at the feet of Caitanya. 124 Associate always with *bhaktas* of Caitanya, and then you will know the wave of the sea of perfection. 125 Then will your learning be fruitful, and you will describe flawlessly the *svarūpa-līlā* of Kṛṣṇa. 126 You wrote this *śloka*, and got satisfaction from it; but the interpretation which is in your heart attaches flaws to both. 127 You speak this and that, not knowing the proper usages; Sarasvatī

Śloka 6. See 2.25.*śl.*4.
Śloka 7. See 2.25.*śl.*6.
Śloka 8. See 2.18.*śl.*8.
126-127. The question is one of motivation; the *śloka* itself was good, but the interpretation faulty. Sarasvatī the goddess of learning would interpret the same *śloka* differently, finding in it truth.

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with those very words has praised [him]. 128 As Indra and the *daityas* rebuked Kṛṣṇa, so with those very words Sarasvatī praised him.

Śloka 9. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.25.5:
Taking refuge in this mortal Kṛṣṇa—this talkative, childish, rude, ignorant Kṛṣṇa who thinks he is learned—the *gopas* have done an insulting thing to me.

129 Indra was a like a rut elephant, mad drunken with his divine power; his judgment was destroyed, and he was not restrained. 130 Indra said, 'I have insulted Kṛṣṇa,' but through his mouth Sarasvatī was praising him. 131 He said '*vācāla*,' 'talkative' [but she meant] 'blessed propagator of the Vedas'; '*bāliśa*,' 'childish' [meant] 'like a child, devoid of pride'; 132 '*stabdha*,' 'rude' [meant] 'commendably meek,' and '*ajñā*,' 'ignorant,' 133 '*paṇḍitamāninam*,' 'who thinks he is learned,' meant 'than whom there is none more learned,' and 'mortal' is that he is considered as human, in the affection of his *bhaktas*. 134 Jarāsandha said that Kṛṣṇa is a 'vile man, I will not fight with you, you are a slayer of friends.' 135 'All men are lower than whom'—this was the interpretation of '*puruṣādhama*' in the mind of Sarasvatī. 136 And '*bandhu*,' 'friend,' is the ignorance by which all people are bound; so the term '*bandhuhan*,' 'slayer of friends,' means 'he who destroys ignorance.' 137 In this same way, when Śiśupāla insulted him, Sarasvatī with those very words praised him. 138 So in this *śloka* your meaning comes out as insult; but listen to Sarasvatī's meaning, by which praise comes: 139 Jagannātha is the *svarūpa* of the *ātmā* of Kṛṣṇa, though here he is a wooden *brahma*, whose *svarūpa* is immobile. 140 But there is identity with him, being of one form: Kṛṣṇa is a single truth, but his *rūpa*

128. The setting of the *śloka* is that Kṛṣṇa has just disturbed a sacrifice to Indra, and Indra vilifies him in this way. The *daitya* (*asura*) referred to is Jarāsandha, who appears in v. 134 below.

133. The Sanskrit is "*paṇḍitamāninam*," either "one who considers himself as wise or learned," or "honored (*māninam*) by wise and learned men (*paṇḍita*)." *Martyam*: "mortal."

134. *BhP* 10.50.17: "O Kṛṣṇa, lowest of men, you are a boy, and I am ashamed to fight with boys . . . you are a slayer of friends."

137. *BhP* 10.74.34-37.

139. The phrase is "*śrījagannāthasaṃjñe ātmani*," which is read here as "with Jagannātha, whose true form is *ātmā*," the *ātmā* of Kṛṣṇa; thus there is no separation between Kṛṣṇa and Jagannātha. *Ātmā* is also *brahma*, appearing here as a wooden, immobile (*sthāvara*) image. Jagannātha is the only major deity in northeast India made of wood, i.e., the Dāru Brahma.

140. The two forms are Jagannātha and Caitanya.

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has two forms. 141 The source of the salvation of the world is in that power of desire, and combined with it, that identity which is gained, 142 saves all the people of the world. Thus he made *avatāra* in the form of the moving creature Gaura. 143 By *darśana* of Jagannātha, *saṃsāra* is cut away; but all people of all countries are not able to come here. 144 So Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya Gosvāmī goes from country to country, and as a moving *brahma* he saves all people. 145 This is Sarasvatī's meaning. And you are fortunate, that you have made such a description. 146 For while insulting Kṛṣṇa, you uttered his name, and that name is the cause of freedom." 147 Then that poet fell at the feet of the assembly, and holding grass in his teeth he took refuge with them all. 148 Then all the *bhaktas* embraced him, and speaking of his qualities they brought him to Mahāprabhu. 149 That poet abandoned everything and remained at Nīlācala. Who can describe the mercy of the *bhaktas* of Gaura?

150 Thus has been told the story of Pradyumna Miśra, who at the command of Prabhu went to hear talk of Kṛṣṇa. 151 And within that the greatness of Rāmānanda has been described with the holy mouth itself. 152 And getting the opportunity, I spoke of the *nāṭaka* of the poet, who, being ignorant, in his faith gained the feet of Prabhu. 153 The *līlā* of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya is pure nectar, and hundreds and hundreds of streams flow in the current of a single *līlā*. 154 Those who, being faithful, hear about this *līlā*, they know the true essence of the *rasa* of the *bhaktas* and *bhakti* of the Gaura-*līlā*.

155 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

141. Icchāśakti: power of desire, by which power Kṛṣṇa is aware of a desire to save the world. Being thus aware, he manifests himself in Puri as Jagannātha.

142. But Jagannātha is immobile, so Kṛṣṇa also manifests himself as Caitanya, who moves from place to place with that same purpose.

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Antya Līlā
Chapter 6

Śloka 1.

Who saved Raghunātha Dāsa indirectly from the darkness of the well of a lustrous house, by his qualities of mercy, and presented him to Svarūpa, making him most dear—I take refuge in that Kṛṣṇa Caitanya.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 In this way Gauracandra lived with his *bhaktas*, and with various kinds of sport made various *līlās* in Nīlācala. 3 Even though in his heart he was pained because of separation from Kṛṣṇa, he did not show it outwardly, for fear of giving sorrow to his *bhaktas*. 4 But when the sorrow of separation became unbearable, it showed itself, and then the derangement of Prabhu cannot be described. 5 Rāmānanda's stories of Kṛṣṇa, and the songs of Svarūpa—these saved the life of Prabhu, in the anguish of his *viraha*. 6 In the day, Prabhu was distracted by the company of many people, but in the nighttime the anguish of his separation grew. 7 For the sake of his contentedness, two remained with him, and gave him solace with songs and *ślokas* of Kṛṣṇa-*rasa*. 8 As formerly Subala had been the companion who made Kṛṣṇa happy, so Rāma Rāya served

3. It is from this point on that the divine madness of Caitanya becomes increasingly evident, his Rādhā-nature gradually asserting greater dominance.

4. *Vaikalya*: derangement.

8. In the Vraja-*līlā*, Subala dispelled Kṛṣṇa's misery in his separation from Rādhā by arranging for their union. Rādhāgovinda Nātha hastens to point out that in Kavikarṇapūra's *GGUD* 128, it is Gaurīdāsa who is said to be Subala in the Vraja *līlā*, and Rāmānanda Rāya is Lalitā (vv. 120-24). Kṛṣṇadāsa's is probably not a theological statement, but merely an analogy, that Rāya's function here was like that of Subala, as in the next couplet.

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to give happiness to Gaura. 9 And as formerly Lalitā had been the chief companion of Rādhā, so Svarūpa Gosvāmī sustained the life of Mahāprabhu. 10 The good fortune of these two cannot be told, for people sang of them as the intimates of Prabhu. 11 In this way Gaura sported with his *bhaktas*. Now hear, O *bhaktas*, of the meeting with Raghunātha.

12 Formerly, when Raghunātha had come to Śāntipura, Mahāprabhu, being merciful, had taught him. 13 Under the teaching of Prabhu, he went to his own home, and abandoning his false asceticism, he became like a man living in the world. 14 Inwardly he was an ascetic, but outwardly he did all the duties of his station, and seeing that, the hearts of his mother and father were overjoyed. 15 When he got the news that Prabhu had returned from Mathurā, he made preparations to go to Prabhu's side.

16 At that time there was a *mleccha* overlord of the *muluka*; he was *caudhurī* of the *muluka* of Saptagrāma. 17 Hiraṇyadāsa took the *muluka* through an agreement; his control was destroyed, and seeing that, he died. 18 He had realized twenty lakhs, and gave twelve lakhs to the king. That Turk got nothing

9. As in v. 8, Lalitā was one of the dearest friends of Rādhā in the Vraja-*līlā*, and comforted her in her anxiety during separation from Kṛṣṇa. Again, the *GGUD* 160 says that Svarūpa is Viśākhā in the Vraja-*līlā*, and the statement here may not be doctrinal or it may simply reflect an alternate interpretation. Regardless of the specific identities, the theological implication that Caitanya is Rādhā in this suffering of separation is clear.

12. See 2.16.235-37.

16. *Adhikārī*: overlord; *muluka*: kingdom, is again not the whole of Bengal, but an area perhaps made up of several districts. It has been seen before that Raghunātha's father and uncle were prominent in the court which ran the *muluka* of Saptagrāma, which would have covered most of modern Hugli, Howrah, Calcutta, and Twenty-four Parganas districts. *Caudhurī* was a title.

17. Saptagrāma was a provincial capital of the Muslim government of Bengal; there was a mint there. The Muslim rulers of Bengal did not at this time fully accept the Moghul government centered at Delhi, and did not always pay the taxes which had been imposed. This was also true at a later date, when the deficiency of the government of Alivardi Khān in this regard led indirectly to the Maratha invasions of Bengal; see *Mahārāshṭa Purāṇa*, pp. ix, n. 2. Also at this time, a distinguished *kāyastha* family, the family of Raghunātha Dāsa, was rising in power in the local government. This family seems to have sought an arrangement whereby the Saptagrāma-*muluka* would have come under their control, in return for a tax settlement; this settlement was twelve lakhs of rupees, eight lakhs less than had been assessed, and the former Muslim governor was also ousted, receiving nothing from the new arrangement. It was the Muslim *adhikārī* whose "control was destroyed"; he did not really die—the expression in Bengali is merely hyperbole, indicating extreme affliction, or in this case anger.

18. Hiraṇyagarbha and Govarddhana had an income of twenty lakhs, and their tax agreement was only for twelve, and out of this, the "Turk," the Muslim *caudhurī*, got nothing. He might well have been a Turk or an Afghan, many of whom were in the Bengal government at the time.

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at all, and he became an enemy. 19 He brought an *ujīr*, and submitted a detailed account to the palace. Hiraṇya the *majumdāra* fled, but [the Turk] captured Raghunātha. 20 Every day he ordered Raghunātha, "Bring your father and uncle here; if not you will suffer." 21 But when he brought Raghunātha to be beaten, and looked at him, his mind was changed, and he could not have him beaten. 22 Especially because of his *kāyastha* estate, he was afraid in his heart; with his mouth he roared and rumbled, but inwardly he was afraid to have him beaten. 23 Then Raghunātha devised a plan, and humbly he said at the feet of that *mleccha*, 24 "My father and uncle are like your two brothers, and brother is always fighting with brother. 25 Sometimes they fight and sometimes they are affectionate; there is no consistency to it. Tomorrow you three brothers will again be together. 26 As I am to my father, so I am your son; I am in your charge, and you are my protector. 27 The protector should not chastise him who is protected. You know all the *śāstras*, and are like a *zindā-pīr*." 28 When he heard this, that *mleccha*'s heart became soft; he began to weep, and the tears rolled down drenching his beard. 29 The *mleccha* said, "From today you are my son. I shall free you today by some stratagem." 30 And having spoken with the *ujīr*, he released Raghunātha, and he said lovingly to Raghunātha, 31 "Your uncle is foolish; he has appropriated eight lakhs; I also am a brother, and he ought to give me some. 32 You go and bring your uncle to me. Let him do that which is good; I have given the burden to him." 33 So Raghunātha brought that uncle to him; he came to terms with the *mleccha*, and all was peaceful.

34 In this way a year passed for Raghunātha, and in his second year he decided to run away. 35 He rose up in the night and fled away alone, but some

19. The *ujīr* (= *wazir*) was an accountant or lawyer, and he made a detailed account (*kaifiyat*) of the discrepancy of eight lakhs to the court of the Nabāb. The Nabāb either commissioned the *caudhurī* to arrest the two brothers, or sent someone else to do so. They evidently found only Raghunātha in the house.

22. Why the *caudhurī* should have feared Raghunātha because he was a *kāyastha* is not entirely clear. It is true that his family had been powerful and influential, but his immediate relatives had fallen from favor. One explanation might be in the notion of *samāja*, the caste organization of the *kāyasthas*. Many local Muslim governments depended on *kāyasthas* for the work of the court, taxes, etc., and it may have been that the *caudhurī*, or even the Nabāb, was afraid that if he offended a member of this prominent family, the rest would obstruct the work of government. See Inden, *MRBC*, 22, 45-47, 77-78.

27. In the Sufi tradition, a *zindā-pīr* is one who is perfected while he is still living.

29. Though Raghunātha was in the hands of the *caudhurī*, his capture had been ordered by the Nabāb. The *caudhurī* obviously cannot free him without the Nabāb's permission.

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distance away his father caught him and brought him back. 36 In this way he ran away again and again, and was caught and brought back, and finally his mother said to his father, 37 "Our son has become mad; tie him up and keep him." And his father, much aggrieved, said to her, 38 "He has wealth and power like Indra, and a wife like a celestial nymph; all these are not able to bind his heart. 39 How can we keep him bound with ropes? Fathers can beget sons, but cannot wipe away the effects of previous births. 40 The grace of Caitanyacandra is on him; who can restrain the madness of Caitanyacandra?"

41 Then Raghunātha reflected somberly, and the next day he went to the side of Nityānanda Gosvāmī. 42 He gained sight of Prabhu in Pānihāṭīgrāma, and with him were many *kīrtanīyā*-servants. 43 He was sitting on a *piṇḍi*, at the foot of a tree on the banks of the Gaṅgā, like a crore of rising suns. 44 He was surrounded by many *bhaktas*, above and below; and when he saw the glory of Prabhu, Raghunātha was astonished. 45 At some distance, he fell to the earth in obeisance, and a servant said, "Raghunātha is bowing to you." 46 When he heard that, Prabhu said, "Hey, thief! Show yourself! Come here, come here! Today I shall punish you!" 47 So Prabhu summoned him, but he would not come near. So he was dragged there, and he took the feet of Prabhu on his head.

48 By nature Nityānanda was playful and compassionate, and he said kindly to Raghunātha, 49 "You do not come near me; you stay at a distance. But now I have caught you, and will punish you. 50 Have prepared for my people a meal of curd and *ciḍā*." And when he heard this, the heart of Raghunātha was overjoyed. 51 Immediately he sent his own people to the village, and all the people brought articles of food from the village. 52 *Ciḍā* and curd and milk and *sandeśa* sweets and sugar and plantains, all these they brought and spread out all around before Prabhu. 53 Virtuous *brāhmaṇas*, hearing the word "*mahotsava*" began

37, 40. Vātula: mad.

44. It is usual, especially on formal occasions, for people to sit according to social rank. It may well be that here the meaning is that people were sitting everywhere, regardless of custom.

46. That Nityānanda was a rather playful individual has been seen on several occasions, and it may well be that this is a playful insult. The reference to Raghunātha as a thief harks back to the conduct of his family noted above. Rādhāgovinda Nātha claims a deeper meaning for it however: as the thief appropriates the wealth of another for himself, so Raghunātha has stolen away the love of Caitanya from others of his followers.

50. Ciḍā: rice which has been soaked, parched, and flattened.

53. I.e., the word had spread that there was to be a great feast (*mahotsava*).

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to come, and people in uncountable numbers. 54 They requested articles of food from still other villages, and several hundred *holanā*-pots were brought there. 55 Five or seven huge *mṛtkuṇḍikā*s were brought, and in them a *brāhmaṇa* soaked *ciḍā* for Prabhu. 56 In one place he was soaking the *ciḍā* with hot milk, and half of it he mixed with curd and sugar and plantains, 57 and the other half he mixed with thickened milk, and put into it *cāmpākalā* and sugar and *ghi* and camphor.

58 When Prabhu, wearing a dhoti, sat down on the *piṇḍi*, the *brāhmaṇa* placed seven large earthen pots before him. 59 As many of Prabhu's own people as there were in the place, all these very great people sat down in a circle. 60 There were Rāmadāsa Ṭhākura, and Sundarānanda Dāsa, and Gaṅgādhara, Murāri Kamalākara, Sadāśiva, and Purandara, 61 Dhanañjaya, Jagadīśa, Parameśvara Dāsa, Maheśa, Gaurīdāsa, and Hoḍa Kṛṣṇadāsa, 62 Uddhāraṇa Datta, and many others of his own people; all these sat around, and who can count them all? 63 When they heard of it, *paṇḍita*s and *bhaṭṭācārya*s, and many *brāhmaṇa*s came, and honoring them, Prabhu seated them around everybody. 64 He had put before the assembly two *mṛtkuṇḍikā*s each; in one was milk-*ciḍā* and in the other curd-*ciḍā*. 65 There were as many people as there could be in the place, and uncounted numbers sitting in the circle. 66 And to each person, two *holanā*s were given; one was for soaking *ciḍā* in milk, and the other for soaking *ciḍā* in curd. 67 Some of the *brāhmaṇa*s did not get a place around [the circle], and they went to the bank of the Gaṅgā, and soaked *ciḍā* in the two *holanā*s. 68 And there were many people who did not find a place on the bank either,

54. Evidently there was insufficient food in Pānihāṭī to feed the crowd; *holanā*: an earthen container in which *ciḍā* is soaked in milk.

55. Mṛtkuṇḍikā: earthen dishes.

57. Cāmpākalā: a kind of banana.

58. Kuṇḍī: very large earthen containers or pots. *Dhuti pari*: "Wearing a dhoti"; perhaps Kṛṣṇadāsa has emphasized this otherwise unremarkable fact because an *avadhūta* would not normally wear much more than a loincloth

62-63. [The precise meaning of "*upare*," translated here as "around" (lit., "above"), is not altogether clear. The standard procedure would be to seat those of highest status closeby and in the first rank, then seating others farther away or in successive ranks. "*Upare*" has the extended meaning of "additionally" which is suggestive here of concentric rows of *brāhmaṇas*, *paṇḍita*s, etc. Kṛṣṇadāsa and other Vaiṣṇava writers are fond of redefining social rank within the Vaiṣṇava community according to devotion rather than birth, which is consistent with this assembly, seated as it is in rings, appropriately creating a temporary *maṇḍala* (vv. 65, 67 below). TKS] It is also true that because of the size of the crowd, people were distributed helter skelter (vv. 65-69 below), which would be consistent for those outside the graded ranks of the *bhaktas* in the inner circle.

68. Cipiṭaka: flattened rice.

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and they got down into the water and ate *cipiṭaka* and curd. 69 Some were above, and some below, and some on the banks of the Gaṅgā; and twenty people served in these three places.

70 At that time Rāghava Paṇḍita came to that place, and seeing it he was astonished, and began to laugh. 71 He had brought various kinds of *niskaḍi-prasāda*, and he placed them before Prabhu, and distributed them to the *bhaktas*. 72 He said to Prabhu, "For your sake I have had many food-offerings made. Now enjoy these, and keep the *prasāda* in your house." 73 Prabhu said, "I shall eat these articles in the day, and at night I shall eat the *prasāda* at your house. 74 I am a *gopa* in *jāti*, and am here with all these other *gopas*; I get happiness in the fun of eating here on the riverbank." 75 So he sat Rāghava down, and had him given two pots, and Rāghava soaked the two kinds of *ciḍā* in them.

76 When all the people were full of *ciḍā*, Prabhu, in meditation, summoned Mahāprabhu. 77 Mahāprabhu came, and seeing him Nitāi arose, and with him began to look to the *ciḍā* of everyone. 78 And smiling, he put into the mouth of Mahāprabhu one mouthful from each of the *kuṇḍīs* and *holanās*. 79 And smiling, Mahāprabhu put another mouthful into his mouth and, both laughing, made him eat it. 80 In this way Nityānanda moved around the whole circle, and all the Vaiṣṇavas attentively watched this game. 81 Why he moved around the circle no one knew, for no one was fortunate enough to see Mahāprabhu. 82 Then Nityānanda came back and sat on his seat, and he placed four *kuṇḍīs* of *āroyā ciḍā* on his right. 83 Giving him a seat, he seated Mahāprabhu, and the two brothers then began to eat the *ciḍā*. 84 Seeing this, Nityānanda Prabhu was overjoyed, and he showed himself controlled by various emotions. 85 Then he commanded, "Say 'Hari' and eat," and the sound "Hari, Hari!" arose and

71. Niskaḍi: mixtures made of fruits, roots, etc.

74. In the Vraja-*līlā*, Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma with all the cowherd boys used to picnic on the banks of the river.

76. I.e., when they had all been served.

78-79. [That Nityānanda and Mahāprabhu feed each other is suggestive on several counts. Socially this act makes Nityānanda equivalent, although not necessarily equal, to Caitanya, a position consistent with the beliefs of many devotees, and with Kṛṣṇadāsa's own special relationship to Nityānanda. Theologically this exchange is suggestive of Nityānanda's special relationship to Caitanya as the *bhakta-svarūpa* of the *pañca-tattva*, which itself is indicative of the symbiotic relationship of devotee to lord. TKS]

82. Āroyā-ciḍā: *ciḍā* which had been dried by the sun.

84. Āveśa: controlled or possessed; *bhāva*: emotion.

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filled the world. 86 Saying "Hari, Hari!" the Vaiṣṇavas ate, and they all remembered the feast on the riverbank.

87 Nityānanda Prabhu is noble, and full of great mercy; he did all these things for the good fortune of Raghunātha. 88 Who can know the glorious mercy of Nityānanda; he brought Mahāprabhu to the feast on the riverbank. 89 Śrī Rāmadāsa and the other *gopa*s were overcome with *prema*, and they knew the bank of the Gaṅgā to be the Yamunā-beach. 90 Hearing of the great feast, grocers from villages around brought *ciḍā* and curd and *sandeśa* sweets and plantains to sell. 91 As many articles as they brought, they sold for great price; they took the money for the articles, and were fed with those very things [which they had sold]. 92 And all the people who had come out of curiosity, they too ate *ciḍā* and curd and bananas. 93 After he had eaten, Nityānanda cleansed his mouth, and what remained in the four *kuṇḍī*s he gave to Raghunātha. 94 And what remained in the other three *kuṇḍikā*s, mouthful by mouthful the *brāhmaṇa*s gave to all the *bhakta*s. 95 The *brāhmaṇa*s brought a flower-garland and put it before Prabhu, and brought sandalwood paste and anointed the whole body of Prabhu. 96 The servant brought *tāmbūla* and presented it to him, and Prabhu chewed it smiling. 97 The garlands and sandalwood and *tāmbūla* that remained, Prabhu with his own holy hands distributed to all. 98 Raghunātha was overjoyed, receiving the remnants from Prabhu, and dividing it among his own people, he ate with them. 99 Thus has been told the sport of Nityānanda, and it has become famous as the "*ciḍādadhi-mahotsava*."

100 So Prabhu rested, and when the day was done, he began *kīrtana* at the *mandira* of Rāghava. 101 Nityānanda Rāya had all the *bhakta*s dance; and finally he too danced and flooded the world with *prema*. 102 Mahāprabhu watched his dance; everyone watched Nityānanda, but did not see anyone else. 103 The dance of Nityānanda was like his own: there is nothing in the three worlds to compare to it. 104 Who is able to describe the beauty of the dance, that dance which Mahāprabhu came to see? 105 When he had finished his dance, Prabhu took rest; and when it was time to eat, the *paṇḍita* requested him [to eat].

86. The expression "*haila smaraṇa*" is literally "recalled" or "remembered," i.e., remembered when, as Kṛṣṇa and the *gopa*s, they had eaten together on the bank of the Yamunā.

100. The house of Rāghava Paṇḍita.

102. I.e., they did not see Caitanya.

103. "Like his own": i.e., it can be compared only to itself; or like that of Caitanya, who is mentioned in the previous couplet.

105. "The *paṇḍita*": Rāghava Paṇḍita.

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106 Prabhu with his own people sat down to eat, and he spread a seat for Mahāprabhu on his right. 107 Mahāprabhu came and sat on the seat, and when he saw this, delight grew in the heart of Rāghava. 108 He brought and placed *prasāda* before the two brothers, and afterwards he served all the Vaiṣṇavas. 109 Various kinds of *piṭhā* and *pāyasa*, and heavenly *śāli* rice, and so many kinds of preparations, putting nectar to shame, 110 this was the *prasāda* of Rāghava Ṭhākura, the essence of nectar, and again and again Mahāprabhu came to eat of it. 111 When Rāghava had cooked and made a food offering, he spread a separate offering for Mahāprabhu. 112 And each day Mahāprabhu ate there, and sometimes Prabhu gave him *darśana*. 113 Rāghava brought [the food] and served the two brothers; with great care he made them eat everything, so that nothing remained. 114 He brought how many offerings I do not know; in the house of Rāghava Rādhā Ṭhākurāṇī [herself] cooked. 115 For she had received a boon from Durvāsā, that what she cooked would be sweeter than nectar. 116 The *prasāda* was beautiful and sweet-smelling, the essence of sweetness, and in eating it the two brothers had unparalleled joy. 117 Everyone told Raghunātha to sit down and eat, but the *paṇḍita* said that he would eat afterwards. 118 So the *bhaktas* ate their fill, and raising the sound of "Hari" they got up and rinsed their mouths. 119 The two brothers also rinsed their mouths, and Rāghava brought garlands and sandalwood and put these on them. 120 He gave them *biḍā* to eat, and bowed to their feet, and to the *bhaktas* he gave *biḍā*, and garlands and sandalwood. 121 And Rāghava was very gracious to Raghunātha, and he gave him the leaves with the leftovers of the two brothers. 122 He said, "Caitanya Gosvāmī has eaten of this; if you take the remnants, your bonds will be broken. 123 For he always dwells in the hearts of *bhaktas*, and in the houses of *bhaktas*. Sometimes he is hidden, and sometimes he is manifest: he is the

115. Rādhā had been granted a boon by Durvāsā, the *ṛṣi*, that whatever she cooked would taste like nectar, and that whoever should eat of it would gain long life. The story is that because of this, Yaśodā fed Kṛṣṇa Rādhā's cooking whenever she could, and that this is one of the reasons Kṛṣṇa fell in love with her. [This may also be an oblique reference to Rāghava Paṇḍita's wife, Damayantī, who lovingly prepared special foods for Caitanya. These foods, which seemed to be the favorite of Caitanya, were carted to Puri annually with the devotees making their pilgrimage to the Car Festival. According to Kṛṣṇadāsa, not only were the foods elaborate and expensive, but were prepared with a keen eye to their Ayurvedic properties which especially pleased Caitanya; see below 3.10.12-38. TKS]

120. Biḍā: pan.

123. Svatantra: self-dependent.

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self-dependent Bhagavān. 124 Prabhu pervades everything, and he is always dwelling in everything; and he who doubts this is destroyed."

125 In the morning Nityānanda Prabhu bathed in the Gaṅgā, and he sat with his own people at the foot of that tree. 126 Raghunātha came and bowed to his feet, and entreated him through Rāghava Paṇḍita, 127 "I am a low, mean, insignificant *jīva*; it is my desire to gain the feet of Caitanya. 128 It is like a dwarf wanting to catch the moon; with great care I have planned many times to go, but I have never succeeded. 129 As often as I have fled, abandoning my home and everything, my mother and father have caught and bound me. 130 Except for your grace no one gains Caitanya; but if you are gracious, even wretched people gain him. 131 I am unworthy, and fear to entreat you; but, Gosvāmī, be merciful. Grant me Caitanya. 132 Give me grace, and let me take your feet upon my head, and bless me [saying], 'Without obstacles you will gain Caitanya.'" 133 When he heard this Prabhu smiled and said to all the *bhaktas*, "His wealth in worldly possessions is like the wealth of Indra. 134 But by the grace of Caitanya he has no pleasure in them. All of you give him your blessings, that he gain the feet of Caitanya. 135 He who gains the perfume of the lotus-feet of Kṛṣṇa, he finds no pleasure in Brahma-loka and the rest."

Śloka 2. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 5.14.43:

He, exalted, ardent for the illustrous one, even while a youth, abandoned like dirt his friends and kingdom, and his wife and son, which are dear to his heart and hard to leave.

136 Then Prabhu had word sent to Raghunātha. Placing his feet upon his head he began to say, 137 "When you had prepared that feast on the river-bank, Caitanya himself came, being merciful to you. 138 And being gracious he ate of the milk and *cipīṭa*, and he watched the dance, and in the night he ate *prasāda*. 139 Gaura himself came, that he might save you, and he has cut away all your obstacles and bonds. 140 He will present you to Svarūpa, and having made you an intimate servant, he will keep you at his feet. 141 So be certain of this, and go to your own home, and quickly, and without difficulty, and you will gain

126. Raghunātha never addresses Nityānanda directly, but always through some intermediary.

130. This statement is more than honorific hyperbole, for as Ananta, Nityānanda provides the *dhāma*, i.e., the landscape, its inhabitants, etc. around Kṛṣṇa, through which one gains access to him.

Śloka 2. See 2.23.*śl.*12.

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the feet of Caitanya." 142 So all the *bhaktas* gave him their blessings, and Raghunātha bowed to the feet of them all.

143 He took leave of Prabhu and of the Vaiṣṇavas, and met in private with Rāghava. 144 And having consulted with him, he gave in private one hundred gold *mudrās* and seven *tolās* of gold into the hand of the store-keeper of Prabhu. 145 And he warned him, "Do not speak of this to Prabhu now. When he goes to his own house, then tell him of it." 146 Then Rāghava Paṇḍita took him to his house, and gave him *darśana* of his *ṭhākura*, and gave him garlands and sandal. 147 And he gave him much *prasāda* to eat on the road, and again Raghunātha said to the *paṇḍita*, 148 "All the servants and those who are dependent, who are with Prabhu, I want to honor the feet of all of them. 149 So give [each] twenty, fifteen, twelve, ten, five *mudrās*, having decided who is worthy of what." 150 He wrote it all out and presented it to Rāghava, and Rāghava wrote out how much would be given, against the name of each. 151 He placed with humility before the *paṇḍita* one hundred *mudrās* and two *tolās* of gold. 152 And taking the dust of his feet he came to his own house. By the grace of Nityānanda he considered himself fulfilled. 153 From that time, he did not go within the house, but went to the *durgā-maṇḍapa*, which was outside, and lay there. 154 There were guards there who remained awake; and he thought of many plans for escape.

155 At that time all the Gaura-*bhaktas* from Gauḍa were going to Nīlācala to see Prabhu. 156 Raghunātha was not able to go with them all; in a group as evident and famous he would certainly be caught. 157 One day it happened that while he was thinking in this way, lying in the *devī-maṇḍapa* outside, 158 when there were four *daṇḍas* left in the night, Yadunandana Ācārya entered. 159 He was favored by Vāsudeva Datta, and was a *purohita*, the *guru* of Raghunātha. 160 He was an intimate student of Advaita Ācārya, and respecting the commands of Ācārya, Caitanya was the wealth of his life. 161 When he came and stood in the courtyard, Raghunātha came up to him and bowed down. 162 One of his pupils had served his *ṭhākura*, but he had left that service. For the sake of that worship 163 he said to Raghunātha, "Cause him to continue

153. Durgā-maṇḍapa: an open, covered area for the Durgā-*pūjā*, often used for large gatherings of the public.

159. Yadunandana was Raghunātha's *dīkṣā-guru*, the *purohita* or priest of the family, and a man who was much loved by Vāsudeva Datta.

162. One of the pupils of Yadunandana had served the personal deity of Yadunandana, but had given up that service. Raghunātha was evidently a friend of that pupil, with some influence over him.

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the worship; I can find no other *brāhmaṇa* to serve." 164 And so saying he took Raghunātha and went away; all the guards, at the end of the night, had fallen asleep.

165 The house of the Acārya was to the east of where they were, and the two of them went along that path, talking and listening. 166 When they were halfway there, Raghunātha said at the feet of his *guru*, "I shall find that *brāhmaṇa*, and I shall send him to your place. 167 You go home and be at ease, and give me your leave." So begging his leave under this pretext he decided, 168 "There are no more servants or guards with me; this is a good opportunity for me to flee." 169 Thinking thus, he turned his face toward the east; he turned and looked behind him, but saw no one. 170 So reflecting on the feet of Śrī Caitanya and Nityānanda, he left the [main] path and ran along a side path. 171 At every village he left the path and went through the forests, and with body, mind and speech concentrated on the feet of Caitanya. 172 He went fifteen *krośas* in one day, and in the evening he stopped at the cow-shed of a *gopa*. 173 Seeing that he was hungry, the *gopa* brought him milk; he drank that milk and remained there.

174 The servants and the guards, not seeing [Raghunātha], went and asked his *guru* about him. 175 He said, "He asked leave of me and went to his own house." And the outcry arose, "Raghunātha has fled!" 176 His father said, "All the *bhaktas* of Gauḍa have gone to Nīlācala to Prabhu. 177. Raghunātha has gone away with them; you ten men go and catch him and bring him back." 178 He humbly sent a letter to Śivānanda, "Send back my son." 179 So the ten men went up to Jhāṅkrā, and at Jhāṅkrā they met the Vaiṣṇavas. 180 Giving him the letter they asked Śivānanda for news, and Śivānanda said, "He has not come here." 181 So the ten turned around and came home, and his mother and father were extremely anxious in their hearts.

182 Now Raghunātha Dāsa rose up in the morning, and leaving the eastern direction, he turned his face to the south. 183 Crossing Chatrabhoga, he left the main road, and made his way through unknown villages. 184 He had nothing to eat, but he travelled all day; hunger did not stop him, for his mind was on gaining the feet of Caitanya. 185 Sometimes chewing, sometimes cooking, sometimes drinking milk—whatever he got, by that he preserved his life. 186 For twelve days he travelled to Śrī Puruṣottama, and while on the way he ate on only three days.

183. Chatrabhoga is a place in the Sundarbans.

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187 Gosvāmī was sitting with Svarūpa and the others, and Raghunātha came to meet him. 188 Remaining at a distance, in the courtyard, he prostrated himself, and Mukunda Datta said, "Raghunātha has come." 189 Prabhu said, "Come." And he came and held his feet, and raising him up Prabhu embraced him in mercy. 190 He bowed to the feet of Svarūpa and all the other *bhaktas*, and seeing the mercy of Prabhu, they all embraced him. 191 Prabhu said, "The grace of Kṛṣṇa is most powerful of all; it has snatched you from the pit of excrement of worldly things." 192 And Raghunātha said in his heart, "I know nothing of Kṛṣṇa; I consider that I have been snatched away [from it] by your grace." 193 Prabhu said, "Your father and your uncle I consider my maternal grandfathers, because of their relationship to Cakravartī. 194 Both of them are servants of Cakravartī, but are like brothers to him, and so I joke with them. 195 His father and uncle are worms in the excrement pit of worldly things; they consider great affliction of the poison of worldly things as happiness. 196 Even though they do brahmanical things for *brāhmaṇas*, they are not pure Vaiṣṇavas, but are seeming Vaiṣṇavas. 197 Still it is the nature of worldly things to bring great blindness, and cause people to do things which bind them to the world. 198 From such worldly concerns Kṛṣṇa has liberated you; the greatness of the mercy of Kṛṣṇa cannot be described."

199 Seeing the exhaustion and pallor of Raghunātha, he said to Svarūpa, his heart soft with pity, 200 "I present this Raghunātha to you; treat him as a son or a servant. 201 There are among my people three named Raghunātha; from today this one will be known as 'Svarūpa's Raghunātha'." 202 And so saying he took the hand of Raghunātha and put it into the hand of Svarūpa. 203 Svarūpa said, "It is as Mahāprabhu commands," and so saying he again embraced Raghunātha. 204 I cannot describe Caitanya's affection for his *bhaktas*; having pity on Raghunātha, he said to Govinda, 205 "He has fasted for many days on the path; feed him well for many days." 206 And to Raghunātha he said, "Go to bathe in the sea, go to see Jagannātha, and come back here and

193. Ājā: maternal grandfathers, an eastern Bengali dialect form. Cakravartī is Nīlambara Cakravartī, Caitanya's maternal grandfather, who evidently felt toward the two as toward his younger brothers. The relationship between ego and his maternal grandfather is traditionally a joking one; there are some family relationships which do not permit joking.

195. In this and the following couplet, Caitanya is exercising his prerogative to joke; he also seems in these two couplets to be addressing his words to the company at large, rather than directly to Raghunātha.

196. The brahmanical things are such as feeding *brāhmaṇas*, giving them money, etc. But they have not given up their desire for wealth and power, so they cannot really be considered Vaiṣṇavas.

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eat." 207 And so saying Mahāprabhu got up and went to do his midday rituals, and Raghunātha Dāsa met all the *bhaktas*. 208 Seeing the mercy of Prabhu toward Raghunātha, the *bhaktas* were astonished, and praised his good fortune. 209 So Raghunātha went and bathed in the sea, and saw Jagannātha and again came to Govinda. 210 Govinda gave to him the leavings from the leaf of Prabhu, and Raghunātha received this *prasāda* in joy.

211 In this way he remained at the feet of Svarūpa, and for five days Govinda gave him *prasāda*. 212 But from the next day, after having watched the flower-*añjali*, he remained standing in the lion gate begging for food. 213 The servants of Jagannātha, and so many people with worldly possessions, having finished their service, would go home at night, 214 and seeing a Vaiṣṇava in the lion gate begging for food, were kind to him and had the *pasāris* give him food. 215 Such had been the custom for a long time, that *bhaktas*, possessing nothing, stand in the lion gate. 216 And all day long the Vaiṣṇavas made *nāma-saṃkīrtana*, and had *darśana* of Jagannātha whenever they wished. 217 Some begged in the *chatra*, and ate whatever little they got, and some at night remained in the lion gate for alms. 218 Great was the asceticism of the *bhaktas* of Mahāprabhu, and when he saw it, Gaura Bhavagān loved them. 219 Govinda said to Prabhu, "Raghunātha does not take *prasāda*; but he stands in the night in the lion-gate and eats what he gets by begging." 220 And when he heard this Mahāprabhu was pleased and began to say, "It is good; for he is acting according to the *dharma* of an ascetic. 221 *Vairāgīs* will always perform *nāma-saṃkīrtana*, and stay alive by eating what they get by begging. 222 The *vairāgī* who is dependent upon others does not gain the desired goal, and Kṛṣṇa ignores him. 223 The highest object of his desire escapes the *vairāgī* who caters to his palate, and he is controlled by his taste. 224 The duty of a *vairāgī* is always to make *nāma-saṃkīrtana*, and to fill his belly with vegetables and leaves and fruit and roots. 225 He who runs this way and that for the satisfaction of his taste-buds, devoted to his belly and his penis, does not gain Kṛṣṇa."

212. Añjali: offering.

214. Pasāri: those who sell *prasāda*.

217. Chatra: places, attached to most large temples and monasteries, where food is dispensed to the needy and to pilgrims.

220. Vairāgī: "ascetic," lit., one who is divorced of passion, the standard term for Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava ascetics of that period. See characterization, vv. 220-25 and 234-36, *śl.3*.

222. "Dependent upon" people other than Kṛṣṇa; the true ascetic knows that Kṛṣṇa will provide him with the necessities of life, and therefore he depends only upon Kṛṣṇa.

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226 On another day Raghunātha petitioned at the feet of Svarūpa regarding his own duties. 227 "For what purpose did he have me leave home? I do not comprehend his intention. What work am I to do, Prabhu? Instruct me." 228 Raghunātha said none of this to Prabhu; for his own words he caused to be spoken by Govinda or Svarūpa. 229 So the next day Svarūpa went before Prabhu and asked, "Raghunātha petitions at the feet of Prabhu, 230 saying, 'What is my duty? I do not understand the reasons for this. Instruct me with your holy mouth.'" 231 Smiling, Mahāprabhu said to Raghunātha, "I have made Svarūpa responsible for your instruction. 232 Learn from him the truths of that which is to be attained and the way of attaining it. He knows far more than I do. 233 Still, if you have faith in my instructions, then be certain of these words of mine: 234 Do not listen to gossip, and do not speak gossip; do not eat well, and do not wear fine clothes; 235 do not be proud, but give honor to others; always take the name of Kṛṣṇa; and in your mind serve Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in Vraja. 236 These in brief are my instructions; you will get the details of them from Svarūpa."

Śloka 3. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 32 [quoting Kṛṣṇa Caitanya]:
He who knows himself as humbler than the grass, who is more forbearing than a tree, who feels no pride but gives honor to other men, he should always practice the Hari-*kīrtana*.

237 Hearing this, Raghunātha clasped his feet, and Mahāprabhu embraced him in his mercy. 238 Again he presented him to Svarūpa; and with Svarūpa he performed intimate service.

239 At that time all the *bhaktas* of Gauḍa came, and as before, Prabhu met them all. 240 And taking all of them, Prabhu cleansed the Guṇḍicā, and with all of them he had a forest-feast. 241 With all of them he danced at the Car Festival, and seeing this the heart of Raghunātha was filled with wonder. 242 When Raghunātha Dāsa met them all, Advaita Ācārya was very kind to him. 243 And Śivānanda Sena told him the story: "Your father sent ten men to take

232. Sādhya: that which is to be attained; *sādhana*: the way of attaining, striving.

234. Grāmyakathā: "gossip" or "idle chatter."

Śloka 3. [This stanza is traditionally the third *śloka* of the "*śikṣāṣṭaka*" of Caitanya, which is found in 3.20. TKS] See 1.17.*śl.*4; 3.20.*śl.*5.

238. Antaraṅga sevā: intimate service; this does not mean catering to the needs of the body, which would in fact be external or *bāhiraṅga*, but intimacy in the sense of knowing and understanding the *bhāva* and the innermost mind.

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you back; 244 he sent a letter to me to send you [back]; but when they didn't find you they went home from Jhāṅkrā."

245 At the end of the four months the *bhaktas* returned to Gauḍa; and when he heard this the father of Raghunātha sent a man. 246 That man asked Śivānanda Sena, "Did you see a *vairāgī* at the place of Mahāprabhu? 247 He is the son of Govarddhana, and his name is Raghunātha. Did you meet him at Nīlācala?" 248 Śivānanda said, "He is there with Prabhu; he is very famous. There is no one who does not know him. 249 [Prabhu] has put Svarūpa in charge of him; he is like the very life of the *bhaktas* of Prabhu. 250 Day and night he sings *nāma-saṃkīrtana*, and never for an instant does he leave the feet of Prabhu. 251 He is greatly ascetic, caring neither for food nor for clothing; he eats what he gets and somehow maintains his life. 252 At ten *daṇḍas* into the night he goes, and having watched the flower offering, and stands in the lion gate to beg for food. 253 If anyone gives him anything, he eats it; sometimes he fasts, and sometimes chews lime." 254 When he had heard this, the man went to Govarddhana, and told him the whole story of Raghunātha. 255 When they heard it, his mother and father were most unhappy, and they decided to send a man with goods for their son. 256 So they sent to the place of Śivānanda four hundred *mudrās*, and two servants, and one *brāhmaṇa*. 257 Śivānanda said, "You will not all be able to go. When I go, then you will come with me. 258 So now go home. When all of us go, then we shall take all of you with us." 259 It was on this occasion that Śrī Kavikarṇapūra wrote extensively in his book of the greatness of Raghunātha.

Ślokas 4-5. Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka* 10.9 [*śl.* 3-4]:
4 To whom among dwellers at Nīlācala is Raghunātha not known?—
that ocean of asceticism, beloved of Svarūpa Dāmodara, soothed by the
constant and profound grace of Śrī Caitanya, chief in the hearts of all
of us, possessed of great virtues, the pupil of Yadunandana Ācārya,
beloved of Śrī Vāsudeva, and sweet in nature, 5 he is a field of glory
which, uncultivated and untended, delights the hearts of all people, in
which the tree of *prema* for him, even at the time of planting, is
incomparably fruitful.

260 As Śivānanda spoke to the man, so in just that way Karṇapūra composed his *ślokas*.

252. *Puṣpāñjali*: flower offering.

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261 So at the end of the year, Śivānanda went to Nīlācala, and the *brāhmaṇa* and the servants of Raghunātha went with him. 262 With the *brāhmaṇa* and the servants and four hundred *mudrās*, he went and met Raghunātha at Nīlācala. 263 But Raghunātha Dāsa did not accept these, and so with the goods the three people remained there. 264 At that time Raghunātha took great pains to offer Prabhu an invitation two days in every month. 265 Those two invitations required eight *paṇas* of cowries, and he took that much from the servants and the *brāhmaṇa*. 266 In this way, inviting him, two years went by; at the end of that time Raghunātha stopped the invitations. 267 For two months Raghunātha did not extend him any invitation, and the son of Śacī asked Svarūpa, 268 "Why has Raghu stopped sending me invitations?" And Svarūpa said, "He has reached a personal decision: 269 'I take the goods of a worldly man to offer invitations. Perhaps the heart of Prabhu is not pleased at this. 270 Taking these goods, my mind is not at ease; I see that reputation is the only fruit of these invitations. 271 Because it is my request, Prabhu honors my invitations; if he did not honor them, this stupid person would be unhappy.' 272 He has decided this, and has given up the invitations." And when he heard this, Mahāprabhu smiled and began to say, 273 "If one eats the food of a worldly man, the heart is soiled; and if one has a soiled heart, one does not remember Kṛṣṇa. 274 It is a *rājasa*-invitation, to eat the food of a worldly person, and the hearts of both him who gives it and him who accepts it are soiled. 275 Because of his diffidence I took [food] there so many days. It is good, that by himself he has realized this, and has given it up."

276 And after some days Raghunātha left the lion gate, and began to go to the *chatra* to beg and eat. 277 Hearing this from Govinda, Prabhu asked Svarūpa, "Raghu does not stand in the lion gate to beg?" 278 Svarūpa replied, "He feels unhappy in the lion gate; so he goes at noon time to the *chatra* to beg." 279 Prabhu said, "It is good that he has left the lion gate; begging in the lion gate is like the action of a prostitute.

Śloka 6.

This man is coming, he will give me money; this man has not given me anything; another man is coming, he will give me something, he has not

274. "*Rājasa*-invitation": an invitation prompted by lower, material motives of conceit, praise, fame, etc.

276. Chatra: see commentary to v. 217.

Śloka 6. I.e., there is constant concern with who will give what, with the result that the mind is not free for meditation on Kṛṣṇa.

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given me anything; but another man will come, and he will give me something.

280 But going to the *chatra*, one fills one's belly with as much as is necessary; there is no anxiety, and in happiness one can praise Kṛṣṇa."

281 So saying, he gave him his grace: he gave him a Govarddhana-*śilā* and a garland of *guñja*-flowers. 282 Śankarāraṇya Sarasvatī had come from Vṛndāvana, and had brought the *śilā* and the garland from there. 283 Having woven the *guñja*-garland, he brought it and the Govarddhana-*śilā* and gave them to Prabhu. 284 Receiving these two wonderful things, Prabhu was greatly pleased, and at the times of *smaraṇa* he would put the *guñja*-garland around his neck. 285 Sometimes he held the Govarddhana-*śilā* before his eyes, and sometimes to his heart, and sometimes to his nose to smell it, and sometimes he put it on his head. 286 He always wet the *śilā* with the water of his tears, and Prabhu called the *śilā* the body of Kṛṣṇa. 287 In this way he had the garland and the *śilā* for three years, and then he delightedly gave the garland and the *śilā* to Raghunātha. 288 Prabhu said, "This *śilā* is the *vigraha* of Kṛṣṇa. Take it and serve it eagerly. 289 Do *sāttvika-pūjā* to this *śilā*, and quickly you will gain the wealth of the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa. 290 Take a *kujā*-jar of water and some shoots of *tulasī*, and with pure *bhāva* perform the *sāttvika-sevā*. 291 On the two sides, between two leaves, there should be tender shoots, and in this way, with faith, you will gather eight shoots." 292 So with this instruction, with his holy hands

281. Govarddhana-*śilā*: a rock from Govarddhana mountain. *Guñja* itself can mean a bouquet of flowers; here however, the reference is to the bowers of Vṛndāvana, where Kṛṣṇa and the *gopīs* played.

282. [Śaṅkarāraṇya Sarasvatī is not to be confused with Caitanya's brother, who upon taking *saṃnyāsa*, assumed the name of Śaṅkarāraṇya, according to many MSS. TKS]

284. It is not clear whether remembrance and recreation of the Vraja-*līlā* (*smaraṇa*) is deliberately induced by meditation, or whether these are times when he is simply abstracted from immediate reality, against his will. In later devotional practices, such as *mañjarī-sādhana*, performed by the Vraja devotees, it is induced.

288. Vigraha: form, body.

289. Sāttvika-pūjana: *pūjā* in which there is no trace of the other lower *guṇas*, *rajas* and *tamas*, i.e., *pūjā* in which there is thought only of Kṛṣṇa, and not a trace of egotism. Rādhagovinda Nātha comments: this type of *pūjā* is only the material *sāttvika-pūjā*; but if one worships in this way for a long time, by the grace of Kṛṣṇa the material or *prākṛta* elements will be wiped away, and pure *sattva* will appear in the heart.

290. Kujā: a small earthern jar.

291. These are instructions for the gathering of the *tulasī*: find twigs which have a shoot between two leaves, and gather eight of these.

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he gave the *śilā*, and in joy Raghunātha began to serve it. 293 Svarūpa Gosvāmī gave him two cloths of one twelve-finger span, and one *pīḍi*, and a *kujā* for bringing water. 294 And with these Raghunātha worshiped; and at the time of worship he saw Vrajendranandana in the *śilā*. 295 "Prabhu has given me this Govarddhana-*śilā* with his own hands"—thinking thus, Raghunātha floated in *prema*. 296 In the service with water and *tulasī*, joy was born in him, more joy than there was in the worship with the sixteen *upacāras*. 297 In this way he worshiped for many days, and then Svarūpa Gosvāmī said to him, 298 "Offer *khājā* and *sandeśa* worth eight cowries; if you offer them with faith, they will be like nectar." 299 So he made an offering of eight cowries' worth of *khājā*; at the order of Svarūpa, Govinda carried it out. 300 When Raghunātha got the *śilā* and the garland, he thought about the purpose of Gosvāmī in this. 301 "In giving me the *śilā* Gosvāmī has given me Govarddhana; and in giving me the *guñja*-garland he has given me the feet of Rādhikā." 302 Raghunātha in his joy was oblivious of his surroundings, and with body and mind he served the feet of Gaurāṅga.

303 Who can write of the endless qualities of Raghunātha? Raghunātha's observances were [as firm as] a row of stones. 304 Seven and a half *praharas* he spent in *smaraṇa*; for food and sleep he had four *daṇḍas*, and on some days not even that. 305 The story of his asceticism is a wonderful one; from that time on he put no sweet thing on his tongue. 306 He wore no clothing except for a torn old ragged patchwork wrap, and he kept with great care the commands of Prabhu. 307 He ate only to keep himself alive, and for eating even that he reproached himself.

Śloka 7. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 7.15.40:

He who knows the *ātman* to be supreme, by that knowledge his longings are destroyed; for what purpose and for what cause does he nourish the body, being addicted to bodily things?

293. Bitasti: "twelve-finger span." These items are to be used in the *pūjā*, for dressing the *śilā* the two pieces of cloth, and a small platform to place it on (*pīḍi*), and a small jar (*kujā*) to contain the water for the offering.

296. The sixteen *upacāras* are the sixteen articles of worship used in a full *pūjā*: see Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's *HBhV* 11.46-55.

298. Khājā is a flaky kind of pastry; *sandeśa* is a sweet made with milk.

299. Govinda made the purchase for him.

304. There are eight *praharas* in a day and a night; he would eat and sleep in the remaining hour and a half. *Smaraṇa* is "recollection," reflection and meditation on Kṛṣṇa. See commentary to v. 284 above.

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308 All the *prasāda*-rice which the *pasāri* could not sell, after two or three days became rotten. 309 They would throw that rice to the cows in the lion-gate; and because of its rotten stench the *tailaṅgā* cows could not eat it. 310 That rice Raghunātha brought to his house at night, and he washed it, throwing much water on it. 311 The inner kernel of the rice he found hard; but he spread it with salt and ate it all. 312 One day Svarūpa saw him doing that, and smiling he asked him for a little to eat. 313 Svarūpa said, "You eat such nectar every day, and do not give us any? Is this your nature?" 314 Prabhu heard the story from the mouth of Govinda, and the next day Prabhu came and spoke with him. 315 "How can you eat such things and not give me any?" and so saying he took a handful to eat. 316 He was taking another handful, but Svarūpa held his hand, and saying, "This is not fit for you," he snatched it away by force. 317 Prabhu said, "Every day I eat many kinds of *prasāda*; but I have never found any *prasāda* sweeter than this." 318 Thus again and again he showed mercy to Raghunātha, and seeing the asceticism of Raghunātha he was delighted in his heart. 319 And Raghunātha Dāsa has spoken of his own deliverance in his *Gaurāṅgastava-kalpavṛkṣa*:

Śloka 8. Raghunātha Dāsa Gosvāmin's *Gaurāṅgastavakalpataru* 11:
He who has saved me, a fallen and worthless person, from the burning fire of great wealth, by his mercy, joyously presenting me to his own Svarūpa, and has given me the Govarddhana-*śilā* and the garland of *guñja* flowers, even though they were dear to him, that Gaurāṅga has made me joyful, being risen in my heart.

320 Thus has been narrated the meeting of Raghunātha; and he who hears that gains the feet of Caitanya.

321 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

309. Tailaṅgā: the area of southern Orissa and northern Andhra.

Śloka 8. [The *Gaurāṅgastavakalpataru* is only one in a collection of hymns of praise composed by Raghunātha, which collectively are known by the generic name of the *Stavāvalī*. TKS]

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Antya Līlā
Chapter 7

Śloka 1.

By whose grace even a wretched man like me becomes immortal, I bow to those holy people who taste the pollen of the lotus-feet of Caitanya.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 The next year, when the *bhaktas* of Gauḍa came, Mahāprabhu met them all, as he had done previously. 3 In this way Prabhu sported with his *bhaktas*; and at that time Vallabha Bhaṭṭa came to meet him. 4 Coming, Bhaṭṭa bowed to the feet of Prabhu, and Prabhu, because of his knowledge of the *Bhāgavata*, embraced him. 5 Honoring him, Prabhu sat him down beside him, and humbly Bhaṭṭa began to speak. 6 "For a long time it has been a desire of my heart to see you; and Jagannātha has fulfilled it, for now I have seen you. 7 Seeing you like the manifest Bhagavān, you are Vrajendranandana, and no other. 8 He who remembers you is purified; is it then strange that there is purification in *darśana* of you?

Śloka 2. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.19.33:

By remembrance of them, the homes of men are immediately purified; what then [comes from] sitting with them, and washing their feet, and touching them, and having *darśana* of them?

9 The *dharma* of the Kali age is the praising of the name of Kṛṣṇa; and apart from the power of Kṛṣṇa there would be no promulgation of this. 10 You have

3. See the commentary to 2.4.103. When Caitanya was in Kāśī, Vallabha Bhaṭṭa was living in the village of Āḍaila near that city, and Caitanya took a meal with him.

8. *Smaraṇa*: remembers.

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begun it, and there is the proof: you hold the power of Kṛṣṇa, and so are none other than he. 11 You manifest the name of Kṛṣṇa in the world, and he who sees you floats in Kṛṣṇa-*prema*. 12 There is no manifestation of *prema* apart from the power of Kṛṣṇa; Kṛṣṇa is the giver of *prema*, and the proof of this is in the *śāstras*."

Śloka 3. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*, *pūrvakhaṇḍa* 5.37:
Of the lotus-naveled one, there are many *avatāras* in many ways grace-bestowing. But apart from Kṛṣṇa is anyone else the giver of the gift of *prema* even to creepers?

13 Mahāprabhu said, "Listen, O great-minded Bhaṭṭa. I am a *māyāvādī saṃnyāsin*, and I know nothing of Viṣṇu-*bhakti*. 14 Advaita Ācārya Gosvāmī is the manifest Īśvara; my heart has been purified in association with him. 15 There is none who is his equal in Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti* or in all the *śāstras*; and thus his name, 'Advaita Ācārya.' 16 By his grace the *mlecchas* get Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*; who can tell the power of his Vaiṣṇavism? 17 And Nityānanda the Avadhūta is the manifest Īśvara; mad and drunken with *bhāva*, he is a sea of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*. 18 And Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya, a master of the six systems, *guru* of the world in the six systems, is a great *bhāgavata*. 19 He showed me the other shore of *bhakti-yoga*. By his grace is known the essence of the *yoga* of Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*. 20 And Rāmānanda Rāya is chief among great *bhāgavatas*; he taught me that Kṛṣṇa is *svayaṃ bhagavān*. 21 And in that, that *prema-bhakti* is the crest jewel of the ends of man; and from him I know that *prema-bhakti* in the *rāga-mārga* is the best of all. 22 *Dāsya*, *sakhya*, *vātsalya*, and *madhura bhāvas* there are, and these are the refuges of [those who are by nature] servants, friends, elders, and lovers. 23 There is [that *bhakti* which] is mixed with knowledge of his divinity, and that which is pure *bhāva*; and by knowledge of his divinity one does not gain Vrajendrakumāra.

Śloka 3. See 1.3.*śl*.5.
14. Sakṣāt: manifest, to appear before one's eyes. See 1.10.54; 3.2.2-4.
15. I.e., he is "without" (*a*-) a second (*dvaita*).
16. Vaiṣṇavatā: "Vaiṣṇavism."
22. See 2.19.157-59, 165-92; 2.23.20-44.
23. Aiśvarya: divinity, martial sovereignty, splendor, and throughout the next verses.

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Śloka 4. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.9.21:
That Bhagavān, son of the *gopikā*, is easily obtainable by those who have *bhakti*; but for those who are concerned with the body, or with *jñāna*, or becoming *ātman*, it is not so easy.

24 The word '*ātmabhūta*' speaks of the followers; Lakṣmī did not gain Vrajendranandana by knowledge of his divinity.

Śloka 5. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.47.60:
That grace which rose up for the beautiful women of Vraja, who received the blessing of necks embraced by his arms at the time of the *rāsa*-celebration, was not vouchsafed even to Śrī, eternally beloved, or other heavenly women, whose fragrance is like lotuses; so why others?

25 In pure *bhāva* his friend rides upon his shoulders; and in pure *bhāva* Vrajeśvarī ties him up. 26 'My friend,' 'my son'—this is in their pure hearts; and thus do Śuka and Vyāsa praise [him].

Śloka 6. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.12.11:
They, worshipful for the merit they had earned, played with him, whom the followers of *māyā* consider as a human child, and whom worshipers in the *dāsya-bhāva* consider to be the god to be fully adored, and whom those who follow *jñāna* consider to be the experience of the pleasure of *brahma*.

Śloka 7. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.8.46:
O *brāhmaṇa*, what holy work, engendering such great merit, did Nanda do, or the most blessed Yaśodā, that Hari sucked milk from her breast?

27 Even if they saw his divine splendor, pure ones would not know it as splendor; thus *bhāva* alone is greater than this splendor.

Śloka 4. See 2.8.*śl.*49; 2.9.*śl.*11; 2.24.*śl.*26.

24. "Those who have as their elements (*bhūta*), spirit (*ātmā*)"; "followers": *pariṣada-gaṇa*. These seem to be such as Lakṣmī, who did not gain Kṛṣṇa by knowing him as divine (*aiśvarya*); only those gain Kṛṣṇa who seek the sweet side of his nature (*mādhurya*).

Śloka 5. See 2.8.*śl.*17; 2.8.*śl.*50; 2.9.*śl.*9.

Śloka 6. See 2.8.*śl.*14.

Śloka 7. See 2.8.*śl.*15.

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Śloka 8. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.8.45:
Yaśodā considered to be her own son that Hari whose greatness is celebrated by the three [Vedas], by the Upaniṣads, by Sāṃkhya, by Yoga, by Sātvata.

28 All this Rāmānanda Rāya has taught me; he is a man who knows *rasa* unhindered, and who has the joy and happiness of *prema*. 29 And Svarūpa Dāmodara is the image of *prema-rasa*; and in his company I got knowledge of the sweet *rasa* of Vraja. 30 The *prema* of the Vraja-*devīs* is pure and without a hint of *kāma*; a sign of it is that it is dedicated to the happiness of Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 9. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.31.19:
O beloved! In fear that your most delicate lotus feet be injured by our hard breasts, we place them gently down. With those same lotus feet you wander about the forest—are they not hurt by those sharp pointed stones? You are our very life, and therefore our minds are rended.

31 The pure *prema* of the *gopīs* has nothing of knowledge of his divinity; in *prema* there is rebuke—this is a sign of it.

Śloka 10. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.31.16:
O Acyuta, entranced by the song of your knowing flute, and having transgressed husbands and sons and family and relatives and brothers and friends, we have come to you knowing the way. O cheat! What kind of a man would abandon women in the night?

32 This is the best worship of all; it surpasses all [other kinds of] *bhakti*. And thus Kṛṣṇa says, 'I am in your debt.'

Śloka 11. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.32.22:
Your union with me is stainless, and I by my own deeds will not be able to repay you, even in the lifetime of a god. You have loved me properly,

Śloka 8. Sātvata: Pañcarātra. See 2.19.*śl.*31.

28. Anargala: unhindered; *argala* being a bar on a door, i.e., that true knowledge of *rasa* is open to him.

29. He literally is the "container of the *mūrti*" (*mūrtimān*), the visible and immediate manifestation of *prema-rasa*.

Śloka 9. See 1.4.*śl.*26; 2.8.*śl.*47; 2.18.*śl.*7.

Śloka 10. See 2.19.*śl.*35.

Śloka 11. See 1.4.*śl.*29; 2.8.*śl.*22.

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having cut all the unaging fetters of world and family. Let your holy deeds be rewarded by their own holiness.

33 So pure *bhāva* is far greater than knowledge of divinity, and on the earth there was no *bhakta* the equal of Uddhava. 34 He prayed for the dust of their feet. All this I have learned in the company of Svarūpa.

Śloka 12. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.47.61:
O, that I could be one of these plants or shrubs or creepers, in the dust of their feet in Vṛndāvana; they have abandoned the proper path and their own people, hard to abandon, and have worshiped the path of Mukunda, sought after by the *śrutis*.

35 Haridāsa Ṭhākura is chief among great *bhāgavatas*; each day he takes three lakhs of the names of Kṛṣṇa. 36 I learned the greatness of the name from him, and by his grace the greatness of the name is known. 37 Ācāryaratna, Ācāryanidhi, Gadādhara Paṇḍita, Jagadānanda, Dāmodara, Śaṅkara, and Vakreśvara, 38 Kāśīśvara, Mukunda, Vāsudeva, Murāri, and how many other *bhaktas* incarnated in Gauḍa 39 propagate *prema* and the Kṛṣṇa-name throughout the world, and from the company of all of these has come my Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*."

40 Knowing that there was deep pride in the heart of Bhaṭṭa, Mahāprabhu spoke all these words as a trick. 41 "I know all about the Vaiṣṇava-truths, and I can explain better than anyone the meaning of the *Bhāgavata*"— 42 this deep pride was in the mind of Bhaṭṭa; but when he heard the words of Prabhu, it shrank. 43 Hearing of the group's Vaiṣṇavism from the mouth of Prabhu, Bhaṭṭa desired to meet all of them. 44 And he said, "Do all these Vaiṣṇavas stay in a particular place?" And Prabhu said, "You will see all of them here." 45 Then Bhaṭṭa, with ingratiating words and most humbly, offered Prabhu an invitation.

46 The next day all the *bhaktas* came to the place of Prabhu, and Mahāprabhu introduced Bhaṭṭa to them all. 47 Seeing the glory of the Vaiṣṇavas, Bhaṭṭa was astonished; he was like a firefly before them all. 48 Then Bhaṭṭa had much *mahāprasāda* brought, and he fed Mahāprabhu and his people. 49 The *saṃnyāsins* with Paramānanda Purī all sat on one side to eat. 50 Advaita sat on one side of him, and Nityānanda on the other, and Prabhu sat between them, with his *bhaktas* before and behind. 51 There were so many *bhaktas* of Gauḍa that

47. *Teja*: glory, "radiance."

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I cannot count them; they all sat in rows in the courtyard. 52 Seeing the *bhaktas* of Prabhu, Bhaṭṭa was astonished, and he made obeisance at the feet of each of them. 53 Svarūpa, Jagadānanda, Kāśīśvara, Śaṅkara, Rāghava, and Dāmodara served. 54 Vallabha Bhaṭṭa had much *mahāprasāda* brought, and he himself served the *saṃnyāsins*, together with Prabhu. 55 Getting the *prasāda*, all the Vaiṣṇavas said "Hari, Hari!" and the sound of Hari rose up and filled the whole Brahmā-world. 56 He brought many garlands, and sandalwood, and pan, and betel nuts, and worshiping all of them, Bhaṭṭa was delighted.

57 On the day of the Car Festival, Prabhu began the dance; as before, he divided them into seven groups. 58 Advaita, Nityānanda, Haridāsa, Vakreśvara, Śrīnivāsa, Rāghava, and Gadādhara Paṇḍita— 59 these seven led the seven groups dancing, and Prabhu wandered out singing "Hari *bol*!" 60 Fourteen drums were playing in loud *kīrtana*, and in the *prema* of each of the dancers, the world floated. 61 Seeing this, Vallabha Bhaṭṭa's heart was astonished, and he lost himself, agitated in pleasure. 62 Then Mahāprabhu stopped the dance of all of them, and as before, he himself began to dance. 63 More *prema* arose, when they saw the beauty of Prabhu, and Bhaṭṭa was certain that he was the manifest Kṛṣṇa. 64 In this way they all watched the Car Festival, and Bhaṭṭa was astonished at the actions of Prabhu.

65 At the end of the festival, Bhaṭṭa went to the place of Prabhu, and placed this humble request at the feet of Prabhu: 66 "I have written a *ṭīkā* on the *Bhāgavata*; will you listen to it, Mahāprabhu?" 67 Prabhu replied, "I am not able to understand the meaning of the *Bhāgavata*; I am not great enough to hear the meaning of the *Bhāgavata*. 68 I only sit and take the names of Kṛṣṇa; and [though I take them] day and night, I have not fulfilled the prescribed number." 69 Bhaṭṭa said, "I have developed an explanation of the meaning of the name of Kṛṣṇa; listen to that which I have expounded." 70 And Prabhu said, "I do not consider many meanings of the name of Kṛṣṇa; I only know 'the beautiful Śyāma, son of Yaśodā.'

Śloka 13. *Nāmakaumudī*.

He who is *śyāma*-colored, like the leaf of the *tamāla* tree, who drinks from the breast of Yaśodā, in him is the primary meaning of the name Kṛṣṇa—this is attested in all the *śāstras*.

58. Śrīnivāsa: Śrīvāsa Paṇḍita.
66. *Ṭīkā*: commentary.
70. *Śyāmasundara yaśodānandana*: "the beautiful . . . Yaśodā."

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71 This meaning is the only one that I have ascertained; I have no right to all the other meanings." 72 Knowing that the commentary of Bhaṭṭa would be trifling and worthless, the omniscient Prabhu was indifferent to it. 73 Disappointed, Bhaṭṭa went to his own house; and his *bhakti* toward Prabhu was lessened a little.

74 Then Bhaṭṭa went to the place of Paṇḍita Gosvāmī; he came and went, expressing affection for him in various ways. 75 But all the people of Nīlācala [recognized] the indifference of Prabhu toward him, and they would not listen at all to the commentaries of Bhaṭṭa. 76 Bhaṭṭa was ashamed, for he was insulted, and he went unhappily to the place of the *paṇḍita*. 77 Humbly he said, "I take refuge with you; being merciful, you can save my life. 78 If you would listen to my explanations on the Kṛṣṇa-name, then the mud of my shame would be removed." 79 The *paṇḍita* was in difficulty, and he was hesitant. He could not decide what he should do. 80 But even though the *paṇḍita* did not agree, Bhaṭṭa went and read to him, forcing him to listen. 81 The *paṇḍita* was not able to forbid him because he was high-born; [he prayed] "Save me in this difficulty, O Kṛṣṇa. I take refuge in you. 82 Prabhu is indwelling, and he will certainly know my heart. I do not fear him, but his followers are harsh." 83 Even though there was no error in the decision of the *paṇḍita*, still the followers of Prabhu were angry because of their affection for him. 84 And Vallabha Bhaṭṭa continued to come to the place of Prabhu, and debate and so on with Ācārya and the others. 85 Whatever Bhaṭṭa said about the establishment of the truths, no sooner than he heard it Ācārya would refute it. 86 Whenever Bhaṭṭa would go before Ācārya and the others, he appeared like a heron among swans.

87 One day Bhaṭṭa asked Ācārya, "The *jīva* is a woman who looks on Kṛṣṇa as husband. 88 She who is *pativratā* does not take the name of her husband. But you take the name of Kṛṣṇa. What kind of *dharma* is this?" 89 The Ācārya

74. Paṇḍita Gosvāmī: Gadādhara Paṇḍita; Bhaṭṭa probably chose Gadādhara because he was renowned for his recitation and understanding of the *BhP*.

81. Because Bhaṭṭa came from a family of high station, Gadādhara could not prevent him from speaking; but neither did he want to listen to the commentary.

84. Ācārya: Advaita Ācārya. Sārvabhauma was also referred to as Ācārya, but context here points to Advaita.

88. It is an ancient view that the name of an individual or object is intimately bound up with the nature of that individual or object, and with its life force. Use of the name weakens the life-force, and therefore a woman who is true to her husband, a *pativratā*, never uses his name. See P. V. Kane, *History of Dharma-śāstra*, 5 vols. in 7 (Poona: Bhandarker Oriental Research Institute, 1930-62), 2:334.

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replied, "Before you is the personification of *dharma*. Ask him, and he will give you an answer to it." 90 Prabhu heard this and said, "You do not know the inner meaning of *dharma*. If she gets the command from her husband, it is the *dharma* of this *pativratā* 91 [to obey] the command of her husband, to take his name incessantly. And the *pativratā* is not able to disobey this command of her husband. 92 Thus she takes the name, and gets the fruits of the name. And by the grace of Kṛṣṇa the fruits of the name are the arousal of *prema*." 93 When he heard this, Vallabha Bhaṭṭa was silent, and going to his house with a saddened heart, he thought, 94 "I am constantly defeated in that assembly. If one day my arguments would come out on top, 95 then I would be happy, and all my shame would disappear. But how can I establish my own arguments?"

96 So the next day he came, and made obeisance to Prabhu and sat down, and with a certain pride in his heart he said to all, 97 "I have refuted the explanations of Svāmī of the *Bhāgavata*; I am unable to accept the words of his explanations. 98 He who takes and reads his commentaries sees that they are not consistent; for that reason I do not honor Svāmī." 99 Prabhu smiled and said, "Who does not honor Svāmī is to be counted as inwardly a prostitute." 100 And so saying, Prabhu remained silent; and when they heard this everyone was delighted. 101 The Gaura-*avatāra* is for the good of the world, and he knows who has pride in his heart. 102 So Bhagavān corrected Bhaṭṭa with various kinds of slights, as Kṛṣṇa broke the pride of Indra. 103 Ignorant *jīvas* consider what is for their good as being not good; but after their pride is crumbled, their eyes are opened. 104 So Bhaṭṭa came home, and in the night he reflected, "Formerly, at Prayāga, he was very merciful to me, 105 and he honored my invitations with his own people. Why now has Prabhu's heart turned against me? 106 In his mind is: let him be free of the pride that says 'I am victorious'—this is the nature of Īśvara, and he does it for the good of all. 107 To cause me to know myself, that I am proud, and to destroy that pride, he has insulted me. 108 He does it for my benefit, and I consider it painful; so Indra, most foolishly, did toward Kṛṣṇa." 109 So thinking, in the morning he came to the feet of Prabhu, and humbly he praised him and took refuge in him, 110 "I

97. Svāmī: Śrīdhara Svāmin, the commentator on the *BhP*, whose commentary, *Bhāvārthadīpikā*, is accepted by the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal.

99. "Svāmī" also means "husband."

102. When Indra was angry because Kṛṣṇa had obstructed his sacrifice, he caused it to storm for seven days, in order to destroy Vraja; Kṛṣṇa, however, merely held the mountain Govarddhana on his fingers over Vraja and protected it from the storm.

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am an ignorant *jīva*, and what I did was the deed of an ignorant man. Stupidly I flourished my learning before you. 111 And you, as Īśvara, showed mercy, as is appropriate to yourself. And by your contempt toward me you broke all my pride. 112 I am ignorant, and I considered my benefit as insult, as ignorant Indra vilified Kṛṣṇa. 113 Now by the *kohl* of your mercy, the blindness of my pride is gone; now I know that you have been so gracious to me. 114 I have committed an offence; forgive me, that I might take refuge in you. Be merciful to me; place your feet on my head." 115 Prabhu said, "You are a *paṇḍita* and a great *bhāgavata*. Wherever these two qualities are, there is no mountain of pride. 116 You produced your own commentary, scorning that of Śrīdhara Svāmī; you hold such pride that [you say] 'I do not honor Śrīdhara Svāmī.' 117 We know the *Bhāgavata* through the grace of Śrīdhara Svāmī; Śrīdhara Svāmī is the *guru* of the world, and I honor him as *guru*. 118 Whoever will shame Śrīdhara out of pride, writes foolishness, and people will not respect him. 119 But he who writes following Śrīdhara, all the people accept him and respect him. 120 So follow Śrīdhara in explaining the *Bhāgavata*; leave your pride and worship Kṛṣṇa-Bhagavān. 121 Leave your offence, and make Kṛṣṇa-*saṃkīrtana*, and quickly you will gain the feet of Kṛṣṇa." 122 Bhaṭṭa said, "Since you have been kind to me, again one day accept my invitation." 123 Prabhu was incarnated to save the world, so he honored the invitation, to give him happiness. 124 "Let there be benefit to the world"—this was in the heart of Prabhu; and so, by punishment, he purified his heart. 125 So [Vallabha] invited Mahāprabhu and all his followers, and Mahāprabhu was kind to him.

126 The *bhāva* of Jagadānanda Paṇḍita was profound; like that of Satyabhāmā, the nature of his *prema* was contrary. 127 Again and again he had quarrels with Prabhu because of love, and each went on quarreling over trifles with the other. 128 And the *bhāva* of Gadādhara Paṇḍita was also pure and profound; but his nature was yielding, like that of Rukmiṇī Devī. 129 Prabhu wanted to see him angry because of love, but he did not get angry because of his knowl-

113. Kohl: collyrium, the black ointment used around the eyes as a cosmetic and as an ointment for protection against eye disease and infection.

126. Vāma: contrary, tricky, subtle, left. An example of Jagadānanda's *vāma* qualities is the incident of the perfumed oil which he brought Caitanya, and breaking the vessels of it on the ground, 3.12.117-119. Jagadānanda is deemed to be Satyabhāmā by Kavikarṇapūra in *GGUD* 51.

128. Dakṣiṇa: yielding, straightforward, lit., "right," as opposed to *vāma* in v. 126.

129. Rukmiṇī also did not dare become angry at Kṛṣṇa, knowing him to be divine; but as to Kṛṣṇa anger is sometimes an expression of love, Caitanya here wants to make Gadādhara angry at him. As Kṛṣṇa, Caitanya does not want to be looked upon as divine, he wants to be loved.

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edge of Īśvara. 130 As a pretext, Prabhu showed signs of anger, and when he heard of it, terror was born in the heart of the *paṇḍita*, 131 as previously, when Kṛṣṇa joked with her, terror arose in the heart of Rukmiṇī. 132 The worship of Vallabha Bhaṭṭa was that to the child, and he served him with the Bāla-gopāla-*mantra*. 133 But in the company of the *paṇḍita*, his mind was changed, and his heart was on the worship of the Kiśora-gopāla. 134 He wanted to learn the *mantra* and the rest from the *paṇḍita*, and the *paṇḍita* said, "This is not for me to do. 135 I am dependent on another; my Prabhu is Gauracandra; I am not independent, apart from his command. 136 That you come to see me, because of that Prabhu rebukes me." 137 In this way Bhaṭṭa went on for many days, and finally Prabhu was most kind to him. 138 On the day of the invitation, he had the *paṇḍita* summoned; he sent Svarūpa Gosvāmī and Jagadānanda and Govinda. 139 On the way, Svarūpa said to the Paṇḍita, "Prabhu has been indifferent to you in order to test you; 140 why did you not come and reproach him for it? Why did you endure it like a coward?" 141 The *paṇḍita* said, "Prabhu is the self-dependent omniscient crest-jewel; I do not think that I should be impudent to him. 142 What he says, I bear, taking it on my head; he himself will be merciful, judging what is fault and what is not." 143 So saying, the

[This short passage is somewhat puzzling if the analogy with Rukmiṇī is taken to be one of identity, for Gadādhara is within the tradition nearly uniformly believed to be Rādhā, master of love-play appropriate to a woman of the *vāma* nature, whereas Rukmiṇī's relation to Kṛṣṇa could never generate the desirable eroticism of Rādhā's. Kṛṣṇadāsa earlier identifies Gadādhara as the *śakti* of Kṛṣṇa (1.7.15), which Kavikarṇapūra identifies as Rādhā or the *gopī* Lalitā (*GGUD* 10-11, 146-55); and the actions of Gadādhara recorded in all the prior biographies are consistent with this appraisal. But Kṛṣṇadāsa never actually calls Gadādhara Rādhā, which may be for internal, theological consistency—he does style Caitanya as the androgynous dual-incarnation, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa—or for other reasons, for Gadādhara's position apparently caused some consternation in the community at large. That the latter is a distinct possibility is underscored by the fact that Kṛṣṇadāsa honors Gadādhara in only two *maṅgalācaraṇa*s (1.13.1-4; 3.5.2), while singling out the other members of the *pañca-tattva*—Nityānanda, Advaita, and Śrīvāsa—at the beginning of all sixty-two chapters. To add further confusion, however, Kṛṣṇadāsa reports that at one point Caitanya was delighted at Gadādhara's waywardness in refusing to return to Nīlācala (2.17.129-41). TKS]

131. *BhP* 10.60.10-20.

132. Vallabha's *bhāva* was the *vātsalya-bhāva*, and his *iṣṭa-mantra* was the *mantra* of the child Kṛṣṇa. This concern with the child Kṛṣṇa, rather than with Kṛṣṇa the lover of the *gopī*s, is most common among Vaiṣṇavas of northern and western India; most of the poems of Surdas (Sūradāsa) and others are on the child theme.

133. The companionship of Gadādhara caused him to change his attention from the child Kṛṣṇa to the youthful lover (*kiśora*). This may or may not have been true, but there is no record that he did take a new *mantra* and actually change his worship.

141. *Svatantra*: self-dependent; *sarvajña*: omniscient.

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paṇḍita came to the door of Prabhu, and weeping fell at the feet of Prabhu. 144 Smiling a little, Prabhu embraced him, and he spoke to him sweet words, making sure that everyone heard, 145 "I drove you, but you did not move; you said nothing in anger, but endured all. 146 Your mind was not budged, by my trick; you have bought me, by your most deep and simple *bhāva*."

147 The *bhāva* and the actions of the Paṇḍita cannot be described; [Caitanya's] name is "lord of the heart of Gadādhara." 148 And the mercy of Prabhu to the *paṇḍita* cannot be fully described. People celebrate him as "Gaurāṅga of Gadāi"; 149 who can understand the *līlā* of Caitanya Prabhu? In one *līlā* there flow hundreds and hundreds of streams of the Gaṅgā. 150 The qualities of courtesy and of brahmanhood of the *paṇḍita*, and his actions of profound *prema* he revealed to the world. 151 He cleansed Bhaṭṭa of the mud of pride, and through that he taught even more people. 152 In his heart he was compassionate, though externally he seemed to have contempt; he who accepts the external meaning, is destroyed. 153 Who has the power to understand the most profound *līlā* of Caitanya? He understands, who has deep *bhakti* toward Gauracandra. 154 At the end of the day, the *paṇḍita* extended Prabhu an invitation, and Prabhu, with his own people, ate with him. 155 And there Vallabha Bhaṭṭa got permission from Prabhu, and all that he had prayed for formerly from the *paṇḍita* was accomplished. 156 Thus has been described the meeting with Vallabha Bhaṭṭa, and he who hears it gains the wealth of the *prema* of Gaura.

157 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

147. Mudra: actions, i.e., the internal *bhāva* and the external results of that *bhāva*; Gadādhara-*prāṇanātha*: Lord of the heart of Gadādhara.

148. Gadāi: Gadādhara.

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Antya Līlā
Chapter 8

Śloka 1.

I bow to that Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, who out of dread of Rāmacandra Purī, lessened the amount of worldly food that he begged.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, *avatāra* of a sea of compassion, whose feet Brahmā and Śiva and the others serve. 2 Glory, glory to the Avadhūtacandra Nityānanda, who binds the world in a net of *prema*. 3 Glory, glory to Advaita, *avatāra* of Īśvara, who saved the world by making Kṛṣṇa assume an *avatāra*. 4 Glory, glory to Śrīvāsa and the other *bhaktas* of Prabhu, the wealth of whose hearts is the moon Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya.

5 Thus did Gauracandra, with his own *bhaktas*, play at Nīlācala, in the delights of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*. 6 And at that time Rāmacandra Purī Gosvāmī came, and Paramānanda Purī came to meet Prabhu. 7 Paramānanda Purī bowed to his feet, and [Rāmacandra] Purī Gosvāmī embraced him deeply. 8 Mahāprabhu prostrated himself to him, and embracing him he made Kṛṣṇa-*smṛti*. 9 The three passed a little time in pleasant conversation, and Jagadānanda Paṇḍita offered him an invitation. 10 Prasāda of Jagannātha was brought to feed him, and he ate so much as to be censured. 11 And when he had eaten, Purī said, "Listen, Jagadānanda. You eat the remainder of the *prasāda*." 12 And eagerly he sat him down and had him eat, and he himself being eager, served him. 13 Eagerly, again and again, he caused him to eat; and when he had rinsed his mouth he began to criticize, 14 "I have heard that the followers of Caitanya

Śloka 1. Refers to the incident to be described, in which Caitanya is criticized by Rāmacandra for eating too much. Caitanya thereafter reduced his intake of food, so that he would not be criticized in society.

8. Kṛṣṇa-smṛti: two Vaiṣṇavas when they meet pronounce the name of Kṛṣṇa. For other scenarios, see 2.6.56 and 2.11.5.

9. Him: Rāmacandra Purī.

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eat a great deal. That indeed is true, and I have just seen it here. 15 For a *saṃnyāsin* to eat so much is the destruction of *dharma*. To be a *vairāgī* and to eat so much, is not the way of asceticism." 16 For this was his nature—that he would be eager, and afterwards he would criticize, first himself having caused one to eat much.

17 Before Mādhavendra Purī died, Rāmacandra Purī had gone to him. 18 Purī Gosvāmī was having Kṛṣṇa-*nāma-saṃkīrtana*, and was weeping, saying, "I have not gained Mathurā." 19 Rāmacandra Purī then instructed him, for though he was a pupil, he had no fear of his *guru*. 20 "Remember that you are the full *ānanda* of *brahma*; why, since you are *cit-brahma*, do you weep?" 21 When he heard this, anger rose up in Mādhavendra's mind. "Go, go, you evil person," he said, rebuking him. 22 "I have not gained Kṛṣṇa, I have not gained Mathurā. I am dying in my own grief, and you come to add fire to it. 23 Do not show your face to me; go someplace else. If I die seeing you I will have an evil passing. 24 I have not gained Kṛṣṇa, and I die in my own grief, and you tell me that I am *brahma*; this is stupid and vile." 25 This is that same one for whom Śrīpāda Mādhavendra had contempt. Because of this offence, desires were born in him. 26 He was a dry *jñānī* of *brahma*, [in whom] there was no relationship to Kṛṣṇa. He criticized everyone, and was expert in such criticism. 27 Īśvara Purī Gosvāmī served Śrīpāda, and with his own hands cleaned his stool and urine. 28 He caused him constantly to remember the Kṛṣṇa-name, and always caused him to hear the *ślokas* of Kṛṣṇa and the *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa. 29 Being pleased, Purī embraced him, and gave him a boon, "May you have a wealth of *prema* toward Kṛṣṇa." 30 From that time Īśvara Purī was an ocean of *prema*, and Rāmacandra Purī became criticized by all. 31 The two are witness to the mercy and the anger of holy men, and by these two, people are taught. 32 Mādhavendra, the *guru* of the world, gave a gift of *prema*; as he died, he recited this *śloka*:

Śloka 2. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 330 [quoting Mādhavendra Purī]:

O lord, moist with pity for the wretched, lord of Mathurā, when will I see

17. Antarddhāna: died, lit., disappeared.

21. Pāpiṣṭha: evil person. Mādhavendra is angry for two reasons; first, because one of his pupils has the audacity to instruct him, and secondly, because in the *bhakti-mārga* the *guru* is considered like the deity; he is a beloved *bhakta* of the deity, but he is not identical with the deity. Rāmacandra is speaking as in the *jñāna-mārga*, in which *jīva* and *brahma* are identical.

27. Śrīpāda: Mādhavendra Purī.

32. See v. 17 above.

Śloka 2. See 2.4.*śl.*2.

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you? For want of the sight of you, my heart is restless and anxious. O merciful one, what shall I do?

33 By this *śloka* he gave instruction in Kṛṣṇa-*prema*, and the special *bhāva* of the *bhakta* in *viraha* from Kṛṣṇa. 34 He went sowing in the earth the shoots of *prema*; and the tree of those shoots of *prema* is Caitanya Ṭhākura. 35 Thus has been told the story of the death of Purī Gosvāmī, and he who hears it is very fortunate.

36 Now Rāmacandra Purī remained at Nīlācala; and as his nature was indifferent, he stayed in any place. 37 He had no rules of conduct, and he ate at places where he had not been invited; but he ascertained the places where others took their food. 38 An invitation to Prabhu took four *paṇa*s of cowries: Prabhu, Kāśīśvara, and Govinda—these three ate. 39 Each day Prabhu ate here and there, and when anyone brought the price, it was determined at four *paṇa*s. 40 The places and the conduct of Prabhu—where he went and ate and slept, Rāmacandra Purī inquired after all this. 41 He was unable to touch the great qualities of Prabhu; he looked for gaps [in proper conduct,] but he found no gaps. 42 "He is a *saṃnyāsin*, but he eats sweet rice. With this enjoyment, how can he control his senses?" 43 And he criticized him in this way to everyone, while coming faithfully every day to see Prabhu. 44 Prabhu paid him great respect and honor, as an elder. But still he searched for gaps in proper conduct; this was his desire. 45 Prabhu knew how much he criticized him, but still he treated him with great respect.

46 One day in the morning he came to the house of Prabhu, and seeing some ants, he commented:

Śloka 3. [the words of Rāmacandra Purī]:
There were sweets here last night. Thus the ants are wandering here. It is wonderful, the way indifferent *saṃnyāsin*s nourish their senses. And he rose up and went away.

39. There were two ways in which he could be invited to take food; in the houses of certain people he would accept cooked food; others could purchase *prasāda*, not cooked by themselves, and offer it to him. In either case, these three all ate for the price of four *paṇas*.

42. It is not clear who speaks this line. It is probably a petty criticism made by Rāmacandra, who could find no more serious flaws in Caitanya's conduct. It might also be Kṛṣṇadāsa's own comment on Rāmacandra, but context points to the former.

44. *Kāma*: desire, selfish ways.

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47 Prabhu had heard from others that he made such criticisms; but now in his presence he heard this fanciful vilification. 48 Ants by nature wander everywhere; yet he attributed it to some fault, and raised the point as a philosophical matter. 49 When he heard it there was a little diffidence in Mahāprabhu's mind, and he summoned Govinda and said to him, 50 "From today, this is my rule for eating: one fourth of the *piṇḍā-bhoga*, and curry worth five *gaṇḍās*. 51 Never bring any more than this; if you bring me more, you will not see me here." 52 Govinda told these words to all the Vaiṣṇavas, and when they heard it it was as if a thunderbolt had fallen on the heads of all of them. 53 They all reproached Rāmacandra Purī, "This evil man has come and taken away what was dear to all of us." 54 On that very day a *brāhmaṇa* had offered an invitation; one-fourth of rice, and curry worth five *gaṇḍās*— 55 Govinda informed all that it could be only so much, and the *brāhmaṇa* groaned, striking [himself] a blow on the head. 56 Prabhu ate half of that rice and curry, and that which remained, Govinda got. 57 Prabhu ate half, and Govinda half, and then all the *bhaktas* left off eating. 58 Prabhu instructed Govinda and Kāśīśvara, "You two beg elsewhere and fill your stomachs."

59 In this way, many days passed in great grief, and when he heard it, Rāmacandra Purī came to Prabhu. 60 Making obeisance, he bowed to the feet of Prabhu, and with an expectant smile he said to Prabhu, 61 "The *dharma* of *saṃnyāsins* is not the satisfaction of the senses; they should eat only to fill their stomachs. 62 I see that you are thin, and I understand that you take only half your food. This is harsh asceticism, it is not the *dharma* of a *saṃnyāsin*. 63 They eat what is necessary and appropriate, they do not eat for enjoyment; and then the *jñāna-yoga* of the *saṃnyāsin* is accomplished."

Ślokas 4-5. *Bhagavad Gītā* 6.16-17:

4 O Arjuna! *Yoga* is not for those who eat excessively, nor is it for those who do not eat at all. It is not for those who sleep constantly, nor for those awake too much. 5 *Yoga*, which destroys grief, is for him who is controlled in eating and sporting, whose mind is set on acts and whose sleeping and waking are controlled.

64 Prabhu said, "I am an ignorant boy, your pupil; you instruct me, in this I am most fortunate." 65 And when he heard this, Rāmacandra Purī rose up and

50. Piṇḍābhoga: a small vessel of rice, offered in the food-offerings to Jagannātha; *gaṇḍā* is a unit of four cowries, a trifling sum.

65. Purī Gosvāmī: Paramānanda Purī. "Half their food" probably means "half what they usually ate."

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went away. Purī Gosvāmī heard that the *bhaktas* were eating half their food.

66 The next day Paramānanda Purī came with the *bhaktas* to Prabhu, and humbly said to him, 67 "Rāmacandra Purī has the nature of one who speaks ill of others. At his word you give up food; what will be gained from that? 68 It is the nature of Purī to feed people plentifully, and with care to urge the eater to eat. 69 And then, when he has fed him, he criticizes him: 'You eat so much; have you got a great deal of money? 70 You feed so much to a *saṃnyāsin*; you destroy his *dharma*. Thus it is known that you have no sense of decorum whatever.' 71 He is always trying to find out who acts in what way, and who eats how much. 72 These two things are forbidden in the *śāstras*, and this is the *karma* which he incessantly does.

Śloka 6. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.28.1:
One should not praise or blame the work or the nature of others, but should consider the world as of one soul with *prakṛti* and *puruṣa*.

73 Among these, he abandons the former injunction of praise, and considers the latter injunction of blame as powerful.

Śloka 7. *Nyāya*:
Between the former injunction and the latter injunction, the latter is more powerful.

74 He does not accept that a someone has a hundred good qualities; rather to those qualities, by a twist, he attributes fault. 75 His nature should not be discussed; still, we speak, for we have endured much inner pain. 76 Why do you abandon food because of his words? Accept invitations as before; pay heed to the words of us all." 77 Prabhu said, "Why are you all angry toward Purī Gosvāmī? He speaks from natural *dharma*; what is the fault in that? 78 It is a great injustice for an ascetic to be lascivious in matters of the tongue; it is the *dharma* of an ascetic to eat food only to preserve his life."

79 Then all, joining together, cared for Prabhu, and because of their persistence Prabhu kept half: 80 an invitation to Prabhu cost two *paṇas* of cowries, and for this sometimes two and sometimes three people ate. 81 If a *brāhmaṇa* with whom he could not take [cooked] food invited him, it cost two *paṇas* of

78. Yati: ascetic or *saṃnyāsin*.

79. I.e., he raised his intake of food to half of what it had been before he cut it to five *gaṇḍas*, etc.

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cowries as the price of the *prasāda*. 82 If a *brāhmaṇa* with whom he could not take [cooked] food invited him, he brought some *prasāda*, and some [food] he cooked in his house. 83 If Paṇḍita Gosvāmī or Bhagavān Ācārya or Sārvabhauma invited him on a day of invitation, 84 Prabhu ate according to the wishes of them all; in that Prabhu was not independent, such was his heart. 85 The *avatāra* of Prabhu was to give pleasure to his *bhaktas*; so he acted according to what was appropriate in each place. 86 Sometimes he observed the rules of people, as if he were a common man. And sometimes he made manifest his non-dependent, divine nature. 87 Sometimes he was like a servant to Rāmancandra Purī, and sometimes he did not honor him, and saw him as a blade of grass. 88 The divine actions of Prabhu are beyond the perceptions of the intellect; whatever he did, whenever he did it—that was all mind-stealing.

89 In this way was Rāmacandra Purī at Nīlācala; and having stayed there for many days, he went to the places of pilgrimage. 90 When he left, the people of Prabhu were pleased, as if a rock [they had been carrying] on their heads fell suddenly to the ground. 91 They offered invitations to Prabhu, and danced and sang as they wanted, and they all ate *prasāda* as they wanted to do. 92 Such is the result of the disrespect to a *guru*, that gradually one commits the offences all the way up to Īśvara. 93 Still, Prabhu did not consider it a fault of [Rāmacandra's,] and he considered him as a superior; and by the fruit of that, he taught the people. 94 As the actions of Caitanya are full of nectar, in listening to them, sweetness enters the ears and the heart. 95 So listen attentively to the actions of Caitanya which I am writing, and easily you will gain *prema* at the feet of Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

96 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

83. Evidently these three had fixed days in the month when there was standing invitation to Caitanya.

84. Svātantrya nāi: not independent.

86. Svatantra: non-dependent, self-dependent; *aiśvarya*: divine nature, majesty, or sovereignty.

88. Manohara: "mind stealing," charming, captivating.

92. I.e., that starting by showing disrespect to one's *guru*, offences increase until one ends up with offences against Īśvara himself.

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Antya Līlā
Chapter 9

Śloka 1.

The desert lands of the hearts of unfortunate people are always watered by the floods of *prema* of the innumerable blessed followers of Caitanya.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, full of mercy, glory glory to Nityānanda, whose heart is compassionate. 2 Glory, glory to Advaitācārya, who is full of mercy, and glory to the Gaura-*bhaktas*, full of all *rasa*.

3 In this way Mahāprabhu with his *bhaktas* dwelt at Nīlācala, in delights of the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa. 4 Inwardly and outwardly there were waves of *viraha* for Kṛṣṇa, and in many *bhāvas* Prabhu's mind and body were agitated. 5 In the day he danced and sang and had *darśana* of Jagannātha, and in the night he tasted *rasa* with Rāya and Svarūpa. 6 People of the three worlds came to have *darśana* of him, and whoever saw him gained the wealth of the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa. 7 In the dress of men, *devas* and *gandharvas* and *kinnaras* [came], and many divine serpents of the seven lower worlds, 8 and many who lived in the Seven Islands and in the Nine Khaṇḍas, in various guises all came and had *darśana* of Prabhu. 9 Prahlāda, Bali, Vyāsa, Śuka, and the rest of the *munis* came and saw Prabhu, and were delirious with *prema*. 10 People who could not see him shouted from the outside, and Prabhu came out and said, 'Say [the name of] Kṛṣṇa!' 11 At the sight of Prabhu, all the people floated in *prema*, and in this way Prabhu passed his days and nights.

12 One day people came and said to Prabhu, "The [king's] eldest son has forced Gopīnātha to mount the scaffold. 13 He will throw him down from there

7. *Viṣadhara*: "holder of poison," divine serpents, presumably the Nāgas.
8. See commentary on 3.2.9 for the Saptadvīpa and the Navakhaṇḍa of Jambudvīpa.
12. *Baḍajānā*: The eldest son of the king Pratāparudra; his name was Puruṣottama.

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on swords placed beneath. Prabhu, only if you protect him, will he be saved. 14 Bhavānanda Rāya and his family are your servants; his son is your servant, and it is right that you should save him." 15 Then Prabhu said, "Why does the king punish him?" And the people told him the whole story. 16 "For a long time he has attended to the affairs of the king; Gopīnātha is a Paṭṭanāyaka, the brother of Rāma Rāya. 17 He controlled Mālajāṭhyādaṇḍapāṭa, and he collected the taxes and brought the goods to the king. 18 He was two lakhs of *kāhana*s short, and the king asked him for those two lakhs of *kāhana*s. 19 He said, 'I have no negotiable goods; but I shall have accounts made, and gradually by buying and selling I shall repay the amount. 20 I have twelve horses; take them for what they are worth.' And so saying he brought the horses and held them at the gate of the king. 21 One son of the king knew well the value of horses, and the king sent him, with his friends and ministers. 22 That prince decreased the value, and when Gopīnātha heard the price he became angry. 23 For this is the nature of princes—he bent his neck, and with his face in the air again and again he looked this way and that. 24 And [Gopīnātha] scornfully said to him, in serious words, forgetting his fear of the king's disposition, 25 'My horses do not bend their necks and look up into the air; it is not right to lower the price of the horses because of that.' 26 When he heard this, anger raged in the heart of the prince, and returning to the king he reviled him much, 27 'He will not pay a cowrie; he wanders about deceiving us. Give me your permission; I shall put him on the scaffold and extort the money.' 28 The king said, 'That is good, go and do it. Let us get the money by whatever means we can.' 29 So the prince came and made [Gopīnātha] mount the scaffold, and he set swords below to have him thrown upon."

30 When he heard this, Prabhu said, in the anger of love, "He has not given the king his money; where is the king's fault in this? 31 He himself has used the money that he owed the king, without fear of the king. He has spent it in various ways on the wives of others and on dancing girls. 32 Let him who is clever do the king's business; he spent the king's wealth, which he received."

33 At that time another man came running, "They have taken Vāṇīnātha and the others of his family prisoner." 34 Prabhu said, "The king will take his goods according to his own calculation. I am an indifferent *saṃnyāsin*. What

17. He ruled the part of Orissa called Mālajāṭhyādaṇḍapāṭa, under Pratāparudra.
18. *Kāhana*: 16 *paṇas* or 1280 cowries, a unit of money.
19. *Sthūla-dravya*: negotiable goods.
24. Gopīnātha spoke sarcastically to the prince.

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can I do about this?" 35 Then Svarūpa and other *bhaktas* of Prabhu, all begged at the feet of Prahbu, 36 "They are the family of Rāmānanda Rāya, and they are all your servants; such disinterest as yours toward them is not right." 37 And when he heard this he said in an angry voice, "You all command me to go to the king. 38 This is the opinion of all of you—that I should go to the king, spread out my *añcala*, and beg cowries. 39 A *brāhmaṇa-saṃnyāsin* is worth five *gaṇḍās*; even if I beg, how would he give me two lakhs of *kāhanas*?" 40 At that time another man came running, "They are about to throw Gopīnātha down on the swords!" 41 When they heard this, his followers all entreated Prabhu, and Prabhu said, "I am a mendicant; I can do nothing. 42 But if it is in the hearts of all of you to save him, all of you together make this known at the feet of Jagannātha. 43 Jagannātha is Īśvara, and all things are in his hands. He is able to do what is to be done, or not to do it."

44 And when Mahāprabhu was speaking thus in that place, the minister Haricandana went and said to the king, 45 "Gopīnātha is a Paṭṭanāyaka, he is your servant. It is not right to punish a servant with death. 46 Particularly since he has money due you; if you take his life, what will be the result? Your own wealth will be lost. 47 So buy the horses for a proper price, and whatever the remainder is he will pay gradually. Why do you take his life meaninglessly?" 48 The king said, "I did not know about all this. Indeed why should I take his life, when I want his goods. 49 You go and solve it all; [see] that my money comes in, and save his life." 50 Then Haricandana came and told this to the prince, and he had Gopīnātha quickly brought down from the scaffold. 51 "Give the money which the king asks," and he asked him how he would do it. He answered, "Take my horses for a proper price, 52 and gradually I shall give him everything, as much [at a time] as I am able. What can I say if unjustly you take my life?" 53 So he took the horses, paying him a fair price, and after arranging time limits for the payments, he sent him home. 54 Now Prabhu asked that man, "What did Vāṇīnātha do, when they arrested him?" 55 He replied, "Vāṇīnātha was fearless, and took the name of Kṛṣṇa; without resting he said 'Hare Kṛṣṇa, Hare Kṛṣṇa.' 56 He counted the numbers on the fingers of his

38. *Añcala*: the front part of the dhoti, spread out to receive the money.

39. Or: "*brāhmaṇas* and *saṃnyāsins*," for the compound is *dvandva*, and it would perhaps not be usual for a *saṃnyāsin* to refer to his former caste, which he had disavowed when he took orders.

56. [Presumably he cut the line to keep track of the number of repetitions of the name. TKS]

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two hands, and when he had completed a thousand he cut a line on his body." 57 When he heard this, Mahāprabhu was greatly pleased. Who can understand the tricks of the grace of Gaura?

58 Right after that, Kāśī Miśra came to the place of Prabhu, and Prabhu said to him with great anxiety, 59 "I cannot remain here. I shall go to Ālālanātha. With so many disturbances, I find no peace here. 60 The family of Bhavānanda Rāya did the business of the king, and they spent the king's money in various ways. 61 What is the fault of the king? The king wanted his own money. But he could not give it, and so they told me about the punishment. 62 When the king had Gopīnātha mount the scaffold, four people came to tell me about it. 63 I am a mendicant *saṃnyāsin*; I live alone. They give me sorrow, coming to tell me of their own sorrows. 64 Today, Jagannātha saved him; tomorrow who will save him, if he does not give the king his wealth? 65 Hearing the talk of these worldly people, my mind is distracted. So I cannot remain here." 66 So Kāśī Miśra said, holding the feet of Prabhu, "Why is your mind agitated by the talk of these people? 67 You are a *saṃnyāsin*, indifferent to the world; to whom do you have ties? He is blind in knowledge, who worships you for worldly things. 68 The fruit of the worship of you is the wealth of *prema* towards you, and he who worships you for worldly gain is a stupid man. 69 For you Rāmānanda left his kingdom. For you Sanātana abandoned worldly things. 70 For you Raghunātha came, leaving everything, and when his father sent him worldly goods here, 71 the grace of your feet was upon him, and he eats from begging in the *chatra*, and does not touch the worldly goods. 72 The brother of Rāmānanda is Gopīnātha Mahāśaya, and he has no desire for worldly things from you. 73 Seeing his misery, his servants and others came to tell you, having no other refuge. 74 That indeed is pure *bhakti*—he worships you for you [alone], and enjoys or suffers his pleasure and pain by himself. 75 He wants your grace, and he worships constantly, and quickly he is joined to your feet.

Śloka 2. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.14.8:

That man participates in the heritage of *bhakti*, who looking well to your mercy, enjoying the fruits of the *karma* earned by himself, is living making obeisance to you with speech, mind, and body.

57. [*Chandabanda*: "tricks," lit., including clever phraseology that leaves meanings ambiguous and open to interpretation, which Kṛṣṇadāsa here feels compelled to stipulate. TKS]

71. See 3.6.276-302.

Śloka 2. See 2.6.*śl.*22.

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76 So remain here. Why would you go to Ālālanātha? No one will cause you to hear a word of worldly matters. 77 And if it is in your heart to save him, he who saved him today will protect him [in the future]."

78 So speaking, Kāśī Miśra returned to his own place. At midday, [King] Pratāparudra came to his house. 79 It was a rule with Pratāparudra, that as long as he remained at Śrī Puruṣottama, 80 each day he would come to massage the feet of Miśra, and to hear how the service of Jagannātha should be carried on. 81 When the king began to press the feet of Miśra, Miśra said to him somewhat artfully, 82 "O Deva! Hear an extraordinary thing. Mahāprabhu is leaving Kṣetra and will go to Ālālanātha." 83 When he heard this, the king was miserable, and he asked the reason for it. Then Miśra told him the whole story. 84 "When you had Gopīnātha Paṭṭanāyaka forced to climb the scaffold, his servants all came and told Prabhu of it. 85 When he heard it, the heart of Mahāprabhu was agitated, and in anger he reprimanded Gopīnātha severely. 86 'He has not conquered his senses, and he carries on the affairs of the king; in various immoral ways he has squandered the wealth of the king. 87 The wealth of a king is like the wealth of a *brāhmaṇa*: he who steals it and enjoys it is a very wicked man. 88 He takes a salary from the king, and [still] he steals. He deserves the king's punishment—this is the judgment of the *śāstras*. 89 The king asks for his own money, he does not punish him; the king is a great follower of *dharma*, while this one is a great sinner. 90 He does not give the money which he owes to the king, and shouts out to me; this is great misery, and who is able to bear it? 91 I have decided that I shall go and remain at Ālālanātha, where I shall hear no talk of good or evil of worldly people.'" 92 When he heard this, the king said with great pain in his heart, "I shall give up all my wealth, if Prabhu remains here. 93 If I gain *darśana* of Prabhu for an instant, the wealth of a crore of philosopher's stones is not the equal of that. 94 These two lakhs of *kāhanas* have the substance of ashes. I shall dedicate my life, my kingdom, to the feet of Prabhu." 95 Miśra said, "That you give up the money is not Prabhu's wish. They were given pain; he could not bear it." 96 The king said,

77. Caitanya and Jagannātha are identical; if Caitanya wishes to save him in the future, Jagannātha can do it, as he has done before.

80. We have seen the Mahārāja of Puri sweeping the ground before the Car of Jagannātha; this is another way in which he humbled himself in reverence for that deity. The connection between the temple at Puri and the royal line of the Mahārāja has always been a very intimate one. Even today, two sets of temple records are kept, one for the temple, and the other being in the keeping of the Mahārāja.

95. "They": the *bhaktas* of Caitanya who came to ask for his intercession.

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"I did not give him pain. I did not know that he had been brought up the scaffold, or that he was to be thrown on swords. 97 He mocked my son Puruṣottama, and that son feigned his punishment. 98 You go and keep Prabhu here carefully; I renounce all the money for his sake." 99 Miśra said, "That you renounce the money is not in the mind of Prabhu; if you renounce the money, Prabhu would consider that additional sorrow." 100 The king said, "I give up the money for his sake—but do not tell him this. They are naturally beloved of me—tell him that. 101 Bhavānanda Rāya is most respected and honored by me, and his sons are naturally loved by me." 102 So saying he bowed to Miśra and went to his own place, and he summoned the eldest prince and Gopīnātha. 103 The king said, "I relinquish to you all the money; and that Mālajāṭhyādaṇḍapāṭa has been returned to you. 104 Do not misappropriate the royal wealth again; and from today, double salary has been given you." 105 So saying, he put a cloth on him, "Take this by the order of Prabhu, and go." And he bade him farewell.

106 In matters of the highest ends, let the mercy of Prabhu be aside, for the fruits of it are infinite; who is able to speak of them? 107 There is a hint of his mercy in the matter of the king's goods; but how it all adds up does not come to the mind of just anyone. 108 How mounting the scaffold he accepted the life [of Gopīnātha] and wealth [of the king]; how abandoning everything [the king] gave a gift of his kingdom; 109 how everything was sold and taken, but the money not given over; how [Gopīnātha's] salary was doubled, and a cloth put on him. 110 It was not the wish of Prabhu that the money should be given up to him, nor that his salary be doubled or his position be restored. 111 Still, his servant came and petitioned, because of which the heart of Mahāprabhu was distressed. 112 There was no intention of Prabhu to give the happiness of worldly goods; by the power of the petition all of this was the fruit. 113 Who is able to describe the wonderful nature of Gaura; Śiva and Brahmā and the others do not gain the *bhāva* of his heart.

114 Then Kāśī Miśra came to the feet of Prabhu, and he reported the actions of the king. 115 Prabhu said, "Kāśī Miśra! What have you done? You have caused me to take [a boon] from the king!" 116 But Miśra said, "Hear me, Prabhu. The words of the king were sincere, and he petitioned me this way:

100. "They": the family of Bhavānanda.

105. Netadhaṭī: according to the *Śabdakalpadruma*, the word *neta* (*netra*) has two meanings, that of "eye" and "matted hair"; and *dhaṭī* is "cloth," thus the term means a cloth to be worn on the head, a cloth to cover the hair; it was evidently a sign of honor, signifying that Gopīnātha was once again in the king's service and protected by him.

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117 'Do not let Prabhu consider that "for my sake the king has given up two lakhs of *kāhanas*." 118 All the sons of Bhavānanda are most dear to me; I look upon them all as my own. 119 Thus wherever I have given them the right, let them eat and drink and loot and squander, and I will not judge them. 120 I made Rāmānanda Rāya the *rājā* of Rājamahindā; of what he collected, and of what he gave me, there was no accounting made. 121 In this way Gopīnātha has served me, and he perhaps has appropriated two or four lakhs of *kāhanas*. 122 Some he has given me, and some he has not given me, I do not judge. This time he has gained sorrow by his antagonizing the prince. 123 I did not know that the prince was taking such extreme measures; I consider all the sons of Bhavānanda as my own. 124 For this reason I give up the money, let him know that this is the case. Very natural is my affection for him.'"

125 Hearing these humble words of the king, Prabhu was delighted, and at that time Bhavānanda Rāya came to him. 126 He came with his five sons and fell at his feet, and Prabhu raised them up and embraced them. 127 Rāmānanda Rāya and the others were all there together, and Bhavānanda Rāya began to speak, 128 "All these, my whole family, are your servants. You have saved us in this danger, Prabhu; you have excised the source [of the danger]. 129 Now you have manifested your affection for your *bhaktas*; you have saved [us] as of old you saved the five Pāṇḍavas." 130 Gopīnātha fell at his feet, his cloth wrapped on his head, and he told the whole story of the vast mercy of the king, 131 how he had subtracted the remainder of the money due, and doubled his salary, and how he had restored him to his position and put the headcloth on him. 132 "Where there had been the panic of death on top of the scaffold, now there sits this headcloth, and all this grace. 133 On top of the scaffold, I meditated on your feet, and because of the power of remembering your feet, this fruit has been gained. 134 The people are astonished when they see all that has happened to me; they praise you and sing of the greatness of your mercy. 135 But this is not the chief fruit of the remembering of you; this is only a suggestion of the fruit, for in it is inconstant material wealth. 136 You made Rāma Rāya and Vāṇīnātha indifferent to worldly things; but that mercy, from which

128. "The source": you have not only saved me from the immediate danger, but have taken away the wrong impulses which threw me into the danger in the first place.

129. The reference is to Kṛṣṇa's assistance to the five Pāṇḍava brothers, as told in the *Mahābhārata* story. [Kṛṣṇadāsa previously identified these five brothers, i.e., Rāmānanda Rāya, Gopīnātha Paṭṭanāyaka, Kalānidhi, Sudhānidhi, and Vāṇīnātha Nāyaka, as the five sons of Pāṇḍu in the prior age (see 1.10.130-32 and 2.10.48-52). Kavikarṇapura in *GGUD* 120ff gives one of Rāmānanda Rāya's identities as Arjuna. TKS]

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such [indifference] comes, has not come to me. 137 Give me your pure grace, Gosvāmī, cleanse me of worldly things. I am full of remorse. Let me have no concern with worldly affairs!" 138 Prabhu said, "If you five become *saṃnyāsin*s, who will support your many relatives? 139 Whether you are deep in the affairs of the world or whether you are indifferent and unattached to things, in birth after birth you five will be my own servants. 140 But keep this one command of mine: Do not squander any of the royal wealth. 141 Give the king's wealth [to the king], so that some profit comes of it. Spend what wealth you have in various deeds of *dharma*. 142 Do not spend it wrongly, for in that both the worlds are destroyed [for you]." And so saying, Prabhu bade farewell to them all.

143 The play of the mercy of Prabhu at the house of Rāya has been narrated, in which is seen the quality of his affection toward his *bhakta*s. 144 And embracing them all, Prabhu bade them farewell, and making the "Hari" sound, all the *bhakta*s arose and went away. 145 Seeing the mercy of Prabhu, everyone was astonished; they could not understand the actions of Prabhu. 146 When they all asked for such mercy, Prabhu said, "None of this is from me." 147 The blaming of Gopīnātha and his own remorse—had only this been told, not a part of it would be understood. 148 [Gopīnātha] did not ask of Kāśī Miśra, nor did he ask of the king; Mahāprabhu brought about such fruit without exertion. 149 This is the greatest depth of the actions of Caitanya; he whose mind is concentrated on his feet understands it. 150 He who hears this manifestation of his affection to this *bhakta*s gains *prema-bhakti*, and his adversity is destroyed.

151 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

139. *Udāsa*: indifferent; *virakta*: unattached or lit., devoid of passion.

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Antya Līlā
Chapter 10

Śloka 1.

I bow down to Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, who is pleased with whatever his *bhaktas* offer him with faith, and who is anxious to grant his favor to the *bhaktas*.

1 Glory, glory to Gauracandra, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 At the end of the rainy season, all the *bhaktas*, in greatest joy, went to Nīlācala to see Prabhu. 3 Advaita Ācārya Gosvāmī, counted first among all, and Ācāryaratna, Ācāryanidhi, and Śrīvāsa and the other blessed ones. 4 And even though Prabhu had ordered him to remain at Gauḍa, still Nityānanda went in *prema* to see him. 5 For the sign of deep love is this—that one does not obey injunctions; so he broke the command in order to be with him. 6 It was as during the *rāsa*, when [Kṛṣṇa] ordered the *gopīs* to go home, they disobeyed his order and stayed with him. 7 As much as Kṛṣṇa is pleased when his commands are obeyed, he is a crore of times more pleased when his commands are disobeyed for *prema*. 8 So Vāsudeva Datta, Murāri Gupta, Gaṅgādāsa, Śrīmān Sena, Śrīmān Paṇḍita, Akiñcana Kṛṣṇadāsa, 9 Murāri Paṇḍita, Garuḍa Paṇḍita, Buddhimanta Khān, Sañjaya, Puruṣottama, Bhagavān Paṇḍita, 10 Śuklāmbara, Nṛsiṃhānanda, and so many others—all went, and their names cannot be counted. 11 Those who lived in Kulīnagrāma, and those who lived at Khaṇḍa, went all together, and Śivānanda Sena went with them all.

5. *Anurāga*: deep love.

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12 Rāghava Paṇḍita went, having prepared the bags, in which Damayantī had put many things, 13 various wonderful things to eat, food proper for Prabhu, so many that Mahāprabhu could eat them for a year. 14 There was *āmrakāsundī*, *ādākāsundī*, and *jhālakāsundī*, and various kinds of lime, ginger, mango, and pepper. 15 And *āmasī*, *āmrakhaṇḍa*, *tailāmra*, *āmatā*, and old *sukutā*, powdered with great care. 16 Do not think that *sukutā* is to be scorned; the pleasure that Prabhu got from the *sukutā* he did not get from the five nectars. 17 Mahāprabhu takes only affection [to be pleased], being sensitive to the inner emotion, and so took great delight in the *kāsundī* and the *sukutā*-leaves. 18 Damayantī considered Prabhu as human [and reasoned] "sometimes phlegm forms in the belly because of heavy food; 19 if one eats *sukutā*, that phlegm is destroyed." This kind of affection gave delight to Prabhu, as he reflected on it.

Śloka 2. *Bhāravi* 8.20:

No woman throws away a garland, even if it is muddy, if it is offered by her lover, made with his own hands, and she wears it on her full breast, over her heart; the qualities dwell in the love, not in the object.

20 Powdering coriander seed, aniseed, and husked rice, she made them into balls and cooked them with sugar. 21 And balls of *śuṇṭhikhaṇḍa*, which cure bile and phlegm, she made up separately and put within the sacks of cloth. 22 And *kolišuṇṭhī*, *kolicūrṇa*, and *kolikhaṇḍa*, a hundred kinds of pickles—how many kinds shall I name? 23 And *nārikhela-khaṇḍanāḍu*, *gaṅgājala-nāḍu*—all kinds

12. Jhāli: bags, which usually means a wicker basket; it seems from a later passage, however, that there were actually cloth sacks of some kind, perhaps like the bags available today in Bengal by that name. Damayantī was the name of Rāghava Paṇḍita's sister.

13. [There are often no direct translations for these food items, those items that are probable, but not certain, are indicated in the commentary below. It is somewhat puzzling as to why Kṛṣṇadāsa, who was himself an ascetic, would devote so much energy to these minute descriptions (similar lists can be found in 2.3.36-54; 2.14.21-32; 2.15.205-19; 3.6.passim; 3.18.100-103); see *Introduction*, Section III.2. TKS]

14. Āmrakāsundī: a kind of chutney made with green mango, in which is put powdered mustard seed and salt; *ādākāsundī*: a ginger chutney; *jhālakāsundī*: a hot chili chutney. The second half of the couplet might mean "prepared with various kinds . . ."

15. Āmasī: dried mango; *āmrakhaṇḍa*: pieces of mango; *tailāmra*: mango with oil(?); *sukutā*: jute leaves.

20. Dhaniyā: coriander seed; *mahurī*: aniseed; *taṇḍula*: husked rice.

21. Śuṇṭhikhaṇḍa: balls of dried ginger.

22. Koli: jujube; *ācāra*: chutney, or what is commonly called pickle.

23. Khaṇḍa and *nāḍu* are different shapes; *nārikela* is coconut.

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of *khaṇḍa* which would keep for a long time. 24 And kinds of *maṇḍa* and *kṣīra-sāra*, which would keep for a long time, and *amṛta-karpūra* and the like, of many kinds. 25 And she made *ātava-ciḍā* of *śali-kāñcūṭi* paddy, and with it she filled great sacks of new cloth. 26 Some of the *ciḍā* and *huḍuma* she fried in *ghi*, and cooking them in sugar, she made balls of them and put in camphor and so forth. 27 Having powdered fried *śāli-taṇḍula*, she soaked the powder in *ghi* and cooked it with sugar; 28 camphor, black pepper, cardomom, cloves, and roasted sugar she powdered, and made balls of wonderful aroma. 29 And again she fried the *khai* of *śāli*-paddy in *ghi*, and mixing it with sugar she made *ukhaḍā*, putting in camphor and other things. 30 She powdered *phuṭakalāi* and fried it in *ghi*, and putting in camphor and things she mixed it with sugar and made balls. 31 I do not know how to name them all in this one life, so many thousands of kinds of things to eat there were. 32 It was the request of Rāghava, and Damayantī prepared them, such was the great strength of their affection for Prabhu. 33 They brought Gaṅgā-mud, and strained it through a cloth, and made cakes of it, putting in sweet-smelling things. 34 They filled delicate earthen pots with chutney and so on, and filled the sacks of cloth with all the other things. 35 They made *jhālis* double the size of ordinary *jhālis*; and arranging them in rows they filled all the *jhālis*. 36 Tying up the *jhālis*, they sealed them with great care, and three bearers, in a row, carried the *jhālis*. 37 In brief this matter of the *jhālis* has been discussed; it has become famous as the "*jhālis* of Rāghava." 38 Makaradhvajakara was put in charge of the *jhālis*, and he guarded them like his life.

39 In this way all the Vaiṣṇavas came to Nīlācala, and by good luck that day was the *jala-līlā* of Jagannātha. 40 Govinda boarded a boat on the water of the Narendra, and with all the *bhaktas* and servants was playing in the water. 41 At that time Mahāprabhu with his *bhaktas* came to the Narendra to watch the fun of the water-play. 42 And at that time all the *bhaktas* of Gauḍa arrived, and they met Prabhu at Narendra. 43 The *bhaktas* all fell at the feet of Prabhu, and raising them up, Prabhu embraced them all. 44 In the group from Gauḍa, they all made *kīrtana*, and they wept with *prema*, because of the meeting with Prabhu.

24. *Kṣīrasāra*: creamy butter; *maṇḍa*: a kind of sweet.
25. *Ātava-ciḍā*: rice that has been only soaked and not otherwise prepared.
29. *Khai*: fried frice; *ukhaḍā*: a sweet of fried rice coated with sugar.
33. This is used for cleaning the teeth.
34. *Sandhāna*: *ācāra*, chutney or pickle.
39. The time when Jagannātha is taken and put on a boat, to play in the water of the Narendra-*sarovara*.

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45 Instruments were playing, and there was singing and dancing in praise of the water-play; on the banks there was a great uproar, and games in the water. 46 Weeping was mingled with the *kīrtana* of the Gauḍīyās, and the great uproar filled the Brahmā-worlds. 47 With all the *bhaktas*, Prabhu descended into the water, and with all of them he played in delight. 48 This water-sport of Prabhu, Vṛndāvana Dāsa has described in detail in his *Caitanya Maṅgala*. 49 And if I were to describe again what has already been told, it would be meaningless writing, and the book would grow too large. 50 When the water-*līlā* was done, Govinda went to the temple, and Prabhu also went to the temple with his followers. 51 When he had seen Jagannātha, again he came to his own home, and he had *prasāda* brought and fed the *bhaktas*. 52 And all passed a little time in pleasant talk, and then he sent them all, each to the place where he had dwelt formerly. 53 Rāghava presented the *jhālis* to Govinda, and Govinda put the *jhālis* in a corner of the eating room. 54 He emptied the *jhālis* from the previous year, and placed the articles which they held in another room.

55 The next day Mahāprabhu with his followers went to see Jagannātha arising from his rest. 56 And they began the *beḍhā-kīrtana* there, and began to sing in seven groups. 57 Seven people led the dance in seven groups—Advaita Ācārya, Prabhu Nityānanda, 58 Vakreśvara, Acyutānanda, Śrīnivāsa Paṇḍita, Satyarāja Khān, and Narahari Dāsa. 59 Prabhu wandered among the seven groups, and in the minds of all was "Prabhu is in my group." 60 With the tumult of the *saṃkīrtana* the sky split open, and all the people who dwelt at Jagannātha came to see. 61 Seeing it from a distance, the *rājā* came with his people, and all the *rājā*'s wives climbed up on the roof and saw it. 62 The *kīrtana* made the earth tremble on all eight sides, and the people sounded the name of Kṛṣṇa, and there was a great tumult. 63 In this way for some time the *kīrtana* went on, and then Prabhu had a mind to dance himself. 64 In seven directions the seven groups were singing and playing, and Gaura Rāya danced among them, overcome with great *prema*. 65 Mahāprabhu remembered an Oriya verse, and he ordered Svarūpa to sing that verse.

48. [Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *CBh* (= *Caitanya Maṅgala*) describes the arrival of the devotees and subsequent *kīrtana* in 3.9.1-99 [= GM ed. 3.8] and the water sports in 3.9.100-140. TKS]

56. Beḍhā: surrounding; the *kīrtana* went in procession around the temple of Jagannātha.

58. Śrīnivāsa: Śrivāsa.

59. [The action invokes Kṛṣṇa and the *gopīs* in the *rāsa-līlā*. TKS]

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Śloka 3. [refrain]:

O you who charm the world, let me go to give you worship.

66 He danced with this verse, deeply absorbed, and the people all around him were wet with the tears of *prema* of Prabhu. 67 Prabhu raised his arms and said, "*Bol! Bol!*" and the people, floating in *ānanda*, raised the sound of Hari. 68 Now he fell in a faint, and he had no more breath; and suddenly he stood up again and shouted. 69 He was like a *śimūlī* tree, thick with goose-flesh: sometimes his body blossomed [with it], and sometimes it abated. 70 Bloody sweat came out of every pore of his body, and he stuttered "*jaja gaga mama pari.*" 71 It seemed that each of his teeth were separately trembling; his teeth chattered so, it seemed that they would fall out on the ground. 72 As time went on Prabhu became increasingly absorbed in *ānanda*. The third watch came, and still the dancing was not ended. 73 A sea of *ānanda* welled up in all the people, and everyone forgot their bodies, their selves, and their homes. 74 Then Nityānanda Prabhu devised a stratagem, and one by one he stopped all the *kīrtanīyā*s, 75 [until] there was only one group, that with Svarūpa. With Svarūpa they sang with voices lowered. 76 The uproar ceased, and gradually Prabhu came to his senses; then Nityānanda told him of the exertions of them all. 77 Knowing the fatigue of the *bhakta*s, he concluded the *kīrtana*, and with all of them he went to bathe in the sea. 78 With all of them Prabhu ate *prasāda*, and bidding them all farewell he went to rest.

79 [Prabhu] laid himself down in the door of the *gambhīrā*, and Govinda came to massage his feet. 80 All the time this was a most rigid rule, that when

Śloka 3. The Oriya is important: "*jagamohana parimuṇḍā yāṅga.*" *Parimuṇḍā* is *nirmañchana*, the waving of lights, incense, etc., before the image. The second part of the verse, of which this is the refrain, is "Seeing the moon like face of him who enchants the world, my mind is intoxicated."

66-76. [For Caitanya's delirium in *prema*, see text and commentary to 1.7.86-93; 1.17.5; 2.8.135; 1.18.151-74; and 2.23.31-32. TKS]

67. Bol: speak or chant, i.e., the name of Hari.

69. Pulaka: raised flesh, goose-flesh; the texture of the *śimūlī* tree is very much reminiscent of this; *saru*: lit., "thin," i.e., normal, without *pulaka*, so translated here as "abated."

70. These syllables are the initial syllables of the Oriya verse cited above, and are representative of the garbled speech (*svarabhaṅga*) of one possessed of *prema*.

71. Eka eka danta yena pṛthak pṛthak naḍe /

76. "Came . . . senses": lit., "came outside," i.e., became aware of what was going on around him. See 3.18.74-77.

79. Gambhīrā, lit., "deep," therefore a room deep within the house, an inner room. It should be noted that today in Puri, the reputed room of Caitanya is called by the name *gambhīrā*. Govinda is Caitanya's personal attendant.

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Prabhu had taken *prasāda* and lain down, 81 Govinda would come and massage his feet, and then go and eat what Prabhu had left. 82 Prabhu had lain down, stretching completely across the door. Govinda was unable to go within, so he said to him, 83 "Move a little to one side, and let me enter." And Prabhu replied, "I do not have the strength to move my body." 84 Again and again Govinda asked him to move to one side, and Prabhu said, "I cannot move my body." 85 Govinda said, "I want to massage your feet." And Prabhu said, "Do it or not, as you like." 86 Then Govinda spread an outer garment over him, and stepped over Mahāprabhu and went into the house. 87 He massaged his feet, and kneaded his waist and his back, and with the gentle massaging, Prabhu went to sleep. 88 He slept peacefully, with Govinda kneading his limbs, and after two *daṇḍa*s, Prabhu woke up. 89 Seeing Govinda there, Prabhu said to him angrily, "You are still sitting there after all this time? 90 When I went to sleep why did you not go and eat the *prasāda*?" And Govinda answered, "You were lying in the doorway; there was no way for me to go." 91 Prabhu said, "Then how did you get in? Why did you not go out the same way to eat the *prasāda*?" 92 And Govinda thought to himself, "It is my duty to serve, should it be an offence or cause me to go to perdition. 93 I would not mind a crore of offences for the sake of service. But I have great fear of even the suggestion of an offence committed for my own sake." 94 So Govinda kept all this to himself, and he refused to answer the question Prabhu had asked. 95 Every day, when Prabhu slept, he went to take *prasāda*; but that day, knowing that he was tired, he stayed to massage him. 96 There was no way to go; how could he go? To step over Prabhu [for his own sake] would have been a great offence. 97 This is the delicate *dharma* of the *bhakti-śāstra*s, and he fathomed the inner meaning of this *dharma* because of the grace of Prabhu. 98 Prabhu played all these games to reveal the qualities of *bhakta*s; to show all these, he used many subterfuges. 99 So in brief has been related the dance of the *parimuṇḍā*, which even now the servants of Prabhu sing.

100 In a manner like this Mahāprabhu with his followers washed and cleansed the *guṇḍicā* house. 101 And as before, Prabhu had *kīrtana* and danced, and as before he had the feast in the forest in the *ṭoṭā*. 102 He danced before

93. Govinda had stepped over Caitanya's prostrate body on the way in for Caitanya's sake, in order to be able to massage his feet; but to step back over his body for his own sake, in order to go out and get himself something to eat, he would have considered an offence.

99. Parimuṇḍā: cf. the Oriya verse above in *śloka* 3.

102. [The Horāpañcamī is described in 2.14. TKS]

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the car, as formerly, and had *darśana* of the Horāpañcamī Festival. 103 All the *bhaktas* remained there for the four months of the rains, and had *darśana* of the Janmāṣṭamī and the other festivals. 104 When previously the *bhaktas* had come from Gauḍa, they all wanted to feed Prabhu something. 105 Each one brought some *prasāda* and gave it to Govinda, [having gotten the promise] that certainly Gosvāmī would eat it. 106 Some brought *paiḍa*, some *lāḍu*, and some *piṭhā* and *pānā*—the best, very expensive *prasāda*, of many kinds. 107 Govinda would say to him, "Such and such a one has given this," and Prabhu would say "Keep it," and not eat it. 108 So in preserving these things, one corner of the house became filled; the food offerings of a hundred people were stored there. 109 They all took pains to ask Govinda, "Has Prabhu eaten the *prasāda* which I gave him?" 110 And Govinda said something to each one, deceiving them. And one day he said to Prabhu dejectedly, 111 "Ācārya and the other *mahāśayas*, with great care, have given me things to feed you. 112 But you do not eat them, and again and again they ask. I deceive them so much; how can I be saved?" 113 Prabhu said, "You *ādibaśyā*, why are you so sad? Bring all that anyone has given here." 114 And so saying, Mahāprabhu sat down to eat; and Govinda told him the name of the donor of each thing as he presented it. 115 "The Ācārya has given this *paiḍa* and *pānā* and *sarapūpī*, and this *amṛtagoṭikā* and *maṇḍā* and *karpūrakūpī*. 116 These various things are from Śrīvāsa Paṇḍita, and this *piṭhā* and *pānā* and *amṛtagoṭikā* and *maṇḍā* and *padmacini*. 117 Ācāryaratna has given these gifts, and Ācāryanidhi these various things. 118 and Vāsudeva Datta this, and Murāri Gupta that, and Buddhimanta Khān these many kinds of things, 119 and Śrīmān Sena, and Śrīmān Paṇḍita, and the son of the Acārya. Eat these things given by all of them. 120 These things are from the people of Kulīnagrāma—see how much there is before you, and see that same amount from the people who live in Khaṇḍa." 121 Thus giving the names of all their donors, he placed the items before Prabhu, and happily Prabhu ate them. 122 Even though they had been sitting for a month, and the coconuts were split on top, all the *amṛtagoṭikā* and the *pānā* and all the other things 123 tasted fresh; there was no taste of staleness, such was the *prasāda* of Mahāprabhu. 124 Prabhu ate in one *daṇḍa* what a

106. Paiḍa: a kind of sweet, as is *lāḍu*.

113. Ādibaśyā: one who has lived (*baśyā*) in a place from the beginning (*ādi*), therefore a tribal or aboriginal. Caitanya is obviously using the expression as an affectionate insult; the expression is still used today, and means something like "fool" or "simpleton."

123. There is a pun on the word "*prasāda*," which means both food offered to a deity and "grace," the grace of Caitanya in accepting the food.

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hundred men would eat, and then he asked Govinda, "Is there any more?" 125 And Govinda said, "Only the *jhālis* of Rāghava are left." And Prabhu said, "Let them be for now; I shall look to them later." 126 Another day, when Prabhu was eating privately, he opened the *jhālis* of Rāghava and looked at all that was there. 127 He tasted a little bit of all the things, and seeing them sweet and tasty, he praised them greatly. 128 He kept them stored for a year, and when it came time to eat them, Svarūpa served him and made him eat. 129 Sometimes in the night time he would eat some, enjoying those foodstuffs offered in faith by the *bhaktas*. 130 And in this way Mahāprabhu with his *bhaktas* passed the four months in pleasant talk of Kṛṣṇa.

131 From time to time Ācārya and the others invited him, and cooked rice in their houses, and various curries: 132 some vegetables and sauces of *sukutā*, and *nimbabārttākī*, and *bhṛṣṭapaṭola*, 133 *bhṛṣṭaphulabaḍi* and *mudgadāli* curry. They knew and cooked the curries according to the taste of Prabhu: 134 hot dishes of pepper, and *madhurāmla*, and ginger, salt, lemon, milk, yogurt, *khaṇḍa* and cream. 135 And they brought *prasāda* of Jagannātha to mix with them; sometimes he went alone, and sometimes with his followers. 136 Ācāryaratna and Ācāryanidhi, Nandana and Rāghava, and Śrīvāsa and others—all these *bhaktas* were *brāhmaṇas*. 137 And they in this way tendered him invitations with great care. And Vāsudeva, Gadādhara Dāsa, Murāri Gupta, 138 and all the people of Kulīnagrāma and of Khaṇḍa invited him, and had *prasāda* of Jagannātha brought.

139 Now hear the story of the invitation of Śivānanda Sena. The eldest son of Śivānanda was named Caitanya Dāsa. 140 And he brought him with him to meet Prabhu, and when they met, Prabhu asked his name. 141 And when he heard the name "Caitanya Dāsa," Gaura-rāya said, "What name does he have? I do not understand." 142 And Sena said, "He who bears the name understands it," and so saying he extended an invitation to Prabhu. 143 He had brought some very expensive *prasāda* of Jagannātha, and with his *bhaktas* Prabhu sat down to eat it. 144 Out of regard for Śivānanda, Prabhu ate, although he was not disposed to eat such heavy food. 145 The next day Caitanya Dāsa invited him, and knowing Prabhu's preferences he had curry brought, 146 and curds and lemon and ginger and *karaḍīyā* and salt. And when he saw the prepara-

132. Nimbabārttākī: egg-plant fried with *nima* leaves.

135. Those who were not *brāhmaṇas*, or were not *brāhmaṇas* of appropriate caste, could not cook for Caitanya in their own homes, so they fed him *prasāda* of Jagannātha which they bought.

142. The name of course means "servant of Caitanya."

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tions, Prabhu was well disposed. 147 Prabhu said, "This boy knows my mind; I am pleased that he invited me." 148 And so saying he ate the rice and curd, and gave the remainder to Caitanya Dāsa to eat.

149 In this way the invitations went on for four months, and some of the Vaiṣṇavas did not find a day on which to invite him. 150 Gadādhara Paṇḍita and Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya—for these two there were fixed days for eating. 151 Gopīnātha Ācārya, Jagadānanda, Kāśīśvara, Bhagavān, Rāmabhadra Ācārya, Śaṅkara, Vakreśvara— 152 from time to time he was invited to eat at the houses of these; and for others to extend him invitation for *prasāda*, it cost two *paṇas* of cowries. 153 At first the obligation had been four *paṇas* of cowries, but he had decreased his meals, in deference to Rāmacandra. 154 So the *bhaktas* of Gauḍa remained for four months, and then he bade them farewell, and he remained with the *bhaktas* who were his companions at Nīlācala.

155 Thus has been told of the invitations and meals of Prabhu, and how he tasted the food brought by the *bhaktas*. 156 And within [this] is the description of the *jhālis* of Rāghava, and within that the story of the *parimuṇḍā* dance. 157 He who hears these stories of Caitanya with faith will always gain the *prema* of the feet of Caitanya. 158 To hear it is like nectar, it soothes the ears and heart; he is most fortunate, who tastes it.

159 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

150. Fixed days for eating: on certain days of the month these two regularly offered Caitanya invitations.

153. Rāmacandra frequently openly criticized Caitanya and others for perceived breaches in ascetic conduct. See 3.8.

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Antya Līlā
Chapter 11

Śloka 1.

I bow to that Haridāsa, and to Caitanya his Prabhu, who danced, holding the dead body of [Haridāsa] in his arms.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to him full of mercy, glory to the beloved Advaita and to the beloved Nityānanda. 2 Glory to the Lord of Haridāsa and the Īśvara of Śrīnivāsa, glory to the Lord of the heart of Svarūpa and of the beloved Gadādhara. 3 Glory to the Īśvara of the heart of Jagadānanda and of the beloved Kāśī, and glory to the Īśvara of Raghunātha, Rūpa, and Sanātana. 4 Glory to Kṛṣṇa in his golden body, *svayaṃ bhagavān*. Be merciful, Prabhu, and give us the gift of your own feet! 5 Glory to Nityānanda, glory to him who is the life of Caitanya; give us the gift of *bhakti* at your lotus feet. 6 Glory, glory to Advaitacandra, honored by Caitanya; give us, O glorious Advaitācārya, *bhakti* at your own feet. 7 And glory to the *bhaktas* of Gauḍa, of whom Gaura is the very life; give me the gift of *bhakti*, joined with all of them. 8 Glory to Rūpa, Sanātana, Jīva, Raghunātha [Dāsa], Raghunātha [Bhaṭṭa], and Gopāla—glory to these six, my lords. 9 By the grace of them all I write the qualities of the *līlā* of Caitanya; [although] I write haphazardly, it purifies me.

10 So in this way Prabhu lived at Nīlācala, and with his *bhaktas* as his companions he had *kīrtana-vilāsa*. 11 In the day he danced and had *kīrtana* and *darśana* of Īśvara, and in the night he tasted *rasa* with Rāya and Svarūpa. 12 In this way time passed happily for Mahāprabhu; but his body could not contain

2. *Nātha*: lord.

9. *Yaiche taiche*: haphazardly, i.e., "even though my description of all this is insufficient, still it brings me purification."

12. *Vikāra*: lit., "delirium," the alteration of the condition of his mind from its previous or normal state, because of his feeling of *viraha*.

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the delirium of his *viraha* from Kṛṣṇa. 13 Day by day the delirium grew, and at night it was very strong—worry and anxiety and raving and all the rest, as the *śāstras* describe it. 14 Svarūpa Gosvāmī and Rāmānanda Rāya, both consoled Prabhu day and night.

15 One day Govinda brought *mahāprasāda*, and in joy went to give it to Haridāsa. 16 He saw that Haridāsa was lying down, and very very softly was doing *kīrtana* of the prescribed number [of names]. 17 Govinda said, "Rise up and come and eat." And Haridāsa replied, "Today I shall transgress. 18 How can I eat? The number of *saṃkīrtanas* has not been completed. But you have brought *mahāprasāda*; how can I ignore it?" 19 So saying, he bowed to the *mahāprasāda*, and took a tiny bit and ate it. 20 On another day Mahāprabhu came to his place, and he asked him, "Are you well, Haridāsa?" 21 And making obeisance he said to him, "My body is well, but I feel my heart unwell." 22 Prabhu said, "Tell me specifically what illness you have." And he said, "The number of *saṃkīrtanas* has not been fulfilled." 23 And Prabhu said, "You are an old man; reduce the number. You are [already] of perfected body; why do you hold so eagerly to *sādhana*? 24 This *avatāra* of yours is to save people; and you have preached in the world the greatness of the name. 25 Now make *saṃkīrtana* with a lesser number of names." And Haridāsa said, "Listen to my most honest request. 26 My birth was in a low *jāti*, my body was contemptible. I was engaged in low work. I am miserable and wretched. 27 You accepted me, though I was untouchable and not to be looked upon, and from hell you raised me up and caused me to climb to Vaikuṇṭha. 28 You are the self-dependent Īśvara, and you act according to your own will; that will causes the world to dance. 29 When you cause me to dance much, you show me grace, for though I am a *mleccha* I have eaten from the pure vessel of a *brāhmaṇa*. 30 But for a long time I have had one desire. It is in my mind that you will withdraw your *līlā*. 31 Do not allow me to witness that *līlā*, Prabhu; make my body fall before you. 32 I shall hold on my heart your lotus-feet, and with my eyes I shall gaze into your moon-like face, 33 and with my tongue I shall pro-

27. Adṛśya: unseeable, not to be looked upon, i.e., so impure that even the sight of him would contaminate.

30. [*Samvaribe*: withdraw, lit., cover over, i.e., in this context to die, although theologically it is more accurately characterized as withdrawing the apparent *līlā*, the present manifest *līlā* on earth, and to return to the unmanifest *līlā* in heavenly Vṛndāvana. TKS]

31. That *līlā*: i.e., withdrawing the *līlā*. "Before," as will be seen, means in both time and space; he wants to die in Caitanya's presence, and prior to Caitanya's departure, in much the same way that a wife or devoted servant desires to die prior to his or her *svāmī*.

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nounce your name, Kṛṣṇa Caitanya. It is my desire that I leave this life in this way. 34 This is my wish, and if you have mercy, be well disposed toward this entreaty of mine. 35 That this wretched body of mine fall before you: it is up to you if this wish of mine be fulfilled." 36 And Prabhu replied, "Haridāsa, that which you ask, Kṛṣṇa, being full of mercy, will certainly fulfill. 37 But that little happiness which I have is all because of you. It is not right that you go, abandoning me." 38 Haridāsa held his feet and said, "Do not flatter me; though I am despicable, Prabhu, be merciful. 39 There are crores and crores of great men, who are crest-jewels for me, who help you in your *līlā*. 40 If a worm like me dies, it is like the loss to the earth when an ant dies. 41 Prabhu, you are affectionate like a parent to your *bhaktas*; I am an insignificant *bhakta*, but you must, Prabhu, grant this my hope. 42 Prabhu, you go and perform the midday rituals, and when you have seen Īśvara, come tomorrow and grant me *darśana*."

43 So Prabhu embraced him, and went to the sea-shore to carry out the midday rites. 44 In the morning, having first seen Īśvara, with all the *bhaktas* he came without delay to see Haridāsa. 45 He came before Haridāsa and gave him *darśana*, and Haridāsa bowed to his feet and to those of the Vaiṣṇavas. 46 Prabhu inquired, "Haridāsa, tell me how you are." And Haridāsa said, "Prabhu, according to your grace." 47 And in the courtyard Prabhu began a great *kīrtana*, and Vakreśvara Paṇḍita danced there. 48 Svarūpa Gosvāmī and many other followers of Prabhu surrounded Haridāsa and made *nāma-saṃkīrtana*. 49 And before Rāmānanda and Sārvabhauma and the whole assembly, Prabhu began to speak of the qualities of Haridāsa. 50 To tell of the qualities of Haridāsa, Prabhu spoke as if with five mouths, and while he was speaking the great joy of Prabhu grew. 51 The minds of all present were overwhelmed by the qualities of Haridāsa, and all the *bhaktas* bowed to his feet. 52 Haridāsa had Prabhu sit down in front of him, and he fixed the bees of his two eyes upon the lotus of his face. 53 He took the feet of Prabhu and he held them to his heart, and he took the dust of the feet of all the *bhaktas* as ornament to his head. 54 He said the words "Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya" again and again. Drinking the nectar of the face of Prabhu, the tears flowing from his eyes, 55 pronouncing the name "Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya," his life passed away with the name. 56 When they saw that he had died, according to his own wish, like a *mahāyogeśvara*, they all

56. *Mahāyogeśvara*: one who is an adept in *yoga* can die any time he wants to, for death is under his control. Bhīṣma was such an adept; he died on the battlefield of Kurukṣetra with the name of Kṛṣṇa on his lips, at a time of his own choosing.

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recalled the death of Bhīṣma. 57 And from them a tumult arose with the words "Hari, Kṛṣṇa," and Mahāprabhu was overcome with the joy of *prema*. 58 He picked up the body of Haridāsa in his arms and danced in the courtyard, absorbed in *prema*.

59 All the *bhaktas* were absorbed in the ecstasy of Prabhu, and absorbed in *prema*, all danced and made *kīrtana*. 60 In this way, Prabhu danced for a long time. Svarūpa Gosvāmin made Prabhu restrain himself. 61 Then they raised Haridāsa Ṭhākura upon a cart, and took him to the sea, making *kīrtana*. 62 And in front, Mahāprabhu went, dancing, and behind Vakreśvara danced, with all the *bhaktas*. 63 They bathed Haridāsa with the water of the sea, and Prabhu said, "The sea has now become a great pilgrimage place." 64 The *bhaktas* drank the water used to wash the feet of Haridāsa, and they put sandalwood, which was *prasāda*, on his body. 65 They put sandalwood and silken cloth, which was *prasāda*, on his body, and they dug a grave in the sand and laid him in it. 66 On all four sides the *bhaktas* made *kīrtana*, and Vakreśvara Paṇḍita danced in joy. 67 Gaura Rāya said "Hari *bol*, Hari *bol*!" and with his own holy hands he placed sand on his body. 68 They covered his body with sand and over it constructed a platform. They built a high wall completely encircling the platform. 69 Moving around it, Prabhu made *kīrtana* and danced, and the uproar of the sound of Hari's name filled the earth. 70 Then Mahāprabhu with all the *bhaktas* bathed in the sea and enjoyed the water-games. 71 Having circumambulated Haridāsa, they went to the lion gate, and the commotion of Hari-*kīrtana* filled the whole city.

72 Coming to the lion gate, Prabhu went to the *pasāris*, and spreading out his *añcala*, he begged *prasāda* of them, 73 "For the sake of a great festival for Haridāsa Ṭhākura I beg *prasāda*; give food to me." 74 When they heard this

63. Mahātīrtha: great pilgrimage place.

65. Rādhāgovinda Nātha comments tersely, "It is customary to bury the body of a *bhakta* who has reached perfection (*siddha-bhakta*)." Such a *bhakta*'s spirit is already released, and he has no need of the fire to carry it upward to another birth.

67. "His body" can be either his own, i.e., taking sand from the grave as a mark of respect, or Haridāsa's, i.e., he himself put sand on the body to bury it.

72. Pasāri: one who sells *prasāda*.

73. It is customary for a son to give a feast after he has put the fire to his father's lips, and so Caitanya is doing here; by playing the part of the son he is showing his great affection for Haridāsa, [and fitting for Haridāsa's prior statement regarding Caitanya's parental affection (*vātsalya*) in v. 41. TKS] It is also in the ordinary social sense, contrary in that he took the corpse of Haridāsa in his arms, for it is strictly forbidden that *brāhmaṇas* touch dead bodies; but Caitanya was a *saṃnyāsin*, and no impurity attached to him. Haridāsa's body was also pure from its perfection (*siddha*).

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the *pasāris* lifted up their baskets and gave *prasāda* to Prabhu delightedly. 75 Svarūpa Gosvāmī forbade the *pasāris* to do this, and they took their baskets and sat in their shops. 76 Svarūpa Gosvāmī sent Prabhu to his home, and he kept with him four Vaiṣṇavas and four bearers. 77 Svarūpa Gosvāmī then said to all the *pasāris*, "Bring and give to me one pile of each kind of good." 78 And in this orderly way he accumulated heavy loads of various kinds of *prasāda*, and they brought them and raised them up onto the heads of the four [bearers]. 79 Vāṇīnātha Paṭṭanāyaka brought *prasāda*, and Kāśī Miśra sent many kinds of *prasāda*. 80 Prabhu sat all the Vaiṣṇavas in rows, and Prabhu himself served with the four men. 81 No small amount came from the holy hands of Mahāprabhu; he served on each leaf food enough for five people. 82 Svarūpa said, "Prabhu, sit here and watch. Let me serve, with all of these." 83 So Svarūpa, Jagadānanda, Kāśīśvara, and Śaṅkara—these four served unceasingly. 84 Since Prabhu did not eat, no one ate. For on that day Prabhu had accepted an invitation from Kāśī Miśra. 85 But Kāśī Miśra himself came, bringing *prasāda*, and with eagerness he made Prabhu eat it. 86 Prabhu ate with Purī and Bhāratī; and then all the Vaiṣṇavas ate. 87 He fed them all until they were full up to their necks; Prabhu called out, "Give them more, give them more." 88 And having eaten, they all rinsed their mouths, and Prabhu put garlands and sandalwood on them all.

89 Prabhu, overcome with *prema*, gave a blessing, and when they heard it the ears and hearts of all the *bhaktas* were soothed. 90 "Those who saw the feast of Haridāsa's triumph, and who danced there, and who had *kīrtana* there, 91 and who went to bury him in the sand, and who feasted at his celebration, 92 all of them will quickly gain Kṛṣṇa. Such is the power of the *darśana* of Haridāsa. 93 Kṛṣṇa, in his mercy, gave him to me as a companion; and now the wish of the self-willed Kṛṣṇa is that that companionship be broken. 94 When it was the wish of Haridāsa that he should go, I did not have the power to keep him. 95 Only by his wish did he make his own life go forth; it was just as I have heard of the death of Bhīṣma, long ago. 96 Haridāsa was the crest-jewel of the earth; without him, the earth is devoid of a jewel. 97 So raise the joyous sound, say "Glory to Haridāsa!" And so saying Mahāprabhu himself danced. 98 All sang "Glory, glory, glory be to Haridāsa, who has manifested

75-76. It seems that Svarūpa felt that it was inappropriate for Caitanya to ask for the food himself; [or perhaps Svarūpa felt that the disorderly fashion in which it was being collected would not result in the desired end. TKS]

90. Vijaya-utsava: the feast of the passing away, the going out, the victory (vijaya) of Haridāsa.

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the greatness of the name!" 99 Then Mahāprabhu bade farewell to all the *bhaktas*, and in grief and joy, Prabhu rested.

100 Thus has been narrated the triumph of Haridāsa, and in listening to it does *prema-bhakti* to Kṛṣṇa come about. 101 By this is known the affection of Caitanya to his *bhaktas*; he fulfilled the wish of his *bhakta*, did that crest-jewel of *saṃnyāsins*. 102 At the end [Caitanya] granted him his touch and his sight, and he took him in his arms and danced. 103 In his mercy, with his own holy hands he put sand on him, and himself begging the *prasāda*, he made the celebratory feast. 104 Haridāsa was a great *bhāgavata* and a most learned man, and because of his great good fortune he started on his journey before [Caitanya]. 105 The actions of Caitanya are an ocean of nectar, and he who gets a single drop in his ears and heart has his thirst quenched. 106 In whose mind it is to cross the ocean of the world, hear with faith the actions of Caitanya.

107 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

100. Vijaya: triumph.

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Antya Līlā
Chapter 12

Śloka 1.

O *bhaktas*, listen to the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya' constantly and with joy; sing them, sing them, and remember.

1 Glory glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to him full of mercy, glory glory to Nityānanda, glory to him, an ocean of mercy. 2 Glory to Advaitacandra, glory to him, a sea of mercy, and glory to the Gaura-*bhaktas*, whose hearts are full of mercy.

3 Later, the heart of Mahāprabhu was deeply pained, and the condition of separation from Kṛṣṇa swelled inwardly. 4 "Oh Kṛṣṇa, lord of my life, Vrajendranandana, where has he gone, where can I find him, with the flute on his lips?" 5 Day and night he was in this condition, his heart knew no peace, and he passed his nights in difficulty, with Svarūpa and Rāmānanda. 6 Now the *bhaktas* of Prabhu from the Gauḍa country all came to see Prabhu. 7 Śivānanda Sena and Ācārya Gosvāmī and all the *bhaktas* were assembled in one place in Navadvīpa. 8 The people from Kulīnagrāma, and many from Khaṇḍa had all met together and come to Navadvīpa. 9 And Nityānanda Prabhu, though he had no instructions from Prabhu, still went to see Caitanya Gosvāmī. 10 Śrīnivāsa and his four brothers, accompanied by Mālinī, also went, and Ācāryaratna took his wife with him. 11 And the wife of Śivānanda went with her three sons, and Rāghava Paṇḍita went, having prepared the *jhālis*. 12 And Datta, Gupta, Vidyānidhi, and many others—two or three hundred *bhaktas*, who could count them? 13 All went to see Śacīmātā and take her permission, and departed joyfully, singing

10. Śrīnivāsa: Śrīvāsa Paṇḍita; Mālinī was the name of Śrīvāsa's wife.
11. [See 3.10.14-38 for the story of Rāghava's *jhāli* bags of food. TKS]

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kīrtana of Kṛṣṇa. 14 Śivānanda Sena took care of the arrangements for the journey, and protecting them all he went in happiness. 15 He did all that had to be done for all of them, and gave them places to stay; for Śivānanda knew his way around the roads of Orissa.

16 One day all the people stopped at a ghat-keeper's, and Śivānanda had them all leave him, and he stayed there alone. 17 They all proceeded, and stopped under a tree in a village; without Śivānanda they did not find places to stay. 18 Nityānanda Prabhu was very irritated, because of hunger, and not finding a place to stay he laid a curse on Śivānanda, 19 "Still he has not come; may the three sons of Śiva die. I die of hunger, and he has not provided me with lodging." 20 When she heard this, Śivānanda's wife began to weep, and at that time Śivānanda came from the ghat. 21 Śivānanda's wife, weeping, said to him, "Gosvāmī has put a curse on our sons, because he did not find a place to stay." 22 And he said, "Mad woman! Why do you cry yourself to death? Let my three sons die if it takes away his unhappiness." 23 And so saying Śivānanda went to the side of Prabhu. Getting up, Nityānanda Prabhu gave him a kick. 24 Śivāi was overjoyed, receiving the kick, and he quickly went to a Bengali house and made arrangements for him to stay. 25 He held his feet, and then took Prabhu to the house, and giving him the house he began to say joyfully, 26 "Today you have accepted me as a servant, and have given me the fruit of a servant's offence. 27 You have been merciful, in the guise of punishment, such is your compassion. Who in the three worlds understands your actions? 28 The dust of your holy feet is hard to gain even for Brahmā, and yet my miserable body has received the touch of those feet. 29 Today my work and family and birth have been fruitful; today I have gained the *dharma* of the desired end of Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*." 30 When he heard this, Nityānanda's heart was filled with joy, and getting up he embraced Śivānanda in *prema*. 31 And filled with joy Śivānanda made the arrangements, and provided places to stay for the Ācārya and the other Vaiṣṇavas.

32 The actions of Nityānanda Prabhu are all contrary; out of anger he kicked [Śivānanda] and did him good. 33 Śivānanda's nephew, Śrīkānta Sena by name, said proudly, when his maternal uncle was absent, 34 "My maternal uncle is a famous follower of Caitanya; and the Gosvāmī acts like his lord, and kicks him." 35 And so saying the boy Śrīkānta went ahead; he left his companions and went

24. Śivāi: Śivānanda.
32. *Viparīta*: "contrary," which however Rādhāgovinda Nātha defines as "wonderful."

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ahead to the place of Mahāprabhu. 36 With a *peṭāṅgi* on his body he bowed and made obeisance; and Govinda said, "Śrīkānta, first take off your *peṭāṅgi*." 37 And Prabhu said, "Śrīkānta has come with troubled heart. Say nothing to him. Let him do what pleases him." 38 And Gosvāmī asked news of the Vaiṣṇavas, and Śrīkānta told him, naming them one by one. 39 When he heard the words of Prabhu "he has come with troubled heart," he considered that Prabhu knew everything. 40 He did not say that "he kicked Śivānanda," and now all the Vaiṣṇavas came and met him.

41 As he had before, Prabhu met them all, and from a distance all the women had *darśana* of Prabhu. 42 As before, he showed them all where to stay, and he told them all to eat of the *mahāprasāda*. 43 Śivānanda introduced his three sons to the Gosvāmī, and because of their relation to Śivānanda, he showed them all great kindness. 44 Seeing the youngest son, Prabhu asked his name, and Sena told him that his name was Paramānanda Dāsa. 45 When Śivānanda had come to Prabhu before, Mahāprabhu had said to him, 46 "This time, you will have a son; name him Purīdāsa." 47 And that son which was then in the womb of his mother, was born in the house of Śivānanda. 48 Because of the instruction of Prabhu, he named him Paramānanda Dāsa; and Prabhu smiled, and called him Purīdāsa. 49 When Śivānanda brought that boy to him, Mahāprabhu put his toe in his mouth. 50 Who can reach the shore of the ocean of the good fortune of Śivānanda, of whom Prabhu called the whole family "my own"? 51 Then he took all the *bhaktas* and ate, and he washed his mouth and gave instructions to Govinda, 52 "As long as the wife and sons of Śivānanda are here, see that they get the remainder of my food."

53 There was a confectioner who lived in Nadīyā, whose name was Parameśvara; he sold sweets, and his house was near the house of Prabhu. 54 In his

36. Peṭāṅgi: a cloth for covering the upper part of the body; it is said in the Tantric tradition that for the offence of making *praṇāma* to the deity while wearing a *peṭāṅgi* the offender suffers seven births.

45-48. [The name was apparently in honor of Paramānanda Purī, which is why Paramānanda Dāsa and Purīdāsa are used interchangably. TKS]

52. [The leftover food (*avaśeṣapātra*) of Caitanya is of course itself *prasāda* and consequently a highly desired privilege. When Kṛṣṇadāsa records this specific distribution of Caitanya's leftovers to a woman and her child, he singles out the individuals as being especially blessed. The child, Paramānanda Sena, was another biographer of Caitanya, Kavikarṇapūra, whose works Kṛṣṇadāsa used and appears to be confirming here; Kṛṣṇadāsa did the same thing with another Bengali woman, Nārāyaṇī, in Navadvīpa who ingested Caitanya's leftovers and conceived Vṛndāvana Dāsa (*CBh* 2.2.319; 2.10.288-94; *CC* 1.8.37; 1.17.223), the most prominent biographer Kṛṣṇadāsa acknowledges. See *Introduction*, Section VI.2. TKS]

53. Modaka: *mayarā*, confectioner.

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boyhood, he used to go again and again to his house, and he gave him *dugdha-khaṇḍa* sweets, and Prabhu ate them. 55 From boyhood he had had great affection for Prabhu, and this year he had come there [to Nīlācala] to see Prabhu. 56 He bowed and said, "I am Parameśvara," and seeing him Prabhu asked him fondly, 57 "Parameśvara! Are you well? It is good that you have come." And he said to Prabhu, "Mukunda's mother has also come." 58 And when he heard the name of Mukunda's mother, Prabhu was a little taken aback; but still, because of his love for him, he said nothing. 59 He was an affectionate fool, he knew no duplicity, for he was pure, and because of those qualities of his, Prabhu was happy at heart.

60 As before, he cleansed the *guṇḍicā* with all of them, and as before he danced before the car. 61 And they had *darśana* of all the festivals during the four month period, and Mālinī and the others offered Prabhu invitations. 62 They had brought from their home various things of which Prabhu was fond, and they prepared rice in their homes and fed him those curries. 63 During the day he played in various ways with the *bhaktas*, but in the night Prabhu wept, in separation from Kṛṣṇa. 64 In this way, in various *līlās*, the four months passed, and he instructed all the *bhaktas* to return to Gauḍa. 65 All the *bhaktas* gave Prabhu invitations, and Prabhu said sweetly to them all, 66 "Each year you all come to see me. I know well that you undergo much difficulty in coming and going. 67 But even knowing the difficulties of you all, I cannot forbid you. For in my heart the greed for the happiness of the companionship of all of you grows. 68 I gave Nityānanda an order to remain at Gauḍa, and he has transgressed that order and come; what can I say? 69 Ācārya Gosvāmī has come, being merciful to me; I am bound by the debt of his *prema*; I cannot repay it. 70 For me he has left wife and sons and home, and crossed difficult paths to come here. 71 And I remain sitting here in Nīlācala, and I do not exert myself for all of you. 72 I am a *saṃnyāsin*-man, and I have no wealth. What can I give you? How can I pay my debt to all of you? 73 All I have to offer you is my body, which is my only wealth; sell it wherever you want to sell it." 74 At the words of Prabhu, the hearts of all melted, and they wept constantly, tears streaming from their eyes. 75 Hanging on the necks of all of them, Prabhu wept; and as he wept he embraced them all. 76 And they all remained, for no one

57. "Mukunda's mother": it would be usual for Parameśvara to refer to his wife as the mother of his son.

58. As we have seen, Caitanya reacts strongly to any mention of a woman; but because in this instance he realised that Parameśvara was innocent, he refrained from rebuking him.

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could move, and five or seven days passed in this way. 77 Advaita and the Avadhūta said at the feet of Prabhu, "By your qualities easily the world can be bought; 78 you bind us more, with the rope of your merciful words. Who can go anywhere, leaving you?" 79 Then Mahāprabhu persuaded them all, and calmly bade them all farewell. 80 He said to Nityānanda, "Do not come again and again; I will be with you there." 81 So all the *bhaktas* departed, weeping, and Mahāprabhu remained in his house in dejection. 82 Prabhu had bound them all with the qualities of his own mercy; who can repay the debt of the mercy of Mahāprabhu? 83 Prabhu is the self-dependent Īśvara; whomever and however he wishes, he causes people to dance; and because of that the people left him and went back to their own country. 84 As by magic one makes a wooden puppet dance, so the actions of Īśvara are not at all understood.

85 The previous year, Jagadānanda had gone to see the mother; receiving the instructions of Prabhu, he had come to Nadīyā city. 86 Going to the mother, he bowed down at her feet, and presented her cloth, *prasāda* of Jagannātha. 87 Taking the name of Prabhu, he bowed to the mother, and he spoke to her humble praises of Prabhu. 88 Receiving Jagadānanda, the mother was joyful in her heart; he told her stories of Prabhu, and she listened day and night. 89 Jagadānanda said, "O mother, on certain days Prabhu comes here to you and takes food. 90 And when he has eaten, he says joyfully, 'Today my mother has fed me and I am filled to the throat. 91 I go and eat, and my mother does not realize it. I eat in her presence, and she considers it a dream.'" 92 The mother said, "Sometimes I prepare fine curries, and it is the desire of my heart that Nimāi eat them. 93 And afterwards it seems to me that I have dreamed a dream. I do not look again, for my eyes run with tears." 94 In this way Jagadānanda talked with Śacīmātā, and day and night he told her stories of the happiness of Caitanya. 95 The *bhaktas* of Nadīyā all came together, and when they found Jagadānanda they were all delighted. 96 Then Jagadānanda went to meet the Ācārya, and when he found Jagadānanda the Ācārya was delighted. 97 Vāsudeva and Murāri Gupta met Jagadānanda, and they kept him joyfully in their houses, and refused to let him go. 98 They heard directly from his mouth intimate stories of Caitanya; and everyone forgot themselves in delight at these stories of Caitanya. 99 Jagadananda went to the houses of the *bhaktas* to meet them, and each of those *bhaktas* forgot themselves in happiness.

85. *Āi:* "the mother," Caitanya's mother Śacī.
93. Or "not seeing him again, my eyes run with tears." See 2.15.54-67 and 3.3.28-38.

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100 The blessed Jagadānanda was a vessel of the *prema* of Caitanya; whoever met him considered that he had gained Caitanya. 101 He went and stayed at the house of Śivānanda Sena, and there he prepared a *mātrā* of oil of sandalwood, etc. 102 He filled a *gāgarī*-pot with this perfumed oil, and carefully took it to Nīlācala. 103 He deposited the oil with Govinda, and told Govinda, "Put this oil on the body of Prabhu." 104 Then Govinda told Prabhu, "Jagadānanda has brought some oil of sandalwood, etc., 105 and his wish is for me to put a little of it on the head of Prabhu. It soothes the distress of *pitta* and *vāyu* disease. 106 He prepared a *kalasa* of this sweet-smelling oil at Gauḍa, and he has brought it here most carefully." 107 Prabhu replied, "A *saṃnyāsin* has no right to oil. And on top of that, perfumed oil—this is a great shame. 108 Give the oil to Jagannātha, that it be burned in the lamps. Then all his labor will be rewarded highly." 109 So Govinda related these words to Jagadānanda, and the *paṇḍita* remained silent, and said nothing.

110 Ten days passed, and again Govinda told him that it was the wish of the *paṇḍita* that Prabhu accept the oil. 111 When he heard this, Prabhu retorted a little angrily, "Get a masseur to put this oil on me— 112 for such delights I have become a *saṃnyāsin*; would my complete destruction be your pleasure? 113 When I go by on the path, people would get the scent of my oil, and would call me a licentious *saṃnyāsin*." 114 Hearing the words of Prabhu, Govinda remained silent. The next morning Jagadānanda approached Prabhu. 115 Prabhu said: "O *paṇḍita*, you brought oil from Gauḍa; but I am a *saṃnyāsin* and I cannot take it. 116 Take it and give it to Jagannātha, let it burn in the lamps, and thus all your labor will be rewarded." 117 The *paṇḍita* said, "Who has told you these lies? I never brought any oil from Gauḍa." 118 And so saying he brought the *kalasa* of oil from the house, and he broke it in the courtyard, before Prabhu. 119 Having smashed the pot of oil he went along the path to his own

101. A *mātrā* is sixteen seers, a seer being about two pounds. *Candanādi* oil is an oil especially used for medicinal purposes in Āyurveda.

105. Pitta: bile or gall, thus an upset of the liver functions; *vāyu* is wind, thus flatulent disorder, digestive problems, [but can also be understood as a form of madness, "the wind disease." This is reminiscent of an interesting episode in Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *CBh* 1.8.67-77 where the young Viśvambhara is suffering from the delirium of *prema*, but since he is not yet known to be a devotee, people diagnose his problem as *vāyu*. They administer several oils—Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu—which promptly cure him. TKS]

106. Kalasa: earthen container.

111. Marddaniyā: "masseur"; Caitanya is saying sarcastically that as long as he has the luxury of this expensive oil he might as well go the whole way and hire a masseur.

113. Dārī: "licentious," one who delights in the company of women.

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house; and he slammed the door and remained lying there in his room. 120 On the third day Prabhu went to his door, and called out, "Get up, O *paṇḍita*! 121 Today prepare some food for me to eat. I shall come at noon time; now I am going for *darśana*." 122 So saying, Prabhu departed and the *paṇḍita* got up, and having bathed he prepared various kinds of curries.

123 At midday Prabhu came to eat, and having washed his feet he gave him a seat to sit on. 124 On a plantain leaf he made a pile of *śāla*-rice with *ghi*, and on all four sides of it he placed containers of plantain leaves filled with the curries. 125 On top of the rice and curry he put a sprig of *tulasī*, and he brought *piṭhā* and *pānā*, *prasāda* of Jagannātha, and placed them before him. 126 Prabhu said, "Spread rice and curry on a second leaf; today you and I shall eat together." 127 And Prabhu remained with his hand raised; he did not eat. Then the *paṇḍita* spoke words filled with *prema*, 128 "Take the *prasāda* by yourself; I shall take it afterwards. How can I deny your eagerness [that I should eat]?" 129 Then Mahāprabhu sat down to eat in peace, and when he got a taste of the curry he began to say, 130 "How is the taste of this [so good], when you cooked it when you were so angry? This shows me the grace of Kṛṣṇa toward you. 131 Kṛṣṇa himself will eat this, for that he has caused this to be cooked through your hands, and made it excellent. 132 So offer this sweet rice to Kṛṣṇa; who can describe the limits of your good fortune?" 133 The *paṇḍita* said, "He who will eat it, cooks it; I am only the collector of all this food." 134 Again and again the *paṇḍita* served him with various curries, and Prabhu said nothing because of fear, and ate happily. 135 Eagerly the *paṇḍita* fed him, and he ate ten times as much as on other days. 136 Again and again Prabhu thought to arise, and then again the *paṇḍita* served him more curries. 137 Prabhu was not able to say anything; in fear he ate everything. For if he did not eat, Jagadānanda would fast. 138 And then Prabhu said, with respect and humility, "You have fed me

128. I.e., "you are so anxious that I take food that I will not be able to disappoint you; therefore you eat now, and be assured that I shall eat afterwards."

130. The state of mind of the cook affects the quality of the food. This is one common explanation in Bengal as to why meat should not be eaten except after proper sacrifice; when the animal is slaughtered in an ordinary way, it is angry, and that anger transmits itself to the eater of its flesh. In the context of sacrifice, however, as at Durgā-*pūjā*, the animal has been prepared, dedicated to the deity, and is not angry but at peace.

134-50. [It would appear that the consumption of such massive quantities of food is intended to draw the parallel between Caitanya and Jagannātha, since only God can eat without getting full; and he leaves large quantities of leftovers as *prasāda* for his devotees, which Caitanya clearly did here. TKS]

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ten times over; now bring it to an end." 139 Then Mahāprabhu got up and rinsed his mouth, and the *paṇḍita* brought him things to purify his mouth, and garlands, and sandal. 140 Taking the sandal and the rest, Prabhu sat in that place. "Now you eat before me." 141 And the *paṇḍita* said, "Prabhu, you go and rest. When I have finished what I have to do, I shall take *prasāda*. 142 Rāmāi and Raghunātha have prepared the food, and I want to give them a little curry and rice." 143 Prabhu said, "Govinda, you remain here, and tell me when the *paṇḍita* eats." 144 So saying, Mahāprabhu went away, and the *paṇḍita* spoke some words to Govinda, 145 "You quickly go and massage his feet, and tell him 'Now the *paṇḍita* has sat down to eat.' 146 I shall keep the remainder of Prabhu's food for you; when Prabhu goes to sleep, you come and eat it." 147 To Rāmāi and Nandāi and Govinda and Raghunātha—he distributed the rice and curry of Prabhu to all of them. 148 And he himself ate the *prasāda* of Prabhu. And then Prabhu again sent Govinda, 149 "Whether Jagadānanda has or has not taken the *prasāda*—go quickly and tell me that." 150 Govinda came and saw, and told him that the *paṇḍita* had eaten, and then Mahāprabhu rested peacefully.

151 Such was the *prema* of Prabhu toward Jagadānanda; it was as Satyabhāmā was with Kṛṣṇa, as it is told in the *Bhāgavata*. 152 Who can describe the limits of the good fortune of Jagadānanda? He is the comparison of the good fortune of Jagadānanda. 153 He who hears the varieties of the *prema* of Jagadānanda, knows the true form of *prema*, he gains the wealth of *prema*.

154 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

151. Both Satyabhāmā and Jagadānanda were described as *vāma*, "devious" in their loves, Satyabhāmā for Kṛṣṇa in the Dvāraka-*līlā*, Jagadānanda for Caitanya; see ante, 3.7.126. [The parallel with Satyabhāmā is not simply an analogy for Kavikarṇapūra identifies Jagadānanda as Satyabhāmā in his *GGUD* (v. 51). TKS]

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Antya Līlā
Chapter 13

Śloka 1.

I take refuge in that Gaura, whose body and heart were afflicted with the pain born from his separation from Kṛṣṇa, and who exhibited the blossoming of *bhāva*s.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to hosts of Gaura-*bhakta*s.

2 In such ways did Prabhu, with Jagadānanda, taste these various waves of *prema*. 3 His heart and his body were drawn, because of the misery of his separation from Kṛṣṇa, and again sometimes they blossomed forth under the control of *bhāva*. 4 He lay on young plantain leaves, his body very wasted; when his bones touched the tender young leaves, he felt pain. 5 When they saw this, all the *bhakta*s were very sad; Jagadānanda could not bear it, and devised a stratagem. 6 He brought a delicate cloth and had it colored with red ochre, and had it filled with the cotton of the *śimulī* tree. 7 He put a quilt and a pillow into the hands of Govinda, and told him to have Prabhu lie upon it. 8 Jagadānanda said to Svarūpa Gosvāmī, "Today you go yourself and make Prabhu lie upon it." 9 At the time when he rested, Svarūpa was there. But when he saw the quilt and the pillow, Prabhu was overcome with anger. 10 He asked Govinda, "Who has had this made?" But when he heard the name of Jagadānanda he was hesitant. 11 He told Govinda to take the quilt away, and he lay down

3. Caitanya was in the *bhāva* of Rādhā; sometimes Rādhā was separated from Kṛṣṇa, as when he went to Mathurā, and sometimes again she was united with him. *Bhāvāveśa*: possessed or under the control of *bhāva*.

6. The customary color for *saṃnyāsin*s' dress is the orange which results from dye of red ochre. For *śimulī* see commentary to 2.13.97.

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upon his bed of plantain leaves. 12 Svarūpa said, "If this is your wish, what can I do? But the *paṇḍita* will be filled with sorrow, that you have scorned his bed." 13 Prabhu said, "So bring and set up a cot; it is the wish of Jagadānanda that I enjoy material things. 14 I am a *saṃnyāsin*, and my bed is on the ground. Is my shaven head for cot or quilt or pillow?" 15 So Svarūpa Gosvāmī came and reported to the *paṇḍita*; and Jagadānanda when he heard it was greatly pained in his heart. 16 Then Svarūpa Gosvāmī devised a way. He had great numbers of dried plantain leaves brought; 17 he tore them with his fingernails into very fine pieces, and with all these pieces he filled two outer-cloths belonging to Prabhu. 18 In this way he made an *oḍhana* and a covering, and Prabhu accepted these with affection. 19 Prabhu lay on them, and when they saw this everyone was happy. But Jagadānanda was inwardly angry, even though he outwardly expressed great sadness.

20 It had been formerly the wish of Jagadānanda to go to Vṛndāvana. But Prabhu had not given his permission, and because of that he could not go. 21 Inwardly he was angry and hurt, but he did not show this publicly. He asked permission of Prabhu to go to Mathurā. 22 Prabhu said, "You would go to Mathurā, being angry with me? You will become a beggar, thereby attaching the guilt to me?" 23 And Jagadānanda said, holding the feet of Prabhu, "For a long time it has been my wish to go to Vṛndāvana. 24 Not getting the permission of my Lord, I could not go. Now give me your permission; I have resolved to go." 25 But Prabhu, because of his love for him, did not agree to his going, though again and again he begged permission from Prabhu. 26 The *paṇḍita* went and entreated Svarūpa Gosvāmī, "For a long time I have wanted to go to Vṛndāvana. 27 But how can I go without the permission of Prabhu? He still does not give me his permission, saying to me that 'you go in anger.' 28 But it is my very natural desire to go there; so entreat him to give me his permission." 29 So Svarūpa Gosvāmī said at the feet of Prabhu, "Jagadānanda wishes very much to go to Vṛndāvana. 30 Again and again he has begged for your permission; give him your permission, that he go and see Mathurā once. 31 As he went to Gauḍa to see the mother, so let him go once to see Vṛndāvana."

13. Sarcastically, Caitanya is saying that as long as he has this luxurious quilt, why not a full-fledged bed?

18. Oḍhana: a quilted pillow or thin mattress, whose covering is often very fine material.

22. It does not seem that Caitanya is implying that there is fault attached to becoming a beggar, but that Jagadānanda will take this course out of resentment, not out of positive motives, and will constantly blame Caitanya because of this.

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32 Because of the words of Svarūpa Gosvāmī, Prabhu granted permission, and having summoned Jagadānanda, he instructed him, 33 "Up to Vārāṇasī you go along the path as you wish; but after that go carefully, in the company of *kṣatriyās* and others. 34 If they merely catch a man from Gauḍa, they restrain him as a highwayman; they keep him tied up, and take everything from him, and do not allow him to go. 35 When you get to Mathurā, stay with Sanātana, and bow to the feet of all the *svāmīs* at Mathurā. 36 Stay at a distance and pay them devotion; do not stay with them, for you will not be able to endure the strivings and activities of them all. 37 In the company of Sanātana, have *darśana* of the forests; do not leave for an instant the company of Sanātana. 38 So go quickly! Do not remain there long! And do not climb Govarddhana to see Gopāla. 39 Tell Sanātana that I am coming, and that he should keep a place ready for me in Vṛndāvana." 40 So saying he embraced Jagadānanda, and Jagadānanda left, having bowed to the feet of Prabhu. 41 He begged leave of all the *bhaktas*, and going along the forest path he came to Vārāṇasī. 42 He met both Tapana Miśra and Candraśekhara, and from them he heard all the stories of Prabhu. 43 He came to Mathurā and quickly met Sanātana, and they were both overjoyed to meet one another. 44 Sanātana showed him the twelve forests. They both stayed at Gokula and saw the Mahāvana. 45 Both stayed together in the hut of Sanātana, and the *paṇḍita* cooked and visited the temples. 46 Sanātana went begging to the Mahāvana, and sometimes at the temples, and sometimes at the houses of *brāhmaṇas*. 47 Sanātana supplied the *paṇḍita* with the necessities, and brought him food and drink which he had begged in the Mahāvana.

33. Kṣatriya here obviously refers generically to martial people, soldiers.

34. "As a highwayman" could also be "highwaymen imprison him"; the whole verse can as a matter of fact be read differently. "They" can refer either to the Muslim soldiery, who in fact as we have seen did once accuse Caitanya's Bengali companions of being robbers; or "they" can refer to the bandits who probably did infest the area, and still do.

35. Svāmīs: gosvāmīs, bhaktas.

36. Rādhāgovinda Nātha reads this line as meaning that the people living in Vraja are all *siddha-bhaktas*, and Jagadānanda is at this point not one; therefore he should not stay with them because he will not understand the meaning of what they do. The verse however could also be read to mean that their discipline is so rigorous that Jagadānanda will not be able to keep up with it. In either case, it is interesting that from v. 37 it could be deduced that Caitanya does not yet number Sanātana among these, or else considers him more tolerant.

38. [There is a tradition among Bengalis that Govarddhana is so holy as not to be touched by the feet, and so they do not climb Govarddhana on pilgrimage. See the commentary to 2.18.13, 20. TKS]

45. Gophā: cave or cavelike hut.

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48 One day the *paṇḍita* offered Sanātana an invitation; when he had performed his daily rituals, he began to cook for him. 49 There was a great *saṃnyāsin*, named Mukunda Sarasvatī; and he had given Sanātana an outer garment. 50 Sanātana had bound that cloth around his head, and he came and sat in the doorway of the dwelling place of Jagadānanda. 51 Seeing that crimson cloth, the *paṇḍita* was overcome with *prema*, for he thought it was *prasāda* of Mahāprabhu; and he asked him, 52 "Where did you get that crimson cloth?" And Sanātana said, "Mukunda Sarasvatī gave it to me." 53 When he heard this a sadness arose in the heart of the *paṇḍita*, and he took the pot in which the rice was cooking and was about to throw it at him. 54 Sanātana knew [what was in] him, and was ashamed; [Jagadānanda] then said to him, placing the pot back on the fire, 55 "You are chief among the followers of Mahāprabhu; Mahāprabhu loves none other as he loves you. 56 Yet you hold a cloth given by some other *saṃnyāsin* on your head? How can one bear this?" 57 And Sanātana said, "*Sādhu*, you are a great *paṇḍita*, and no one is as beloved of Caitanya as you are. 58 Your firm devotion to Caitanya is becoming to you; if you do not show me, how shall I learn? 59 It was to see this that the cloth was tied on my head, and that wonderful *prema* has been seen clearly. 60 It is not right that a Vaiṣṇava wear a red cloth; what is the use of it? I shall give it to someone from another country." 61 So Jagadānanda cooked, and made an offering to Caitanya, and then the two sat and took *prasāda*. 62 Having taken the *prasāda* they embraced one another, and both wept, in the agony of separation from Caitanya.

63 In this way [Jagadānanda] remained for two months in Vṛndāvana—the sorrow of separation from Caitanya could not be borne. 64 So he delivered Mahāprabhu's message to Sanātana, "I am coming; keep a place for me." 65 Then Jagadānanda Paṇḍita begged his leave, and Sanātana gave him a few things as presents for Prabhu: 66 some sand from the place of the *rāsa* dance, and a *śilā* of Govarddhana, and dried ripe *pīlu*-fruit, and a garland of *guñjā* flowers. 67 Jagadānanda Paṇḍita took all these things and left. Much agitated, Sanātana bade him farewell. 68 He decided on a place for Prabhu, and he found

60. As has been seen in v. 6 above, Caitanya himself wore red or orange clothing, as was usual with *saṃnyāsins*. Sanātana therefore seems to be referring to Vaiṣṇavas as opposed to *saṃnyāsins*, to ordinary Vaiṣṇavas, who wear white.

68. Sanātana, taking seriously Caitanya's word that he would be coming to Vraja, seeks out a proper place for him to stay. *Maṭha* has come to mean "monastery," but here it clearly refers to a hermitage. In the place in Vṛndāvana called the Dvadaśa-āditya-ṭilā there is an old temple of Mahāprabhu.

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a *maṭha* in the twelve *āditya-ṭilās*. 69 Gosvāmī cleaned that place; before the *maṭha* he built a thatched-roofed shelter. 70 So quickly Jagadānanda journeyed to Nīlācala, and Gosvāmī and all the *bhaktas* were greatly delighted. 71 Bowing to the feet of Prabhu, he greeted them all, and Mahāprabhu embraced him deeply. 72 In the name of Sanātana, the *paṇḍita* bowed, and he gave him all the gifts—the sand of the *rāsa*-place and the rest. 73 He received all the gifts, and distributed the *pīlu*-fruit, and he ate happily, saying "This is fruit from Vṛndāvana." 74 Those who knew swallowed the fruit with the stone, and those who did not know chewed it like Gauḍiyā *pīlu*; 75 the linings of their mouths were torn, and saliva dripped from their tongues; this was a game, the eating of the *pīlu* of Vṛndāvana. 76 So all were delighted with the coming of Jagadānanda, and in this way was the *vilāsa* of Prabhu at Nīlācala.

77 One day Prabhu was going to Yameśvara-*ṭoṭā*, and just at that time a *devadāsī* began to sing. 78 In a very sweet voice she was singing in the *gurjjarī-rāga* a *pada* of the *Gītagovinda*, which steals the mind of the world. 79 Hearing the song from a distance, Prabhu was overcome, and he did not know whether it was a man or a woman who sang. 80 Prabhu ran, completely absorbed, to meet the singer. The path was lined with *sija* trees, and they pricked him as he ran, 81 but he did not feel the thorns in his body. Govinda ran helter-skelter after him. 82 Prabhu was running and the woman was only a short distance away when Govinda caught him in his arms and said, "It is a woman singing." 83 When he heard the word "woman," Prabhu came back to himself. He turned and came back along the path. 84 Prabhu said, "Govinda, you have saved my life today. If I had touched a woman I would have died. 85 I do not know how to repay this debt to you." And Govinda replied, "It was Jagannātha that kept you, not this worthless creature." 86 Prabhu said, "You will remain

70. Gosvāmī: Caitanya.

74. On the stones of the fruit called *pīlu* there are sharp protuberances; if one swallows the stone with the fruit these do not cut the mouth, but if the stone is chewed, the mouth is bruised. The variety of the fruit grown in Bengal does not have this peculiarity, and those who had not eaten the Vṛndāvana variety inadvertently chewed the stones.

77. [*Devadāsī*: lit., female servant of the deity, a temple dancer married to the lord installed in that temple. TKS]

78. [Of the twenty-four songs in Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*, six are in the *gurjjarī-rāga*. In the Miller edition of the text, they are Song 2 [1.17-24]; Song 5 [2.2-9]; Song 7 [3.3-15]; Song 11 [5.8-15]; Song 15 [7.22-29]; and Song 18 [9.2-10]. There is no way of knowing which the these songs was being sung. TKS]

83. [*Bāhya haila*: came back to himself, lit., became outwardly conscious. See 3.18.74-77. TKS]

86. "Wherever I am" means not only physically but psychically.

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with me; wherever I am, you protect me carefully." 87 And so saying Prabhu returned to his own house; and when they heard this, great fear clutched the hearts of Svarūpa and the others.

88 And now Raghunātha Bhaṭṭācārya, the son of Tapana Miśra, left all his duties and went to see Prabhu. 89 From Kāśī he went along the path of Gauḍa, and with him servants went, carrying *jhālis*. 90 On the way they met Viśvāsa Rāmadāsa. He was a *kāyastha* of Viśvāsakhānā, and trusted by the king. 91 He was skilled in all the *śāstras*, and a teacher of the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, a devout Vaiṣṇava and a worshiper of Raghunātha. 92 Day and night, for all eight watches, he muttered the name of Rāmacandra. He had abandoned everything for *darśana* of Jagannātha. 93 So he met Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa on the way, and he took the *jhālis* of Bhaṭṭa on his head and carried them. 94 With various kinds of service he massaged his feet, and because of this Raghunātha felt diffidence in his heart, 95 "You are a great man, a *paṇḍita* among great *bhāgavatas*. Do not serve me; in happiness come with me." 96 Rāmadāsa said, "I am a low *śūdra*; service of *brāhmaṇas* is my own *dharma*. 97 Do not feel hesitant; I am your slave. If I serve you, I get delight in my heart." 98 And so saying he carried the *jhālis* and served him, and day and night he muttered the *tāraka-mantra* of Raghunātha.

99 In this way Raghunātha arrived at Nīlācala, and going to the feet of Mahāprabhu they met him eagerly. 100 Bhaṭṭa fell at his feet, bowing and making obeisance, and Prabhu, recognizing him as Raghunātha, embraced him. 101 He paid him the respects of Śekhara and Miśra, and Mahāprabhu asked after them all. 102 "It is well that you have come; see the lotus feet and come today and take *prasāda* with me." 103 He told Govinda to give him a place to stay, and he introduced him to Svarūpa and the other *bhaktas*. 104 In this way he remained eight months with Prabhu, and day by day, by the grace of Prabhu, his delight grew. 105 From time to time he offered Mahāprabhu invitations, and cooked food in his house and various curries. 106 Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa was very skilled in cooking, and what he cooked was like nectar. 107 And Bhaṭṭa ate the remains on Prabhu's plate, after Prabhu had eaten with great pleasure.

90. "Trusted" is a pun on *viśvāsa*, which was also the man's name. Of what king he was a servant we are not told.

91. Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa* is a text of esthetics. Raghunātha is Rāma.

96. *Kāyasthas* are indeed *śūdras*, despite claims of belonging to the *kṣatriyā-varṇa*; see Inden, *MRBC*.

98. *Tāraka-mantra*: see 3.3.244 and commentary.

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108 But when Rāmadāsa first met Prabhu, Mahāprabhu did not grant him the slightest grace. 109 For he knew that in his heart he was desirous of *mukti* and proud of knowledge; for Prabhu is omniscient Bhagavān, and knows the hearts of all. 110 So Rāmadāsa dwelt at Nīlācala and taught the *Kāvyaprakāśa* to the family of the Paṭṭanāyaka. 111 When he had remained for eight months, Prabhu bade farewell to Bhaṭṭa, and gave him this prohibition: "Do not marry." 112 And he said, "Go and serve your old mother and father, and study the *Bhāgavata* with Vaiṣṇavas, 113 and come once again to Nīlācala." And so saying he put a garland from [his own] throat around his neck. 114 So embracing him, Prabhu bade him farewell, and in *prema* Bhaṭṭa began to weep in a choked voice. 115 Begging leave of Svarūpa and the other *bhaktas*, Bhaṭṭa, respecting the command of Prabhu, journeyed to Vārāṇasī. 116 For four years he served his mother and father at home, and studied the *Bhāgavata* with a Vaiṣṇava *paṇḍita*. 117 When his mother and father gained Kāśī, he became indifferent to the world, and he left the house and everything and again came to Prabhu. 118 And as before, he remained at Prabhu's side for eight months, and when the eight months had passed, again Prabhu commanded him, 119 "By my command, Raghunātha, go to Vṛndāvana. And going there remain with Rūpa and Sanātana. 120 Read the *Bhāgavata* and always take the name of Kṛṣṇa, and quickly Kṛṣṇa Bhagavān will grant you grace." 121 So saying, Prabhu embraced him, and by the grace of Prabhu he was drunk with Kṛṣṇa-*prema*. 122 A *tulasī*-garland of Jagannātha, fourteen hands [long], and a roll of *chuṭā-pān* which [Prabhu] had gotten at the great festival [of Jagannātha]— 123 that garland and *chuṭā-pān* Prabhu gave to him, and he kept the garland as his *iṣṭa-deva*. 124 So having received the command of Prabhu, he came to Vṛndāvana, and he took refuge there with Rūpa and Sanātana. 125 At the assembly of Rūpa Gosvāmin he read the *Bhāgavata*, and in the reading of the *Bhāgavata* his heart was mad with *prema*. 126 Because of the grace of Prabhu he wept and trembled and choked; the tears blurred his eyes and choked his voice, and he could not read. 127 His voice was that of a nightingale, and in it there were separate *rāgas*; in reciting one *śloka* he transformed it in three or four *rāgas*. 128 And when he heard or read of the sweetness and beauty of Kṛṣṇa, he was agitated in *prema*, and he knew nothing else. 129 So he dedicated himself to the feet of Govinda, and the lotus-feet of Govinda were the wealth of his life. 130 He had built by

110. The Paṭṭanāyaka was Gopīnātha; see 3.9 for Gopīnātha's story.
117. Gained Kāśī: died at Kāśī.
123. *Iṣṭa-deva*: personal deity.

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one of his own pupils a temple of Govinda, and he ornamented him with flute and crocodile-earrings and the rest. 131 He listened to no village gossip, and he spoke none with his tongue. But he spent eight watches in the worship and stories of Kṛṣṇa. 132 He did not open his ears to words which were condemnatory of Vaiṣṇavas; he always worshiped Kṛṣṇa—this one thing was all he knew. 133 At the time of remembrance, the garland given by Mahāprabhu he would put on his neck, with sandalwood which was *prasāda*. 134 By the grace of Mahāprabhu his *prema* for Kṛṣṇa was without obstacle. Thus is told the fruits of the grace of Caitanya upon him.

135 Thus has been told of the coming of Jagadānanda to Vṛndāvana, and within that the hearing of the song of the *devadāsī*. 136 And the fruit of the *prema*-mercy of Mahāprabhu to Raghunātha—three stories of that have been related in this chapter. 137 He who listens to all these stories with faith, Gaura Hari gives to him the treasure of the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa.

138 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

133. *Mananera kāla*: time of remembrance, i.e., *līlā-smaraṇa*.

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Antya Līlā
Chapter 14

Śloka 1.

Now is narrated a suggestive example of that which Gaurāṅga displayed, by mind, body, and heart, absorbed by the illusion of separation from Kṛṣṇa.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, *svayaṃ bhagavān*; glory, glory to Gauracandra, the life of *bhaktas*. 2 Glory, glory to Nityānanda, who is the life of Caitanya, and glory to Advaitācārya, glory to him most beloved of Gaura. 3 Glory to Svarūpa, Śrīvāsa and the other *bhaktas* of Prabhu; give me the strength, that I may describe Caitanya.

4 Deep was the *bhāva* of the madness of *viraha* of Prabhu; no one can understand it, even if he is steadfast. 5 And who can describe it, if he does not understand it? But he understands and describes, to whom Caitanya gives the power. 6 In the *kaḍacās* of these two—Svarūpa Gosvāmī and Raghunātha Dāsa—this *līlā* is manifested. 7 At that time these two remained by the side of Prabhu; all the other *kaḍacā*-writers remained in distant countries. 8 These two experienced every moment, and in brief and at length they wrote their [respective] *kaḍacā*-compositions. 9 Svarūpa was a writer in *sūtras*, and Raghunātha in full. Let me describe [the latter's] full comments, in the manner of a *pāñji*-

6. *Kaḍacā*: diary, notebook, short descriptive text. See *Introduction*, Section VI.1.

7. Murāri Gupta, Kavikarṇapūra, and the others who wrote *kaḍacās* having to do with Caitanya were not at this time in Puri, but were in their home countries, and so could not record these events.

8. *Bāhulye*: "at length"; *kaḍacās* are not by definition long books, so probably Rādhāgovinda Nātha's interpretation here is correct: they wrote briefly but concisely, so that from a brief statement a great deal can be deduced. V. 9 suggests that one wrote in brief, the other less so.

9. *Vṛttikāra*: "in full"; he "expanded" on the *sūtras* which Svarūpa had written. A *pāñji* is an almanac, concise and formulaic, and to interpret such texts a commentary (*ṭīkā*) must be made.

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ṭīkā. 10 Listen to the description of the *bhāva* with faith; you will attain knowledge of that *bhāva*, and you will gain the wealth of *prema*.

11 That condition in which the *gopīs* were when Kṛṣṇa went to Mathurā was the same condition born in Prabhu in separation from Kṛṣṇa. 12 And as Rādhā lamented at the sight of Uddhava, that gradually over time became the delirious lament of Prabhu. 13 Prabhu always experienced the *bhāva* of Rādhikā, and in that *bhāva* he knew himself as Rādhā. 14 Such is the way of divine madness; it is not surprising. Divine madness and delirium are in the *adhirūḍha-bhāva*.

Śloka 2. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* [*sthāyibhāva-prakaraṇa*] 14.190:
The strange and wonderful divine madness, showing itself as illusion of the *bhāva* called *mohana*, gained in certain indescribable ways, is called *divyonmāda*; there are many kinds of this—*udghūrṇa*, *citrajalpa*, and others.

15 One day Mahāprabhu was lying down, and he saw in a dream Kṛṣṇa at the *rāsa-līlā*. 16 He was beautiful in the *tribhaṅga* pose, his flute to his lips, wearing yellow garments, and garlands of forest flowers, the charmer of Madana. 17 The *gopīs* were dancing around him in a circle, and in the center Vrajendra-nandana danced with Rādhā. 18 Seeing this, Prabhu became absorbed in this *rasa*, and he realized 'I have gained Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana.' 19 Seeing the delay of Prabhu, Govinda awakened him; and when he woke, he realized that it had been a dream, and he was saddened. 20 And because it was his body's habit, he completed his daily rituals, and when it was time he went to have *darśana* of Jagannātha. 21 While he was getting *darśana* from behind the Garuḍa pillar, in front of Prabhu stood lakhs and lakhs of people also enjoying *darśana*. 22 There was an Oriya woman who could not get *darśana* because of the crowd, and so she climbed up on the Garuḍa pillar to see, putting her foot on Prabhu's

10. [For more on the various manifestations and interpretations of the delirium of *prema*, what is here called "divine madness," see 1.7.86-93; 1.17.5; 2.8.135; 2.18.151-74; 2.23.31-32; and 3.15.passim; and 3.17-19.passim. TKS]

12. Uddhava had been sent from Mathurā by Kṛṣṇa; Rādhā lamented when she saw him, for it meant that Kṛṣṇa himself was not then returning.

14. See 2.23.37-38. *Divyonmāda*: divine madness.

19. The "delay" in awakening.

22-25. Caitanya's attitude toward women is confusing. Several times we have seen him withdraw completely from even the mention of a woman's name, and go so far as to drive Choṭa Haridāsa to suicide because he conversed with a woman. Yet here he not only allows one to touch his body,

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shoulder. 23 When he saw that, Govinda frantically tried to stop the woman, but Prabhu prevented Govinda from pulling her down, 24 "*Ādibaśya*! do not stop the woman; let her have *darśana* of Jagannātha as much as she wants." 25 Then the woman scrambled to the ground; seeing Mahāprabhu she bowed at his feet. 26 Seeing her distress, Prabhu began to speak, "So much humility Jagannātha has not given to me. 27 She is absorbed in Jagannātha, heart, body, and life; she put her foot on my shoulder and did not realize it. 28 This is a blessed devotee; bow to her feet, that by her grace we too may receive such humility." 29 When first he came and had *darśana* of Jagannātha, he saw in Jagannātha the manifest Vrajendranandana. 30 And his heart was controlled by the *darśana* which he had in the dream, and everywhere he looked there he was, his flute to his lips. 31 And now when he saw the woman, Prabhu came to himself, and he saw the true forms of Jagannātha and Subhadra and Balarāma. 32 But now he thought, "I see Kṛṣṇa in Kurukṣetra. Why have I come to Kurukṣetra? Where is Vṛndāvana? 33 I have lost the jewel which I had gained." And thus he was bewildered, and deeply pained he returned to his own house.

but forbids Govinda to prevent her from doing so. Rādhāgovinda Nātha's explanation would seem to be the only reasonable one: that in this passage, although he has been awakened from his dream, he is still deep in *bhāva*, and in this Rādhā-*bhāva* the touch of a woman is not offensive to him. This presumably was also the reason why Rāmānanda could touch his two *devadāsīs* in the intimate way previously described. So it was when Caitanya heard the girl singing the *pada* from the *Gītagovinda*; in his *bhāva* he ran toward her, and it was not until he "came out," became aware of the outside world, that he realized that this would have been against his *dharma* as a *saṃnyāsin*. [This passage might also be interpreted from a social standpoint, wherein the devotee, who is absorbed in the various ritual actions—here getting *darśana* of Jagannātha—is not subject to the same social constraints that apply at other normal times. This is consistent with the idea of the devotional community being somewhat of a segregated community outside the normal hierarchizing tendencies of Indian society. TKS]

24. Ādibaśya: "aboriginal," here a mild rebuke meaning "fool." Cf. 3.10.113.

26. [*Ārtti*: humility, distress. This is a special and spontaneous expression of Vaiṣṇava helplessness and anxiety usually felt with respect to the deity or in situations involving other devotees. It demonstrates a high degree of selflessness borne of pure love and devotion, which here is the envy of Caitanya. TKS]

29. "First" probably means when he first came to the temple on that day.

31-33. He obviously did not come completely to his senses, but came out of the complete trance he had been in, the very deepest *bhāva* in which he saw Jagannātha as Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana, into a state of less deep *bhāva*, in which he saw Jagannātha as Kṛṣṇa in Kurukṣetra, the princely Kṛṣṇa, [i.e., he moved from absorption in the highest form of Kṛṣṇa, his *mādhurya* or sweet, loving form, to the lower *aiśvarya* or regal and majestic form. This is very suggestive of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava appraisal of the place of Jagannātha in the hierarchy of Vaiṣṇava divinity. TKS]

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34 Sitting on the ground [Caitanya] wrote in the dirt with his fingernails; a stream of tears flowed from his eyes, and he could not see. 35 "I gained the lord of Vṛndāvana, and again I lost him; who has taken my Kṛṣṇa? Where am I?" 36 In *prema*, and under the influence of the dream, Prabhu's mind was confused; and when he came to himself, it was as if he had lost his treasure. 37 Prabhu sang and danced as if he were mad; [only] because of the nature of his body he managed to bathe and eat. 38 And when it was night, with Svarūpa and Rāmānanda he spoke of the things that were in his heart:

Śloka 3.

After I had gained the wealth of Acyuta, I lost it, and because of regret, abandoning this body-house of mine, my mind has assumed the *dharma* of a Kāpālika, and with its pupils, the senses, has gone to Vṛndāvana.

39 Kṛṣṇa was gained and lost,
and remembering his qualities,
Mahāprabhu was agitated in the fire of it;
his arms on the necks of Rāya and Svarūpa;
he said: "Ah, Hari, Hari";
his steadiness left, and he became disturbed.

40 "Hear, O friends, the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa.
My heart longs for it,
and leaving *loka* and Veda-*dharma*
it becomes a *yogī*, a mendicant. [refrain]

41 The ring of *līlās* of Kṛṣṇa
are pure earrings of conch-shell,
fashioned by Śuka the artisan.
I wear those earrings in my ears,
I hold the shell of the gourd of thirst,
and on my shoulder is a sack of hope.

Śloka 3. Kāpālika: a school of Nātha *yogins*.
40. Caitanya is speaking.
41. The thirst is to taste the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa. These are the three articles worn or carried by *yogins*: earrings, gourd or water-vessel, and sack. The hope is of course the hope of gaining Kṛṣṇa.

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42 The *kānthā* of thought is the covering for my body;
my body soiled with ashes and dust,
and my answering rave is 'Hā, hā, Kṛṣṇa.'
In my hand the *dvādaśa* of anxiety,
on my head the *jhulani* of longing,
my body is thin for want of alms.

43 Vyāsa, Śuka, and the other *yogīs*,
Kṛṣṇa, the *ātmā*, Nirañjana,
and all his *līlās* in Vraja,
in the *Bhāgavata* and other *śāstras*
have been described,
and those *tarjjā*-songs are read incessantly.

44 Making the ten senses pupils,
and taking the name Mahābāula,
with its pupils it has gone away.
My body, my own house,
great wealth, enjoyment of worldly things—
all have been abandoned, and it has gone to Vṛndāvana.

45 [Among] the creatures in Vṛndāvana,
all, moving, and unmoving,
trees and creepers, householders in the *āśrama*,
at their houses for alms,

42. These are other characteristics of the *yogin*; *kānthā* is the ragged or patchwork cloth, and the body is covered with dust and ashes. Thought is thought of Kṛṣṇa, but the metaphorical significance of ashes and dust is not so clear. "Answering rave" is *pralāpa-uttara*: *yogins* are mad, or are thought to be so, and their answers have no relation to the questions asked them. Whatever is said to this one, he answers, "*hā hā kṛṣṇa*," an expression of longing. The staff which the *yogin* carries is called the *dvādaśa-daṇḍa*. [According to RGN in some MSS the metaphoric dressing in the clothing and accoutrement of delirium is dropped in favor of a more direct expression *udbegādi daśā hāthe* (in place of *udbega-dvādaśa hāthe*), which can be translated "in [my] hand the conditions culminating with anxiety." RGN goes on to note that the expression breaks the metaphor because *daśā* does not correspond to any physical object that could be worn or held, and v.49f below bears out the reading. TKS] *Jhulani* is a cloth worn on the head according to the commentator Viśvanātha Cakravartin.

43. Ātmā: *paramātmā*, the indwelling; *nirañjana*, "stainless," he who is beyond the stain of *māyā*. *Tarjjā*, "songs" which have hidden meaning, songs which use the *sandhā-bhāṣā* peculiar to Tantrics and other *yogins*.

44. Mahābāula: "the great mad one," a good name for a *yogin*; see *PHM*, pp. 250-253. "It" is the heart or mind; like a *yogin* it has abandoned all worldly things, taken its pupils, and gone away to Vṛndāvana.

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alms of leaves and roots and fruit,
with its pupils it makes a living.
46 The *rasa* of the form and qualities of Kṛṣṇa,
his touch and sound and scent—
the *gopīs* taste that nectar.
The morsel that remains of all of them,
the pupils, the five senses, bring,
and with those alms they preserve its life.
47 In a corner of the empty *kuñja-maṇḍapa*,
practising *yoga*, meditating on Kṛṣṇa,
it remains there with the pupils.
Kṛṣṇa, the *ātmā*, Nirañjana—
the heart sees him manifest;
it remains awake in the night, in meditation.
48 The heart is separated from Kṛṣṇa,
and in sorrow has become a *yogī*,
and in that separation is the tenth stage.
In the agitation of that condition,
my mind has fled away,
and my body is an empty house."

49 In separation from Kṛṣṇa, the *gopīs* were in the tenth condition and that tenth condition had arisen in Prabhu.

Śloka 4. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* [*śṛṅgārabheda prakaraṇa*] 15.167:
From this, worry, insomnia, anxiety, emaciation, pallor, lamenting,
illness, madness, stupefaction, and death appear.

50 With these ten conditions, Prabhu was agitated day and night; always one of the conditions would arise, and his mind could not be still.

51 When he had described all this, Mahāprabhu became silent. Rāmānanda Rāya began to recite *ślokas*, 52 and Svarūpa Gosvāmī sang of the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*. And between the two of them they brought Prabhu a little toward conscious-

47. Kuñja-maṇḍapa: the grove where Kṛṣṇa sported with Rādhā and the *gopīs*; it is empty because Kṛṣṇa has gone away to Mathurā.

48. The tenth stage of separation leads to death.

Śloka 4. These appear from the condition of separation.

52. [*Bāhyajñāna*: consciousness, lit., "cognizant of the outer world." See 3.18.74-77 for his three states of consciousness. TKS]

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ness. 53 In this way they got through half the night, and then inside the house they made Prabhu lie in the inner-room. 54 Rāmānanda Rāya then went to his own house, and Svarūpa and Govinda both lay down in the door. 55 The whole night Mahāprabhu stayed awake, and loudly sang Kṛṣṇa-*nāma-saṃkīrtana*. 56 When he did not hear Prabhu, Svarūpa opened the outside door, and then the other three doors, and saw that Prabhu was not in the house. 57 When they failed to see Prabhu, they became very worried; lighting torches they all moved about looking for him. 58 There was a place to the north of the lion-gate, and within it was Caitanya Gosvāmī, fallen on the ground. 59 Seeing him, Svarūpa Gosvāmī and the others were overjoyed, but when they saw his condition they again became concerned. 60 Prabhu was lying on the ground, five or six hands long; his body was unconscious, and there was no breath in his nostrils. 61 His arms and legs were each three hands long; the joints of his bones were separated, and over the joints there was only skin. 62 His arms and legs and neck and hips—all the joints of his body were separated and spread out. 63 The joints had become long, and covered only with skin, and when they saw Prabhu, all were greatly distressed. 64 There was foam and spittle on his mouth, and his eyes were rolled up into his head, and when they saw this, the breath left the bodies of all the *bhaktas*. 65 Svarūpa Gosvāmī raised him up, and together with the *bhaktas*, he spoke the name of Kṛṣṇa into Prabhu's ear. 66 After a long time the name of Kṛṣṇa entered his heart, and shouting "Hari *bol*!" Prabhu arose. 67 When he became conscious, his bones joined together, and his body resumed its shape as before. 68 This *līlā* of Mahāprabhu, Raghunātha Dāsa has made known in his *Gaurāṅgastavakalpavṛkṣa*:

53. Prakoṣṭhe: "inner room" of a brick-built house.

60-67. This is a very curious incident. Caitanya is described as "*prabhu paḍi ache dīrgha—hāta pāñcachaya*," "five or six hands long" (seven or eight feet), and he seems therefore to be considerably greater in length than in his normal state. The question is why. It does not seem to be a question that can be answered in any physiological way, for bones separating does not seem to be a condition usually attendant on epilepsy or any other disease to which he might have been subject. The religious explanation which Rādhāgovinda Nātha gives is in terms of steam in a boiler: the full *bhāva* of Rādhā, especially as a *śakti* of Kṛṣṇa, was more than could be contained in a human body. Thus, when this *bhāva* became too strong, Caitanya's body simply blew apart. There will be in 3.17 an equally curious incident, in which Caitanya draws his arms and legs into himself, like a tortoise. Two explanations can be offered. The first is of course the obvious parallel to the tortoise-*avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa. The second, also offered by Rādhāgovinda Nātha, is similar to that above: when the flood becomes too much, the recourse which the tortoise has is to withdraw himself and let himself drift with the tide. In this case, the flood is the flood of *bhāva*, and Caitanya lets it wash over him until it has receded. Or, perhaps due to the violence of the seizure, it seems to be the observer that the body has literally become unhinged.

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Śloka 5. Raghunātha Dāsa Gosvāmin's *Gauraṅgastavakalpataru* 4:

Once in the house of [Kāśī] Miśra, in fierce agony of separation from the son of Vrajapati, the joints of his beautiful body became loose, and his arms and legs distended, and he fell on the earth and rolled about in great anguish, and in a hoarse and choking voice Śrī Gauraṅga wept—that [picture], arising in my heart, maddens me.

69 Seeing the lion-gate, Prabhu was astonished, and he asked Svarūpa, "Where am I? What are you doing?" 70 And Svarūpa replied, "Rise up, Prabhu, go back to your own house; there I shall explain it all to you." 71 And so saying he raised Prabhu up and took him home, and he told him all about his condition. 72 When he heard it, Mahāprabhu was greatly amazed; and Prabhu said, "I remember nothing of this. 73 I see my Kṛṣṇa in everything; he appears, and then, like lightning, he disappears." 74 At that time, the conch-shell of Jagannātha sounded, and after he bathed, Mahāprabhu went to have *darśana*. 75 Thus has been told the wonderful transformation of Prabhu, and in the hearing of it people are struck with amazement. 76 Such is not seen in the world, nor heard in the *śāstras*; but such *bhāva* the crest-jewel of *saṃnyāsins* made evident. 77 Those *bhāvas*, which are beyond the ken of the world and the *śāstras* are not believed by those people who are apart [from Caitanya and *bhakti*]. 78 The place of Raghunātha Dāsa was always with Prabhu; I have heard these things from his mouth, and I write them with confidence.

79 One day Mahāprabhu went to the sea, and suddenly he saw the mountain Caṭaka. 80 He became absorbed, and thought it was the mount Govarddhana, and he went running towards the mountain.

Śloka 6. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.21.18:

O women! This mountain is the best of the servants of Hari; for this reason it is delighted at the touch of the feet of [Bala]rāma and Kṛṣṇa, and offers them homage, with cows and cowherds, by its roots and herbs, caves and grass, and water to drink.

81 Reciting this *śloka*, Prabhu ran like the wind, and Govinda ran after him, but could not catch him. 82 He shouted loudly, and a great commotion arose, and everyone around jumped up and went running. 83 Svarūpa and Jagadānanda and Gadādhara Paṇḍita and Rāmāi and Nandāi and Nīlāi and Śaṅkara

Śloka 6. See 2.18.*śl.*5.

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Paṇḍita, 84 and Purī and Bhāratī Gosvāmīs ran to the shore of the sea, while Bhagavān Ācārya went slowly, being lame. 85 Ahead of them Prabhu was running like the wind, but [suddenly] on the path he became still as a post, and he had not the power to move. 86 In each pore of his body swellings of flesh appeared, and the hairs rising on top of them were like *kadamba*-flowers. 87 And streams of blood sweating from every pore ran down, and his voice was choked—he could not pronounce a syllable. 88 His two eyes were filled with tears which flowed endlessly, like the streams of the Yamunā and Gaṅgā meeting with the sea. 89 His body was white, like a conch-shell in its pallor; and then he began to tremble, like the waves of the sea. 90 And while quaking, Prabhu fell to the earth. Then Govinda came near to him. 91 He sprinkled his whole body with water from his waterpot, and with his outer garment he fanned his body. 92 Svarūpa and the others then joined him there, and seeing the condition of Prabhu they began to weep. 93 But then they saw on Prabhu's body the eight *sāttvika*-signs. And when they saw these wonderful *sāttvika* (signs) they were astonished. 94 They sang loud *saṃkīrtana* in the ears of Prabhu, and with cool water they bathed his limbs. 95 And so they repeated this again and again, and suddenly Prabhu rose up shouting "Hari *bol*!" 96 In delight, all the Vaiṣṇavas cried out, "Hari, Hari!" and the auspicious sound rose up and filled the four directions. 97 Rising up, Prabhu looked this way and that, astonished, but he did not see what he wanted to see. 98 When he saw the Vaiṣṇavas, Prabhu emerged into half-consciousness, and he slowly began to ask Svarūpa Gosvāmī, 99 "Who has brought me here from Govarddhana? I had gained the *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa, and now I do not see it. 100 From here today I went to Govarddhana, and there I saw Kṛṣṇa grazing the cattle. 101 While climbing up Govarddhana, Kṛṣṇa was playing his flute, and all around Govarddhana cattle were grazing. 102 When she heard the sound of the flute, Rādhā Ṭhākurāṇī came; her *bhāva* and her beauty, O friends, I cannot describe.

93. See 2.23.31-32 for eight *sāttvika bhāvas*.

98. Arddhabāhya: half outwardly conscious; see the commentary to v. 52 above.

99-105. [This narration is significant in that Caitanya describes a *līlā* he personally witnessed in heavenly Vṛndāvana. The first-hand involvement—here in his gathering of flowers at the express request of the *sakhīs*—is reminiscent of the activities of a *mañjarī*. This *mañjarī* figure, who serves Rādhā as a companion and maid, is the preferred form of *siddha-deha* (perfected body) for advanced practitioners among the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas of Vraja. Read from this perspective, Caitanya was actually in eternal Vṛndāvana and the devotees did most decidedly pull him back. Cf. the "delay" in v. 19; undoubtedly it was feared that Caitanya would simply not return from one of these forays into heaven. TKS]

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103 Taking Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa entered into a glen, and her *sakhīs* told me to pick flowers. 104 And at that time all of you came, making a great uproar, and you dragged me away from there. 105 Why did you bring me away, to give me pain and sorrow? I gained the *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa, but did not get to see it." 106 So saying, Mahāprabhu wept, and seeing his condition the Vaiṣṇavas also wept. 107 At that time arrived Purī and Bhāratī, these two; and when he saw the pair, Mahāprabhu was reverent. 108 He became fully conscious, and bowed to them both, and they both embraced Mahāprabhu in *prema*. 109 Prabhu inquired, "Why have you both come so great a distance?" And Purī Gosvāmī replied, "To see your dance." 110 And at the words of Purī, Prabhu became embarrassed; and with all the Vaiṣṇavas he went to the bathing-place at the sea. 111 Having bathed, Mahāprabhu went home, and he ate *mahāprasāda* with them all.

112 Thus has been related the *bhāva* of Prabhu's divine madness; even Brahmā could not describe its power. 113 The *līlā* of going to the Caṭaka-mountain Raghunātha Dāsa has revealed in his *Gaurāṅgastavakalpavṛkṣa*:

Śloka 7. Raghunātha Dāsa Gosvāmin's *Gaurāṅgastavakalpataru* 8:
At the sight of the great mountain Caṭaka near Nīlācala, he said,
"O friends, I am going to see the Lord of Mountains, Govarddhana,
in Vraja, in this place," and he ran like mad, and was caught by his
own followers—thus Gaurāṅga appears in my heart and maddens me.

114 Thus Prabhu had so many unworldly *līlās*; who is able to describe this play of Mahāprabhu? 115 I have surveyed them briefly, and those who hear it gain the wealth of the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa.

116 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

109. [*nṛtya*: dance, i.e., *līlā*, or more specifically *divyonmāda*, divine madness. TKS]

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Antya Līlā
Chapter 15

Śloka 1.

The limits of *prema* on the earth have been shown by Gaura, his mind bobbing up and down in a sea of *prema* for Kṛṣṇa, hard to understand.

1 Glory glory to Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, highest lord; glory to Nityānanda, whose body is full of *ānanda*. 2 Glory to Advaitācārya, most beloved of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya; glory glory to Śrīvāsa and the other *bhaktas*.

3 In this way Mahāprabhu passed day and night; he had no consciousness of himself, but he remained absorbed in Kṛṣṇa-*prema*. 4 Sometimes he was sunk in *bhāva*, and sometimes he was half-conscious, and sometimes wholly conscious—these were the three conditions of Prabhu. 5 Because it was the natural habit for his body, he bathed and had *darśana* and ate, like the wheel of a potter, constantly turning. 6 One day Prabhu had *darśana* of Jagannātha, and he saw in Jagannātha the manifest Vrajendranandana. 7 At once the five qualities of Kṛṣṇa agitated Prabhu; by the five qualities his five senses were attracted. 8 His one mind was drawn in five different directions by the five qualities; and with this pulling and tugging Prabhu lost consciousness. 9 At that time the *upalabhoga* of Īśvara was completed, and the *bhaktas* took Mahāprabhu to his house. 10 With Svarūpa and Rāmānanda he lamented, holding the two of them by their necks. 11 When separated from Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā's heart was

3. [*Āveśa*: absorbed or possessed. For more on Caitanya's delirium in *prema*, see text and commentary to 1.7.86-93; 1.17.5; 2.8.135; 2.18.151-74; 2.23.31-32; and 3.14-19.passim. TKS]

4. See also 3.18.74-77.

5. The potter spins his wheel once, and it is balanced and oiled so that it continues to turn by itself for a long time.

7. The five qualities referred to are form or beauty, *rasa* or ultimate esthetic pleasure, scent, touch, and sound; these five attracted the eye, ear, nose, tongue, and touch of Caitanya.

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disturbed, and she shared with Viśākhā the cause of her grief. 12 He recited that *śloka*, expressing the burning of his own heart. Lamenting he explained to the two the meaning of the *śloka*.

Śloka 2. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Govindalīlāmṛta* 8.3:
O friend, he who floods the mountains of the minds of women with the waves of the river of the nectar of his beauty, whose words are playful and full of fun and please the ear, whose body is cool like a crore of moons, who floods the whole world with the nectar of his own fragrance, and whose lips are like nectar, that son of Gopendra forcibly draws my five senses.

13 "The touch and form and sound of Kṛṣṇa,
the *rasa* of his lips, so
pleasing, his sweetness cannot be described;
seeing this the five are longing;
my heart is a single horse,
the five ride it in five directions.

14 O friend, hear the cause of my sorrow;
my five senses
are most wicked thieves;
they steal the wealth of others. [refrain]

15 A single horse, but at the same time
the five drive it in five directions.
Which way should one heart go?
when they all drag it at once,
the life of the horse slips away;
such grief cannot be borne.

16 I am not angry at my senses,
it is not their fault,
for Kṛṣṇa's beauty and other [qualities] are most attractive.
These five—his beauty and the others—pull
and the five [senses] of my life depart;
life remains no longer in my body.

16. These five: beauty, taste, fragrance, touch, and the sound of his voice, match the five senses.

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17 A drop of a wave of that
sea of the nectar of Kṛṣṇa's beauty—
merely one drop drowns the world.
All the women in the three worlds,
their minds are the highest peaks,
and [that ocean] wells upon them and drowns them.

18 The honey of the speech of Kṛṣṇa
contains delight and many *rasas*;
its mischief cannot be described.
Into the ears of the women of the world [it enters]
and by its qualities of sweetness it binds and drags them,
and with that dragging departs the life from those ears.

19 The body of Kṛṣṇa is very cool;
what shall I say of its power?
Its touch is cooler than sandalwood or a crore of moons.
The women with mountain-breasts,
skilled in the alluring arts,
the hearts of [such] women it attracts.

20 The body of Kṛṣṇa is redolent with fragrance,
overpowering the musk of the musk deer,
it defeats the prideful treasure of the blue lotus.
In the nostrils of the women of the world
it takes up residence,
and forcibly draws them.

21 The nectar of Kṛṣṇa's lips
mixed with the camphor of his gentle smile,
conquers women's hearts with its own sweetness.
Their hearts abandon other longings,
and are pained should they fail to achieve it—
such is the chief wealth of the women of Vraja.

22 Thus saying, Gaurahari
holding the necks of the two
said, "Hear, O Svarūpa and Rāma Rāya:
What shall I do? Where shall I go?
Where can I go to gain Kṛṣṇa?
Tell me the means to that."

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23 In this way Gaura Prabhu went on day after day, lamenting with Svarūpa and Rāmānanda. 24 And the two consoled him; Svarūpa sang, and Rāya recited *ślokas*. 25 The *Karṇāmṛta*, and Vidyāpati, and the *Śrī Gītagovinda*—by singing the *ślokas* of these did they give Prabhu pleasure.

26 One day Mahāprabhu was going to the seashore, and he suddenly saw a garden of flowers. 27 And he ran and entered into it, mistaking it for Vṛndāvana. He wandered about absorbed in *prema*, seeking Kṛṣṇa there. 28 At the *rāsa* dance Kṛṣṇa disappeared, taking Rādhā; and afterwards the *sakhīs* wandered about looking for him: 29 absorbed in that very *bhāva* Prabhu [examined] each tree and creeper. He roamed here and there, searching, all the time reciting these *ślokas*:

Śloka 3. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.30.9:

O *cūta*, O *priyāla*, O *panasa*, O *asana*, O *kobidāra*, O *jambu*, O *arka*, O *bilva*, O *vakula*, O *āmra*, O *kadamba*, O *nīpa*, all you who dwell on the banks of the Yamunā, all you whose birth has been to benefit others; our hearts are empty—tell us where Kṛṣṇa went.

Ślokas 4-5. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.30.7-8:

4 O *tulasī*, blessed one, beloved of the feet of Govinda, have you seen Acyuta, most beloved of you, who supports you with the black bees?

25. The *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* of Bilvamaṅgala, the *padas* or lyrics of Vidyāpati, and Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*.

Śloka 3. Cūta, priyāla, etc.: these are the names of various trees and creepers, [all flowering trees or large shrubs. They are identified as follows: *cūta*: mango tree, *Mangifera indica*; *priyāla*: *Buchanania latifolia* (alt. *piāla, piyāla*); *panasa*: breadfruit, *Artocarpus integrefolia*; *asana*: a large timber tree, *Pentaptera tomentosa* or *Terminalia tomentosa* (alt. *āsana, āsnai*); *kobidāra*: said to be one of the trees of paradise, *Bauhinia variegata* (alt. *kovidāra*); *jambu*: rose apple or black plum, *Eugenia jambolana* (alt, *jāmbu*); *arka*: the swallow-wort or sun plant, a large bush whose leaves were used often in Vedic sacrifice, *Calatropis gigantea*; *bilva*: wood-apple or quince, *Aegle marmelos* (alt. *vilva*, commonly "*bel*"); *vakula*: fifty foot high tree whose blossoms are said to spring forth upon being sprinkled with the saliva of beautiful women, *Mimusops elengi* (alt. *bakula*); *āmra*: mango tree, *Mangifera indica* (same as *cūta*); *kadamba*: large tree whose large flowers are orange with white stigmas, *Nauclea cadamba*; *nīpa*: a species of Aśoka tree that produces red flowers, *Ixora bandhucca* (or less possibly an alternative name for *Nauclea cadamba* or *kadamba*). TKS]

Śloka 5. [The four flowers here are all types of jasmine: *mālati*: Spanish or Catalonian jasmine, *Jasminum grandiflorum*; *mallikā*: Arabian jasmine which produces small white flowers and climbs actively, found in all parts of India, *Jasminum zambac* (or *sambac*); *yūthī*: *Jasminum auriculatum* (alt. *yui, yūthikā*); *yāti*: often used to designate a type of *mālati*, but also three other species: *Barleria cristata* (blue-white blossoms), *Barleria dichotoma* (white blossoms), or *Barleria prionitis* (yellow blossoms; alt. *kānta-yāti*). TKS]

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5 O *mālati*, O *mallika*, O *jāti*, O *yūthika*, have you seen him going by causing love to be born in you by the touch of his hand? Have you seen that Mādhava?

30 "O *āmra*, *panasa*, *priyāla*, *jambu*, *kobidāra*, all you dwellers in the pilgrimage-place, who do good to others, 31 did Kṛṣṇa come to your place? Have you seen him? Tell me news of Kṛṣṇa and save my life." 32 And when he got no answer again he reflected, "But these are all males, like the companions of Kṛṣṇa. 33 Why should they tell me news of Kṛṣṇa? But these female creepers, they are like my companions. 34 Certainly they will tell me that they have gained sight of Kṛṣṇa." And thus reflecting he asked the *tulasī* and the others, 35 "O *tulasī*, *mālati*, *yūthi*, *mādhavi*, *mallikā*, has your beloved Kṛṣṇa come near you? 36 You are all like my friends; tell me news of Kṛṣṇa and save my life." 37 But getting no reply, again he reflected inwardly, "These are all the serving maids of Kṛṣṇa, and out of fear they do not tell me." 38 And seeing some does standing before him, and getting the scent of Kṛṣṇa's body, he looked at their faces and concluded [that they had seen Kṛṣṇa], so he asked:

Śloka 6. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.30.11:
O friends, wives of the deer, spreading greatest joy to the eyes of all of you by his body with his beloved, has Acyuta come here? In this place the perfume drifts off the garlands of jasmine—colored by the saffron on the breasts by his union with the body of his beloved—of the lord of Gokula.

39 "O deer! Śrī Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā in every way has come to give you happiness, not otherwise. 40 We are the beloved *sakhīs* of Rādhā, not strangers. And we know from a distance the union of their bodies. 41 The breeze is perfumed by the scent of the jasmine-garland of Kṛṣṇa, ornamented with the saffron of her breast, because of union with the body of Rādhā. 42 But Kṛṣṇa has gone, abandoning these, and so they are suffering the agony of separation; how can they give me an answer? They do not even hear my plea." 43 And he saw before

30. They do good to others by bearing fruits and flowers, and by giving shelter.

32. [The gender of those flowering trees and shrubs in v. 30 is masculine, in v. 35 feminine. TKS]

33. "My companions" is the feminine *sakhī*. The word for creeper, *latā*, is also feminine.

38. Getting the scent: possibly the musk aroma, although the following *śloka* and v. 41 would suggest that in that place there just happened to be the aroma of Kṛṣṇa's garland.

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him trees, filled with fruits and flowers, so that all their branches were bent to the ground. 44 "All these make obeisance because they have seen Kṛṣṇa"; and deciding this he asked them which way Kṛṣṇa had gone.

Śloka 7. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.30.12:

O trees, surrounded by swarms of black bees, blind, drunken with the *tulasī*, did Rāmānuja, his arm on the shoulder of his beloved, a lotus in his right hand, wandering in this forest, welcome your bow with a look full of love?

45 "To prevent the bees from alighting on the face of his beloved, [perhaps] he was distracted in driving them away with the blue lotus. 46 Did he pay heed to your bow? Or did he not? Tell me truly. 47 These are servants saddened by separation from Kṛṣṇa; how can they answer me? They are senseless." 48 And so saying he went forward to the bank of the Yamunā, and there he saw Kṛṣṇa beneath a *kadamba* tree. 49 With his flute to his lips he charmed a crore of Manmathas; his unparalleled beauty stole the hearts and the eyes of the world. 50 Seeing this beauty, he fell to the earth in a faint. And at that time Svarūpa and the others came to meet him.

51 As before, over the whole body of Prabhu were all the *sāttvika* [signs]; in his heart he tasted *ānanda*, though outwardly he was agitated. 52 As before they all brought him back to consciousness, and getting up, Prabhu looked in all the four directions. 53 "Where has Kṛṣṇa gone? Just now I caught a sight of him, and my heart and my eyes were conquered by his beauty. 54 Why do I not see him still, with his flute to his lips; my eyes wander, greedy to see him." 55 And as Rādhā spoke a *śloka* to Viśākhā, Mahāprabhu began to recite that *śloka*:

Śloka 8. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Govindalīlāmṛta* 8.4:

O friend, the lustre of his body is sparkling like the new raincloud, his clothes charming like new lightning, and his face, enhanced by the beauty of the flute, is full of radiance like the autumn moon, his hair ornamented with peacock feathers, and the radiance of his necklace of pearls is like glowing stars; that Enchanter of Madana ever increases the greed of my eyes.

Śloka 7. Rāmānuja: the younger brother (*anujā*) of [Bala]rāma.
49. Manmatha: Kāmadeva.
51. [See 2.23.31-32 for the *sāttvika bhāvas*. TKS]

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56 "The pleasing color of the new cloud,
smooth as powdered collyrium,
most graceful, shaming the blue lotus,
conquering comparisons,
it steals the minds and eyes of all,
so powerful is the radiance of Kṛṣṇa.

57 O *sakhī*, what shall I do?
Kṛṣṇa is the wonderful new cloud
and my eyes are *cātakas*;
not seeing him they die of thirst. [refrain]

58 His yellow clothing like lightning,
though remaining always still,
his necklace of pearls as fine as a row of herons.
The feathers on his head, the bow of Indra,
can be seen perched above,
another bow—his *vaijayantī* garland.
59 The gentle sound of his flute—
hearing its sweet thunder,
all the peacocks dance in Vṛndāvana.
The stainless full moon
glitters with beauty and radiance, and
over it rises the picturesque moon.
60 Raining the nectar of *līlā*,
he watered the fourteen worlds,
when he appeared like a cloud;
by the winds of my misfortune's storm
the cloud was driven elsewhere;
the *cātakas* died, for they could not drink."

57. Cātaka: the bird, *Cucculus melanoleucus*, said to live on raindrops; a favorite conceit of Indian poets.

58. The "bow of Indra" is the rainbow. The *vaijayantī* is a special garland made up of flowers and leaves of many kinds and colors.

59. "Thunder" is literal: *garjana*, "roaring"; "sweet roaring" is an odd juxtaposition in English, and it must be remembered that the sound of the flute, like everything else connected with Kṛṣṇa, is cosmic. It is sweet also because it anticipates the welcome and the fertility-bringing rains.

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61 And again he said, "Ah, ah,
Read! Read! Rāma Rāya!"
Prabhu spoke in a choking voice.
and Rāmānanda read a *śloka*;
hearing it Prabhu was both grieved and pleased,
and Prabhu himself expounded.

Śloka 9. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.29.39:
Seeing your cheeks adorned with earrings and your lips with nectar, and your face adorned with earlocks and your smiling glance, seeing your arms like fear-dispelling staffs, and your unequalled shining breast, we become your slaves.

62 "Kṛṣṇa conquers the moon and lotus,
he has spread the trap of his face,
and the bait is the sweet smile on his lips.
The women of Vraja come,
fall into the snare and become slaves,
leaving their own homes and husbands.

63 O friend, Kṛṣṇa acts like a hunter;
he considers neither justice nor injustice,
he steals the hearts of the women-does,
by a marvelous array of techniques. [refrain]

64 Glittering on his cheeks,
the crocodile-earrings dance,
and by that dance he steals the women.
The arrow of his playful sidelong glance
he strikes into the hearts of all;
he does not fear at all to slay women.

The stainless full moon is Kṛṣṇa's face, and the second picturesque moon rising over it is the *tilaka*, the sandalwood decorative mark on his forehead, [or reading *citra* as variegated or marked, the second moon may be the moon itself which, unlike Kṛṣṇa's face, does bear stains. TKS]

Śloka 9. See 2.24.*śl*.13.

63. *Dharmādharma*: "justice nor injustice," as the hunter at the time of the hunt does not stop to consider the right and wrong of what he is doing.

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65 Most high and broad,
adorned with golden curl,
is the robber-chest of Kṛṣṇa;
the lakhs and lakhs of Vraja-*devī*s,
the hearts and breasts of them all,
it skillfully turns into slaves of Hari.

66 Long and powerful bars
are the two arms of Kṛṣṇa;
they are not arms, but long black-snake bodies.
Coiling through the cleft of the twin mountains
they bite the hearts of women;
in that poison's burning women die.

67 The palms of Kṛṣṇa's hands, the soles of his feet,
are cooler than a crore of moons,
cooler than camphor or vetiver or sandalwood.
Who is brushed once by them
is destroyed by Kāma's burning poison,
yet the hearts of women covet their touch."

68 Raving in this way
Gaurahari was absorbed in *prema*,
and in this mood he recited a *śloka*.
It was a *śloka* which Rādhā spoke
telling Viśākhā of her sorrow,
and revealing the grief of her heart.

Śloka 10. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Govindalīlāmṛta* 8.7:
O *sakhī*, his chest is charming, like a door of sapphires, with his arms like bars he is able to destroy the torment of the hearts of young women afflicted by Smara, his body is soothing like sandalwood, or the blue lotus, or camphor, or the moon—this Enchanter of Madana arouses a longing for his chest.

65. Lakṣmīśrīvatsa: "adorned with golden curl." *Śrīvatsa* is actually a curly design made by the chest-hair of Viṣṇu.

66. Argala: "bars," used to bar doors and gates. *Kṛṣṇa-sarpa*: the long black snake.

67. [*Venāmūla*: vetiver, the long, fibrous, aromatic roots of the grass *vetiveria zizanoides*, which yields an oil used in perfume. TKS]

Śloka 10. Smara: Kāmadeva, in Kalidāsa; the word is used in the *Atharva Veda* to mean sexual love.

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69 Prabhu continued, "Just now I found Kṛṣṇa, but because of my own misfortune I lost him again. 70 By nature Kṛṣṇa is fickle; he does not stay in one place; he shows himself and steals the mind, and again he disappears."

Śloka 11. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.29.48:
Keśava, to subdue the pride of their good fortune, vanished from that place in order to show them favor.

71 To Svarūpa Gosvāmī he said, "Sing a song so that my heart will be consoled." 72 When he heard that, then, [Svarūpa] sweetly sang a *pada* of the *Gītagovinda*, making Prabhu listen:

Śloka 12. Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* 2.2:
He who played in the *rāsa*-dance, laughing and joking with me—my heart remembers that Hari.

73 When Svarūpa Gosvāmī sang this *pada*, Prabhu rose up, absorbed in *prema*, and began to dance. 74 On his body the eight *sāttvika* [signs] appeared; *harṣā* and the rest of the *vyabhicārī* [*bhāvas*] all rose up. 75 Rising *bhāvas*, a sea of *bhāvas*, powerful *bhāvas*; there was a great struggle between *bhāva* and *bhāva*, and all were very powerful. 76 He had each *pada* sung again and again, and again and again he tasted it, and his dancing grew [in intensity]. 77 When [Caitanya] had danced in this way for a long time, Svarūpa Gosvāmī stopped the recitation of *padas*. 78 Prabhu said, "*Bol, bol!*" over and over again, but Svarūpa Gosvāmī would not sing, seeing that he was fatigued. 79 Prabhu repeated, "*Bol, bol!*" and the *bhaktas* heard it, and in all directions, all together, they shouted Hari's name. 80 Rāmānanda then sat Prabhu down, and fanning him he dispelled Prabhu's fatigue. 81 They all took Prabhu to the shore of the sea, and bathed him there, and again brought him home. 82 They fed Prabhu, and made him lie down, and Rāmānanda and the rest all went to their own places.

83 Thus has been related the activities of Prabhu in the garden, where he entered, mistaking it for Vṛndāvana. 84 And this description of his madness and raving, Śrī Rūpa Gosvāmin has made:

Śloka 12. [This is the refrain for the fifth song of *Gītagovinda* (2.2-9). TKS]

74. [See text and commentary to 2.23.31-32 for *sāttvika* signs; see 2.8.135 and commentary for *vyabhicārī bhāvas*. TKS]

75. Bhāvodaya, bhāvasandhi, bhāvaśāvalya: for their technical meanings, see 2.2.54, 58, and 60.

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Śloka 13. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Stavamālā, caitanyāṣṭaka* 1.6:
Will I ever again see with my eyes that Caitanya, *bhakti-rasika*, his tongue trembling in repeating the name of Kṛṣṇa, controlled by *prema* born from the memory of Vṛndāvana when again he saw all the beautiful forest groves on the shore of the sea?

85 The Caitanya-*līlā* is infinite, and cannot be completely written; so I have given only a survey, an index of it.

86 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

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Antya Līlā
Chapter 16

Śloka 1.

Who having tasted the nectar of the *bhāva* of Kṛṣṇa, caused the *bhaktas* to taste it, teaching them the conservation of *prema*, homage to that Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya.

1 Glory, glory to Gauracandra, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 In this way Mahāprabhu remained at Nīlācala, with his *bhaktas* always overcome with love. 3 At the end of the year, all the *bhaktas* of Gauḍa came, and as when they had come before, they met Prabhu. 4 In the company of all of them, Prabhu remained externally conscious, and as before he danced and so on at the Car Festival. 5 With the group came one named Kālidāsa, who spoke nothing other than the name of Kṛṣṇa. 6 He was a great *bhāgavata*, simple and generous; he impelled his daily activities by secretly [pronouncing] the Kṛṣṇa-name. 7 When he for sport would play at dice, he would throw the dice, saying "Hare, Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa!" 8 He was a *jñāti* of Raghunātha Dāsa, the younger brother of his father; and even when he was an old man he used to eat the remainder of the food of Vaiṣṇavas. 9 As many Vaiṣṇavas as there were in the land of Gauḍa, he ate the leftover food of all of them. 10 As many *brāhmaṇas* and Vaiṣṇavas as there were, great and small, he would go to their houses, bringing gifts of the finest stuffs. 11 And at their places he would beg and take the remainder of the food on their leaves; and where he did not get it, he would remain hidden, 12 and after they had eaten, and went to throw away their leav-

4. *Cittabāhya*: externally conscious.
6. Secretly, i.e., to himself.
8. *Jñāti*: paternal relative; see Inden and Nicholas, *Kinship in Bengali Culture*, 8-15, 74-80. *Ucchiṣṭa*: remainder, leftovers.

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ings, he being hidden would take the leaf and lick the leavings from it. 13 He went to the houses of *śūdra* Vaiṣṇavas, bringing gifts, and in this way he would hide himself and eat their leavings. 14 There was a Vaiṣṇava of *bhūmimāli jāti*, named Jhaḍu, and bringing mango-fruits [Kālidāsa] went to his house. 15 He presented him the gift of mangos and bowed at his feet, and greeted his wife. 16 [Jhaḍu] was sitting, together with his wife, and greeted Kālidāsa with great respect. 17 For some time they had pleasant conversation together, and then Jhaḍu Ṭhākura said to him in a gentle voice, 18 "I am of low *jāti*, and you are the highest of all guests; how can I serve you? 19 Give me the command, and I shall bring food from the house of a *brāhmaṇa* and give it to you; for then if you take *prasāda*, I shall live." 20 Kālidāsa said, "Ṭhākura, be gracious to me; I am a low and wretched person, and I have come for your *darśana*. 21 I have been purified, for I have gotten *darśana* of you; I have become crowned with success, my life has been fulfilled. 22 I do have one desire, which you, being gracious, can do: give me the dust of your feet; put your feet on my head." 23 Ṭhākura replied, "It is not right for you to say these words; I am of low *jāti*, and you are of high lineage." 24 Then Kālidāsa made him listen to a *śloka* he recited, and when he heard it Jhaḍu Ṭhākura was greatly pleased:

Śloka 2. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin's *Haribhaktivilāsa* 10.91:

He who knows the four Vedas but does not have *bhakti* is not beloved of me; a *śvapaca* who is my *bhakta* is beloved of me; you should give to him and accept from him; he is as honorable as I.

Śloka 3. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 7.9.10:

I consider a *śvapaca* whose mind, speech, efforts, wealth, and life are devoted to him to be better than a *brāhmaṇa* who, though he possess the twelve qualities, has his face averted from the lotus-footed, lotus-naveled one; such a one purifies his family, but the prideful one does not.

Śloka 4. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.33.7:

How wonderful! That *śvapaca* on the tip of whose tongue your name is current is worthy of worship. Those who praise your name are endowed

14. His caste or *jāti* was *bhūmimāli*; *māli* is a flower-grower and flower-seller, gardener.
Śloka 2. See 2.19.*śl.*2; 2.20.*śl.*3.
Śloka 3. See 2.20.*śl.*4; 3.4.*śl.*5.
Śloka 4. See 2.11.*śl.*14; 2.19.*śl.*5.

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with proper action—they do ascetic deeds, offer sacrifices in the fire, bathe at pilgrimage places, and study the Vedas.

25 When he heard these, Ṭhākura said, "In the *śāstras* this truth is spoken: he is best in whom there is Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*. 26 But I am low-born, and in me there is no Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*; there is such in others, but I have no such power." 27 Kālidāsa bowed to him and begged his leave to go, and Jhaḍu Ṭhākura accompanied him a little way. 28 Taking leave of him, Jhaḍu Ṭhākura returned home; then, in those places where his footprints had fallen, 29 Kālidāsa took that dust and smeared it on his whole body, and he remained hidden in a place near there. 30 Jhaḍu Ṭhākura went to this house, and saw the mango-fruit; in his mind he offered them all to Kṛṣṇacandra, 31 and taking the mangoes from the basket of plantain [leaves], his wife gave them to him, and he sucked and ate them. 32 When he had sucked the meat, he threw the pits into a basket; and when he had eaten, his wife ate after him. 33 The basket was filled with husks and pits, and he took it outside and threw it into the pit for refuse. 34 Kālidāsa sucked the shells and husks and pits, and as he sucked he was filled with the delight of *prema*. 35 And in this way at the houses of all the Vaiṣṇavas of the land of Gauḍa, Kālidāsa took the leavings of them all. 36 When that same Kālidāsa came to Nīlācala, Mahāprabhu showed great mercy toward him.

37 Every day, when Prabhu went to have *darśana*, Govinda went with Prabhu, bringing the *karaṅga*-pot for water. 38 To the north of the lion-gate, within the door, beneath the twenty-two steps, there is a low cavity, 39 and in that cavity Prabhu would wash his feet, and when he had done that he would go to have *darśana* of Īśvara. 40 Mahāprabhu instructed Govinda, "See that no one takes the water of my feet." 41 Not even those dearest to him could get that water of his feet; but sometimes an intimate *bhakta* could, by some trick,

35. *Avaśeṣa*: leavings, leftovers. [This episode highlights several recurring themes. First, all Vaiṣṇavas eat only that food which has first been offered to Kṛṣṇa, thereby making it *prasāda*. When this food has been consumed by a superior *bhakta*, or better yet Caitanya, it is even further "charged," hence Kālidāsa's desire (see v. 54 below). Second, in spite of the leveling or equalizing effect of devotion on caste hierarchy, one gets the sense that for Kṛṣṇadāsa, perhaps because of the general emphasis on servitude (*dāsya*), the inverse is preferred, so the lower the caste, the greater the efficacy of the leavings. Consequently the effect noted above regarding the leavings (*ucchiṣṭa*, *śeṣa*, *avaśeṣa*, *jhuṭā*, *phelā*) of a devotee is even greater with the *śvapaca* of the story. Third, Kṛṣṇadāsa constantly reminds his reader of the great benefit which accrues to anyone who shows respect to other Vaiṣṇavas. TKS]

37. *Karaṅga*: the pot used to carry the water with which Caitanya would wash his feet.

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manage to get some. 42 One day Prabhu was washing his feet there, and Kālidāsa came and spread out his hands. 43 He drank one handful, two handfuls, three handfuls, and then Mahāprabhu forbade him, 44 "Do not act like this any more; now the desire of your heart has been fulfilled." 45 Caitanya is Īśvara, the all-knowing crest-jewel, and he knows the faith of Vaiṣṇavas towards him in his heart. 46 It was for that quality that Prabhu was pleased with him, and so gave him the *prasāda*, so hard to obtain for others.

47 To the south, on the twenty-two steps, there was an image of Nṛsiṃha; while going up, it stood on the left-hand side. 48 Each day Prabhu would make obeisance to it, and making obeisance he would recite this *śloka* again and again:

Ślokas 5-6. *Nṛsiṃha Purāṇa*:

5 The giver of delight to Prahlāda, whose nails like swords tore the rock of the vast chest of Hiraṇyakaśipu, I bow to that Nṛsiṃha. 6 Nṛsiṃha is here, Nṛsiṃha is in other places, wherever I go, Nṛsiṃha is there; Nṛsiṃha is within my heart, Nṛsiṃha is outside it; I take refuge with Nṛsiṃha, the original shelter.

49 Then Prabhu had *darśana* of Jagannātha, and coming home he performed his mid-day ablutions and ate. 50 Kālidāsa was at the outside door, expectantly, and Prabhu knew this and communicated to Govinda by signs. 51 By the signs Mahāprabhu [made], Govinda understood everything, and he gave to Kālidāsa the remnants on the leaf of Prabhu. 52 Such is the greatness of the eating of the remnants of the food of a Vaiṣṇava; Kālidāsa gained the limits of the grace of Prabhu. 53 In that same way, eat the remnants of [the food of] Vaiṣṇavas, abandoning shame and hatred, and by that you will gain all that you desire. 54 The remnants of the food of Kṛṣṇa is called *mahāprasāda*, and the remnants of the food of Vaiṣṇavas is counted as *mahāmahāprasāda*. 55 The dust of the feet of *bhaktas*, and the water used to wash their feet, and the remnants of their food—these three are most powerful. 56 From these three services comes Kṛṣṇa-*prema*; again and again this is proclaimed in all the *śāstras*. 57 And because of that, again and again I say, Listen, *bhaktas*: with faith perform these three services; 58 from the three is the delight of the *prema* of the name of Kṛṣṇa. And to the grace of Kṛṣṇa because of them, Kālidāsa is a witness.

54. *Mahāprasāda*, "great *prasāda*"; the reason for this given in the *Bhaktamāla* is that Kṛṣṇa himself tastes *rasa* from his *bhaktas*.

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59 In this way Mahāprabhu remained at Nīlācala, and unknown to others granted his great grace to Kālidāsa. 60 That year Śivānanda came with his wife, and they brought with them their youngest son Purīdāsa. 61 Bringing the boy with them, they came to the place of Prabhu, and they had the boy bow to Prabhu's feet. 62 Prabhu said again and again to him, "Say 'Kṛṣṇa,'" but the boy did not pronounce the Kṛṣṇa-name. 63 Śivānanda attempted with great care to make him [say it], and still the boy did not say the name of Kṛṣṇa. 64 Prabhu said, "I have caused the world to take the name; even unmoving things have been caused to speak the name of Kṛṣṇa. 65 I cannot make him say Kṛṣṇa's name." And when he heard this, Svarūpa Gosvāmī began to laugh, 66 "You have given him the name of Kṛṣṇa as *mantra*, and when he has gotten the *mantra*, he cannot reveal it before anyone. 67 He repeats it in his mind, but does not utter it with his mouth. Let us respect the matters of his heart."

68 And on another day Prabhu said, "Recite, O Purīdāsa." And he composed a *śloka* and recited it:

Śloka 7. Kavikarṇapūra's *Āryaśataka* 1:
He who is the blue lotus on the ears of the women of Vṛndāvana, the kohl on their eyes, the garland of sapphires on their breasts, who is all the ornaments of their bodies—let there be glory to that Hari.

69 A seven year old boy, who had had no instruction, extemporizing such a *śloka*, astonished the people. 70 This is the greatness of the mercy of Caitanya Prabhu, and Brahmā and the other *devas* do not gain the limit of it. 71 And so the *bhaktas* remained with Prabhu for the four months, and Prabhu gave them instructions, and all returned to the land of Gauḍa. 72 In the company of them all, Prabhu was conscious of the external world; but when they left, his madness again became powerful. 73 Day and night he throbbed with the *rasa* and the perfume and the beauty of Kṛṣṇa; it was as if he experienced the manifest touch of Kṛṣṇa.

74 One day Prabhu went to have *darśana* of Jagannātha, and the guard at the lion-gate came and bowed down to him. 75 And he said to him, "Where is Kṛṣṇa, the lord of my heart?" and saying "Show me Kṛṣṇa," he seized his hand.

60. [Purīdāsa is Paramānanda, i.e., Kavikarṇapūra. TKS]

Śloka 7. [This is the *śloka* that prompted Caitanya to give the "Ear Ornament of Poets," Kavikarṇapūra, to the young Paramānanda Sena. Also found in Kavikarṇapūra's *Alaṃkārakaustubha* 8.77 (*rūpakabheda* of *arthālaṃkāra*). TKS]

72. Bāhyajñāna: externally conscious; *unmāda*: madness.

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76 And he responded, "Vrajendranandana is here; come with me, and we shall see him." 77 "You are my friend; show me where the lord of my heart is." And so saying, [Caitanya] went, holding his hand, to the *jagamohana*. 78 [The guard] said, "See here Śrī Puruṣottama; filling your eyes, have *darśana*." 79 Staying behind Garuḍa, he had *darśana*, and he saw Jagannātha with a flute to his lips. 80 This *līlā* Raghunātha Dāsa has revealed in his own book *Gaurāṅgastava-kalpavṛkṣa*:

Śloka 8. Raghunātha Dāsa Gosvāmin's *Gaurāṅgastavakalpataru* 7:
"O friend, where is my beloved Kṛṣṇa; quickly show Kṛṣṇa to me here!" He spoke thus madly to the door-keeper, who answered, "Quickly go to have *darśana* of your beloved"; and he took his hand. That Gaurāṅga is arising in my heart, he maddens me.

81 At that time the Gopālavallabha-*bhoga* was offered, and *ārati* began, with conches and bells ringing. 82 When the *bhoga* was finished, the servants of Jagannātha took *prasāda* and came to Prabhu. 83 They put a garland on him and put *prasāda* into his hand. Apart from its taste, its fragrance enchanted the heart. 84 The articles were *prasāda* of great price, the best, and the servants urged him to taste a little of it. 85 So Mahāprabhu put a little of it on his tongue, and the rest Govinda tied into his *āñcala*. 86 When he experienced that taste, a crore of times sweeter than nectar, Prabhu was astonished, and his whole body trembled, and streams of tears flowed from his eyes. 87 "Where did these things come from, with such a taste? These are pervaded with the nectar of the lips of Kṛṣṇa." 88 And in this thought, Mahāprabhu was overcome with *prema*; but seeing the servants of Jagannātha, he restrained himself. 89 "A bit of the remainder of this food can be gotten by good deeds," he said again and again. And the servants of Īśvara asked, "Prabhu, what do you mean by this?" 90 And Prabhu said, "What you have given me is the nectar of the lips of Kṛṣṇa; it is hard to get for Brahmā and the rest, it puts the nectar of immortality to shame. 91 That which remains of Kṛṣṇa's food is called '*phelā*,' and he who gets a

76. The guard, the gatekeeper, speaks.

77. The *jagamohana*, says Rādhāgovinda Nātha, is the ante-room situated in front of the image of Jagannātha.

81. Gopālavallabha-*bhoga*: a particular food-offering; for its contents, see below, vv. 101-102.

85. *Āñcala*: the end of his dhoti used in the manner of a pocket by tying it.

88. *Āveśa*: overcome, possessed; *saṃvaraṇa*: restrained, covered over.

91. *Phelā*: lit., that which is thrown out or discarded, i.e., leftovers.

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particle of it is fortunate. 92 It is not gained because of ordinary fortune, but it is gained by him who has the full mercy of Kṛṣṇa. 93 The word '*sukṛti*' means 'merits because of the grace of Kṛṣṇa,' and he who has them, that blessed one gains '*phelā*.'" 94 So saying, Prabhu bade farewell to them all, and after watching the *upala-bhoga*, he came to his own place.

95 Having performed his midday rituals, [Prabhu] managed to eat, but always in his heart was the nectar of Kṛṣṇa's lips. 96 Outwardly he went through the motions of his duties, but his heart was seething with *prema*. With difficulty he checked the tumult of his passions. 97 He did the evening rituals, again with his own people, and then sat alone, in the pleasure of various thoughts of Kṛṣṇa. 98 At a sign from Prabhu, Govinda brought *prasāda*, and Prabhu sent some to Purī and Bhāratī. 99 To Rāmānanda, Sārvabhauma, Svarūpa, to all he sent *prasāda*, dividing it up. 100 And when they tasted the sweetness and the fragrance of the *prasāda*, by that unworldly taste the hearts of all were astonished. 101 Prabhu said, "All these are material things—sugarcane, camphor, chili, cardamom, cloves, and curd, 102 *rasavāsa*, cinnamon and the rest, and have the taste of material things, as all have experienced. 103 But the taste of these particular items, and their fragrance, is apart from the world; taste them and see—it will be understood by all. 104 And their taste apart, their fragrance charms the mind, and causes one to forget all other sweetness apart from their own. 105 These things have been touched by the lips of Kṛṣṇa, and the qualities of his lips permeate them all. 106 The unworldly scent and taste make one forget all else; the qualities of Kṛṣṇa's lips are greatly intoxicating. 107 Because of many good deeds have these been gained; all of you taste them, with great devotion." 108 So all tasted them, making the sound of the name of Hari; and at the taste, the hearts of them all became drunk with *prema*.

109 When Mahāprabhu, absorbed in *prema*, gave the command, Rāmānanda Rāya began to recite a *śloka*:

Śloka 9. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.31.14:
O hero, give us the nectar of your lips, beautifully kissed by the played flute which destroys attachment to all other things, of all people, destroys grief, and increases love.

110 When he heard the *śloka*, Mahāprabhu was greatly pleased, and he began to recite a *śloka* of the restlessness of Rādhā:

96. See commentary to v. 88 above.

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Śloka 10. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Govindalīlāmṛta* 8.8:

He who steals the thirst for other *rasa*s of the incomparable women of Vraja, the nectar of whose lips is radiant, the morsel of the remnant of whose food is to be obtained by good works, whose chewed *tāmbūla* is sweeter than nectar, O friend, that Enchanter of Madana arouses the desire of my tongue.

111 So saying, Gaura Prabhu was possessed of *bhāva*, and he expounded the meaning of the two *śloka*s.

112 "Mind and body yearn,
and longing for love relationship grows,
destroying sorrow and joy and the other *bhāva*s.
They make us forget other *rasa*s,
they bring the world under their control,
and destroy shame, and *dharma*, and steadiness.

113 O *nāgara*! Listen to the way your lips act.
They intoxicate the hearts of women,
they attract their tongues,
and in thinking of them everything is inverse. [refrain]

114 Let the nature of women be aside;
there is shame in saying it,
your lips are lords of audacity, for
they attract men as well—
you want to cause them to drink,
and to forget all other *rasa*s.

115 Let that which is conscious remain aside,
you make the unconscious conscious—
your lips are great magicians.

Śloka 10. Tāmbula: betel quid.

112. Vaśa: control; see text and commentary to 1.4.216; 1.7.138; 1.17.71, *śl.* 5; and 2.23.26.

113. Viparīta: inverse, the opposite of what it should be.

115. "And further, it is not wholly strange for those who are conscious beings to be attracted, but the flute is an unconscious thing, a stick of wood, and you transform that into a conscious thing." The *rasa* of the lips is both the *rasa* itself, and the sound of the flute. [This is a pun on "*rasa*," for it also means quite literally "sap," and the flute—a piece of cut and bored bamboo—is brought back to life, i.e., infused with sap, by the touch of Kṛṣṇa's lips. TKS]

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Your flute is a dry stick of wood,
but is reborn with heart and senses;
and made to drink incessantly.

116 Your flute is an audacious male—
it drinks and drinks from the lips of a man,
and lets the *gopīs* know that it is doing so:
'Ah, hear, O *gopīs*.
By my strength I have drunk your wealth,
and if pride remains in you,

117 Then be angry at me;
give up shame and fear and *dharma*,
and I shall leave it and let you drink.
If not, I shall drink without end;
I have no fear of you,
and I consider others straw.'

118 The nectar of his lips, in its tune
spreads out with strength,
and draws the people of the three worlds.
We have fear of *dharma*;
if we remain, staying steadfast,
we are afflicted with distress.

119 Before *gurus*, it loosens our waistbands,
it makes us abandon shame and *dharma*,
and pulls us, as if by the hair.
Dragging us, it makes us slaves,
and when they hear of it, people laugh;
in this way it makes women dance.

120 A piece of dried bamboo
insults us so:
it is to this state we have been brought, O Gosvāmī.
We cannot bear it. How can we?
But we remain silent.
Like mothers of thieves, we can neither shout nor weep.

116. It lets the *gopīs* know by its intoxicating sound.

117. The flute says that if the *gopīs* abandon shame and fear, then it will cease playing, cease drinking of the nectar of Kṛṣṇa's lips, and give the *gopīs* their chance.

119. *Gurus*: elders.

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121 Such is the conduct of those lips;
and hear another of their evil ways:
whatever is touched by those lips,
that food or *bhojya* or drink
becomes like nectar,
and its name is Kṛṣṇa-*phelā*.

122 One morsel of that *phelā*
all the *devas* do not gain;
who can believe the arrogance of that?
Gaining merit through many births,
one has the name *sukṛti*,
and that *sukṛti* gains a piece of it.

123 The *tāmbūla* which Kṛṣṇa eats
is called priceless,
and in that is additional audacity.
That part of it which is spit out
is called the essence of nectar;
he makes the mouths of the *gopīs* a spittoon.

124 'These are all your tricks—
give up this sort of thing;
why do you take our lives with your flute?
For the sake of your own joke
would you indulge in murdering women?
Let us sip the nectar of your own lips.'"

125 While he was speaking, the *bhāva* of Prabhu was reversed; the anger-part abated, and anxiety grew. 126 "This nectar of the lips of Kṛṣṇa is most hard to gain, and he who gets it, his life is fulfilled. 127 He who is fit, and does not drink of it, even though he be without shame, his life is fruitless. 128 Some are unfit, and drink of it incessantly; yet the worthy man does not get it, but only dies in yearning. 129 Perhaps in them there is the strength of some asceticism which gives to that unworthy one the fruits of the nectar of the lips of

121. Bhojya: whatever is offered to Kṛṣṇa by way of things to eat or drink or be chewed.

122. See vv. 91-93 for *phelā* and *sukṛti*.

127. In the *tripadi*, the flute has said that the *gopīs*, if they are without fear and shame, will be able to taste the nectar of Kṛṣṇa's lips; Caitanya now despairs of even that, saying that the nectar is so hard to gain that even abandoning fear and shame will not gain it for the *bhakta*.

128. The "unfit," unworthy, probably refers to the flute.

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Kṛṣṇa. 130 Speak, O Rāma Rāya. I want to hear a little." And knowing his *bhāva*, Rāya recited the words of the *gopikās*:

Śloka 11. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.21.9:
O *gopīs*, what wonderful merit has this flute earned? For what reason does it enjoy itself the nectar of the lips of Dāmodara, which should be enjoyed by the *gopīs*; the joyous trees, their bark as gooseflesh, shed tears of sap like the ancient ones.

131 Listening to this *śloka*, Prabhu was overwhelmed with *bhāva*, and in a voice choked with emotion he expounded its meaning:

132 "O Vrajendranandana,
some girls of Vraja
you will certainly wed.
And because of this the *gopīs*
consider him their own wealth,
that nectar which is not to be gained by others.

133 O *gopīs*, all of you decide and tell me:
what asceticism in what pilgrimage places,
the muttering of what *siddha-mantra*,
did this flute do in other births? [refrain]

134 Of such nectar of the lips of Kṛṣṇa,
which makes nectar worthless,
and in the hope of which the *gopīs* live,
this flute is most unworthy;
for one it is of *sthāvara* and male *jāti*
and it constantly drinks that nectar.
135 Whose wealth it is does not matter—
it takes it by force and drinks,
and by drinking calls and lets them know.
See the fruit of its asceticism,

134. I.e., it is at the same time an unconscious or unmoving being (*sthāvara*) and masculine; for both these reasons it is unfit to drink the *rasa*.

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and the power of its luck;
for great ones drink of its leavings.

136 Mānasa-gaṅgā and Kālindī,
these purified rivers of the earth,
when Kṛṣṇa bathes in them,
the *rasa* left by his lips on the flute,
conquered by desire for it,
drink happily then.

137 And these two women aside,
all the trees on their banks
perform asceticism for the good of others.
They get the *rasa* left over by the rivers,
attracting it by their roots;
why they drink it I do not understand.

138 Thrilled they put forth shoots,
they bloom and smile with flowers,
and as honey flow their streams of tears.
They honor the flute as their own *jāti*,
as when a son or grandson of a respectable man
becomes a Vaiṣṇava, [he] is transformed in joy.

139 When I learn the ascesis of that flute,
then I shall perform that same asceticism;
for he is unworthy, while we are worthy women.
We do not gain it, and die in grief;
but it is drunk by one unworthy—this we cannot bear.
Because of that, let us learn those ascetic practices."

140 Thus lamenting
Gaurahari, absorbed in *prema*,
remained together with Svarūpa and Rāma Rāya.
Sometimes he danced, sometimes he sang,
and fainted, possessed of *bhāva*—
and in this way passed the night, and the day.

137. The two rivers, Mānasa-gaṅgā and Kālindī, are feminine. The trees on the banks are the great ones, the great ascetics; and since they are great ascetics, why should they bother with leavings, not only leavings of the flute, but leavings of the rivers.

138. The flute is of the *jāti* of the trees, and therefore they are happy that it tastes the *rasa* of Kṛṣṇa, just as a man, when his son or grandson becomes a Vaiṣṇava, is happy.

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141 Svarūpa's, Rūpa's, Sanātana's, and
Raghunātha's most holy feet
I hold upon my head, and place my hope in them;
the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*
sweeter than any other nectar,
sings low and humble Kṛṣṇadāsa.

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Antya Līlā
Chapter 17

Śloka 1.

Thus is written what has been heard from the lips of those who witnessed the strivings of divine madness, most wonderful and unworldly, of Gaurendu.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 In this way Mahāprabhu passed day and night, raving in the strivings of madness, absorbed in *prema*. 3 One day Prabhu with Svarūpa and Rāmānanda passed half the night in the delight of talk of Kṛṣṇa. 4 And when a certain *bhāva* arose in Prabhu, Svarūpa Mahāśaya sang a song appropriate to that *bhāva*. 5 From Vidyāpati, Caṇḍidāsa, and the *Śrī Gītagovinda*—Rāya Rāmānanda recited *ślokas* according to that *bhāva*. 6 And from time to time Prabhu himself, reciting a *śloka*, would in delirium give the meaning of that *śloka*. 7 In this way in various *bhāvas*, half the night passed; then the two made Gosvāmī lie down, and they went to their homes. 8 Govinda lay down in the door of the *gambhīrā*, and the whole night long Prabhu sang *kīrtana* loudly. 9 Suddenly Prabhu heard the song of Kṛṣṇa's flute, and absorbed in his *bhāva*, he left that place. 10 Though the three doors were barred, absorbed in *bhāva*, Prabhu went outside. 11 To the south of the lion-gate, some Teleṅgā cows stayed, and going to that place, Prabhu fell unconscious. 12 And now Govinda, not hearing a sound from Mahāprabhu, summoned Svarūpa and opened the doors. 13 Then Svarūpa

Śloka 1. Gaurendu: "the golden" (*gaura*) "moon" (*indu*).

2. Unmāda: madness; *āveśa*: absorbed, possessed.

10. Viśvanātha comments that there was probably an opening above the door; Caitanya climbed through this onto the roof, and from there jumped down into the street.

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Gosvāmī, taking the *bhaktas* with him, lit a lamp and searched for Prabhu. 14 Searching here and there, they went eventually to the lion-gate, where they found Prabhu among the cows. 15 His hands and feet were pulled into his stomach; he had the shape of a tortoise. There was froth on his lips, his whole body trembled, and there were tears in his eyes. 16 Fallen unconscious, he was like a *kuṣmāṇḍa* fruit; externally he was stiff and rigid; inwardly he was overwhelmed with *ānanda*. 17 All around him the cows were sniffing his body, and they could not be driven off, staying in the company of Mahāprabhu. 18 Many tried hard, but he remained unconscious. The *bhaktas* raised Prabhu up and brought him home. 19 Loudly in his ear they sang Kṛṣṇa-*saṃkīrtana*, and after a long time Mahāprabhu regained consciousness. 20 When he came back to consciousness, his hands and feet came out again, and his body was as it had been before. 21 Getting up, Prabhu sat down and looked this way and that, and said to Svarūpa, "Where have you brought me? 22 I heard the sound of the flute and I went to Vṛndāvana, and I saw in the pasture Vrajendranandana playing his flute. 23 By the sound of the flute, he secretly brought Rādhā to the *kuñja*-bower, and Kṛṣṇa went to the *kuñja* to play there. 24 I followed after him, and my ears were conquered by the sound of his ornaments. 25 There he sported with the *gopīs*, laughing and joking, and hearing the sound of his voice, my ears were thrilled. 26 Then you all came, making a great uproar, and took me away by force. 27 I heard but did not gain that flute like nectar; I heard but did not reach the sound of his flute and his ornaments." 28 Overcome with *bhāva*, he said to Svarūpa in a choked voice, "Kill the thirst of my ears; read a *śloka* that will satisfy me, and let me hear."

29 Svarūpa Gosvāmī, knowing the *bhāva* of Prabhu, sweetly recited a *śloka* of the *Bhāgavata*:

Śloka 2. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.29.40:

Aṅga, is there any woman in the three worlds, who, infatuated by the soft
and warbling song of your flute, and having seen this form of yours
which is the lustre of the three worlds, and by which cows, birds, trees,
and beasts of the forests are thrilled, does not depart from proper action?

15. Peṭera bhitare hastapada: "his hands . . . stomach." See 3.14.63; "pulled in" or "within" (*bhitare*) is probably figurative; he must have been curled up with his arms and legs tucked under him.

16. Kuṣmāṇḍa: a gourd like a pumpkin.

23. Krīḍā karibāre: playing.

Śloka 2. See 2.24.*śl.*16.

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30 Hearing this, Prabhu was overcome by the *gopī-bhāva*, and he began to expound the meaning of the *Bhāgavata śloka*.

31 "Overcome with *gopī-bhāva*,
he entered the *rāsa*-dance,
and hearing slighting words from Kṛṣṇa,
sweet joking words from Kṛṣṇa,
being abandoned, he considered them as earnest,
and in anger gave Kṛṣṇa a rebuke.

32 '*Nāgara*! Tell [me] truly,
filling these three worlds,
as many worthy women as there are,
where is one not attracted by your flute? [refrain]

33 The many sounds of your flute
are *yoginīs* versed in *siddha-mantras*,
and messengers charming the hearts of women.
They cause great longing to grow,
and cause abandonment of respectable ways;
they bring us, and we offer ourselves to you.

34 Because of that flute, *dharma* is abandoned;
the Kāma-arrows of your glance strike home,
and modesty and fear are all abandoned.
And now you are angry at me,
saying that leaving one's husband is a fault;
you are a *dhārmika*, to teach the rules of *dharma*.

35 One thing in your words, another at heart,
outwardly still a different action:

32. Nāgara: see commentary to v. 54 below.

33. Yoginī: lit., female *yogin*, who knows the *mantras* by which the ultimate perfected state (*siddhi*) is gained; [*yoginī* has the connotation, however, of demoness who uses all available ploys to subvert good intention, etc., which here is very appropriate. TKS]

34. The reference is to *BhP* 10.29.24-26, in which Kṛṣṇa instructs the *gopīs* to the effect that the proper *dharma* of a woman is service of her husband. This, says Rādhā here through Caitanya, is a bit hypocritical: "You, having caused me to break this *dharma*, are a fine one to instruct me in proprieties!"

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these are all characteristics of rogues.
You know jokes and laughter,
and women are totally destroyed;
give up all this mischief and hypocrisy.

36 The sound of your flute is nectar,
your deceitful speech is nectar,
your ornaments sprinkle nectar,
and these three nectars charm the ears,
and charm the heart and charm the breath—
how can a woman retain her sanity?'"

37 So saying, controlled by anger,
he floated on a wave of *bhāva*,
his heart drowned in a sea of longing.
The words of Rādhā's longing,
reciting and himself explaining,
he tasted the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 3. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Govindalīlāmṛta* 8.5:
O *sakhī*, the sound of whose voice is the rumbling of a cloud, the sweet sound of his ornaments attracts the ears, whose joking words are sweet-sounding and of hidden meanings, the sound of whose flute steals the hearts of beautiful women, Ramā and the rest, that Enchanter of Madana arouses the longing of my ears.

38 "The deep sound of his voice
conquers the thunder of the new cloud,
by its qualities the nightingale is shamed.
One touch of the sound of it
drowns the ears of the world,
and the ear does not turn away again.

39 O *sakhī*, what can I do?
By the qualities of Kṛṣṇa's sounds
are my ears stolen;
when they do not hear them, they die of thirst. [refrain]

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40 The sound of his ankle and waist-bells
shame the swan and crane,
and the sound of his bracelet shames the *caṭaka*.
He who hears them once—
and they remain permeating his ears—
his ears hear no other sound.

41 Ornaments of that lovely mouth,
more nectar-like than nectar,
and mingled with them the camphor of a playful smile,
have two powers—*śabda* and *artha*,
and manifest several *rasas*;
each syllable is ornamented with jest.

42 One touch of that nectar
is the life of the ears which are *cākoras*,
and the ear-*cākoras* live in hope of it.
As fate wills it, some gain it;
unfortunate ones never gain it,
and when they do not they die of thirst.

43 The gentle sound of that flute
heard but once,
maddens the minds of these women of the world.
It loosens the waistband, which falls;
without price they become slaves,
and maddened run to Kṛṣṇa's side.

44 Even Lakṣmī Ṭhākurāṇī,
when she hears its soft sound,
comes to Kṛṣṇa's side in hope of it.
But not gaining Kṛṣṇa's company,
waves of thirst grow,
though she performs asceticism, she fails to gain it.

40. Nūpura: anklets; *kiṅkiṇī*: a string of bells worn around the waist; *caṭaka*: the cuckoo.

41. The image is from poetics: *śabda* (prosodic) and *artha* (semantic) are the two types of poetic ornamentation (*alaṃkāra*); the "ornaments of his mouth" are his words, which are both clever and meaningful; the two types of *alaṃkāra* go together to give the listener the experience of poetic *rasa* and *bhakti-rasa* in its various forms, e.g. *śṛṅgāra*. The *rasa* to which it is not inappropriate, moreover, can be strengthened with *hāsya*, or laughter.

42. The conceit is that *cākora* birds drink the nectar of the moon in moonbeams; when they are deprived of that, their only nourishment, they die.

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45 These four are nectar-sounds;
and whose good fortune is great,
his ears drink them in.
He who does not hear them,
why are his ears made?
Those ears are like broken cowries."

46 And raving in this way,
the *bhāva* of agitation welled up,
there was no refuge for his mind.
His mind was anxious and dejected;
eagerness, fear, firmness, remembering—
there was a mixture of all these *bhāvas*.

47 The speech of Rādhā in *śāvalya-bhāva*
burst forth in Līlāśuka,
and in this *bhāva* he recited a *śloka*.
From the strength of his madness
he expounded the meaning of that *śloka*;
that meaning not everyone understands.

Śloka 4. Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala's *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* 1.42:
What shall I do in this affair? Whom can I tell what has been done because of my longing? Ah, he rests in my heart, smiling his sweet sweet smile, giving delight to my eyes and my heart; and my thirst for that Kṛṣṇa, that miserable source of my anxiety, has been growing for a long time.

48 "In this *viraha* for Kṛṣṇa,
in my yearning, my mind is not still
but I can not think how to gain him.

45. These four: the sound of Kṛṣṇa's voice, the words of his mouth, the sound of the *nūpura* and *kiṅkiṇī*, and the sound of his flute. "Broken" is literally "one-eyed," *kāṇākaḍi*. When the cowrie-shell is broken, it is no longer good for exchange.

46. "Remembering" the beauty, qualities, etc., of the beloved, and times of union in the past.

47. *Śāvalya-bhāva*: the condition in which various *bhāvas* war for supremacy, and one or another gains it for a time, to be replaced by another; thus, Caitanya is now depressed by separation, now delighted by memory of past union, now fearful of additional separation, etc. Līlāśuka: Kavi Bilvamaṅgala, who was as skilled as Śuka in describing the Vṛndāvana-*līlā*, in the *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta*.

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You who are my friends,
in grief my mind goes mad;
whom shall I ask? Who can tell me the way?

49 Ah, ah, my friend, what can I do?
Where shall I go? What shall I do?
Where shall I find Kṛṣṇa?
For without Kṛṣṇa, my life departs. [refrain]

50 Would my mind be still a moment,
I could reflect on it."
And while he was speaking, the *mati-bhāva* arose.
Remembering the words of Piṅgalā
forced the *mati-bhāva* to arise,
and from that he determined the meaning.
51 "'I see this way:
let me give up hope of Kṛṣṇa;
if I abandon hope my heart will be soothed.
So leave this accursed talk of Kṛṣṇa;
speak other, auspicious things,
in which Kṛṣṇa is forgotten.'
52 While speaking he remembered,
and in his mind Kṛṣṇa bloomed,
and she said in astonishment to her friend,
'Why do I want to abandon him?
he is lying in my consciousness;
by no means am I able to abandon him.'

50. Mati-bhāva: *mati* refers to the mind; this *bhāva*, then, is one in which the mind is not totally submerged. In this *bhāva* one can rationally piece out a course of action, as Caitanya is about to do. Piṅgalā was the prostitute who, as the story is told in *BhP* 11.8, used to pass her life thinking that the next man passing by would give her money and satisfaction, and then when he did not, thinking that the next one would. Finally she began to realize that her life was passing away in such meaningless hopes, and she decided to give them up and dedicate herself to God. Like her, Rādhā through Caitanya realizes that constantly thinking that Kṛṣṇa will come soon brings unnecessary agitation and pain.

52. He, his: as there is no grammatical gender in Bengali, it is often difficult to discern who is speaking; here, for example, is it Caitanya or Rādhā? On the other hand, this sort of ambiguity is desirable in terms of the doctrine, for of course the two are one.

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53 For the nature of the Rādhā-*bhāva* is other,
it causes awareness of *kāma* to Kṛṣṇa,
and in awareness of *kāma*, fear is aroused in the mind.
'He who strikes the world
has entered into my heart,
and that weapon does not allow me to forget.'
54 By the power of anxiety
it conquers an army of other *bhāvas*
and establishes its own kingdom in the heart.
Yearnings arose in her heart,
she was unable to control herself,
and in grief she censured herself in her mind,
55 'My heart is miserable and contrary,
like a fish out of water,
without Kṛṣṇa for a moment and it dies.
The sweet smile on his face
is a balm to my eyes and heart,
and my longing for Kṛṣṇa doubles.
56 Ah, ah, Kṛṣṇa is the wealth of my heart;
ah, ah, lotus-eyed one,
ah, that ocean of pure divine qualities.
Ah, beautiful Śyāma,
ah, wearer of the yellow cloth,
ah, *nāgara* of the *rāsa*-vilasa.
57 Where can I go to find you?
Tell me and I shall go there.'"
And so saying he began to run.
Svarūpa got up and took him in his arms,

53. The Rādhā-*bhāva* does not allow the thought of Kṛṣṇa to be driven from the mind. *Kāma* here might be passionate desire, but the line can also be read "it causes awareness of Kṛṣṇa as Kāma," meaning Kāma-deva the god of love; this second reading would be supported by the following line, for "he who strikes the world" with his flower-arrows is Kāmadeva. The fear which is engendered by *kāma* or Kāma is presumably fear of separation.

54. The *bhāva* "fear," supplemented by the *bhāva* "anxiety" gains supremacy in the struggle among the *bhāvas*.

55. Vāma: "contrary," lit., "left" or "left-leaning," meaning "opposed" or "antagonistic," presumably to her own welfare and best interests.

56. Nāgara: Kṛṣṇa as dramatic hero of the *rāsa-līlā*, or one who is skilled in the ways of pleasure and the good life.

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and he held Prabhu and brought him
and sat him down in his own place.
58 In a moment Prabhu's consciousness returned,
and he ordered Svarūpa,
"Svarūpa, sing a sweet song."
And Svarūpa sang Vidyāpati,
and songs of the *Gītagovinda*,
and listening, Prabhu's ears were soothed.

59 Mahāprabhu was this way every day and night, his raving manifesting madness. 60 In a single day so many *bhāvas* were brought out that if they were described with a thousand mouths, the other shore of them could not be reached. 61 How can a miserable *jīva* describe them? I have only suggested them, like a moon seen through the trees. 62 And the ears and hearts of those who hear these are soothed, and knowledge is manifest of this profound and unworldly *prema*. 63 Wonderful and deep is the greatness of the sweetness of *prema*, and tasting it in himself, Prabhu demonstrated its limits. 64 Caitanya is full of wonderful mercy, and is the giver of wonderful things; I have not heard of another in the world so merciful and generous. 65 So, O people, worship in all *bhāvas* the feet of Caitanya, and from that you will gain the wealth of the nectar of the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa. 66 Thus has been told the appearance of the tortoise-shape, and the manifestations of madness, with delirious lamenting. 67 This *līlā* Raghunātha Dāsa has described in his own book, the *Gaurāṅgastava-kalpavṛkṣa*:

Śloka 5. Raghunātha Dāsa Gosvāmin's *Gaurāṅgastavakalpataru* 5:
Without unlocking the three doors, and by scaling the three lofty walls, he fell among the Kaliṅga cows, and because of his *viraha* for Kṛṣṇa his body appeared contracted, and seemed like a tortoise. Thus Gaurāṅga, appearing in my heart, maddens me.

68 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

64. Dayālu: merciful.
Śloka 5. Kaliṅga = Teleṅga (ante, v. 11).

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Antya Līlā
Chapter 18

Śloka 1.

Who at the sight of the sea in the bright moonlight of autumn, ran towards it, mistaking it for the Yamunā, and was immersed in it as in the burning of *viraha* for Hari, fainting remained the whole night long in the water; and in the morning was found by his own people—may that Śacīnandana protect us.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 In this way Mahāprabhu remained at Nīlācala, and day and night he floated on the sea of separation from Kṛṣṇa. 3 In the autumn nights, by the glow of the autumn moon, Prabhu would wander all night long with his *bhaktas*. 4 From garden to garden he wandered, looking with pleasure, and listening to and reciting the songs and *ślokas* of the *rāsa-līlā*. 5 Sometimes absorbed in *prema* he danced and sang, and sometimes, absorbed in a *bhāva* he imitated the *rāsa-līlā*. 6 And sometimes, mad with *bhāva*, Prabhu would run this way and that, and sometimes he would fall fainting on the ground, and roll about. 7 When he recited or heard a *śloka* of the *rāsa-līlā*, as before he would expound upon its meaning. 8 And in this way, he explained all the *ślokas* relating to the *rāsa-līlā*, and Prabhu gained both happiness and grief. 9 The discussion required to describe all the meanings of all those *ślokas* would greatly expand the book. 10 It is a fear that the vast numbers of those *līlās* which took place at every moment for twelve years, were too numerous to record in the book.

5. [This passage is suggestive of the role that acting plays for the later devotees, for many of the ritual practices involve dramatic acting—physically and mentally—as a means to salvation. TKS]

11. *Vikāra*: "change," transformation from his usual or normal state.

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11 Previously I provided a survey, so in that way you know the descriptive outline of his delirum and his change. 12 Even if Ananta were to speak with his thousand mouths, he could not reach the limit of the *līlās* of a single day. 13 And even if Ganeśa were to write for a crore of *yugas*, he could not reach the end of the *līlās* of a single day. 14 Kṛṣṇa was astonished when he saw the transformations in *prema* of his *bhakta*; and when Kṛṣṇa does not find the end, what of a worthless creature? 15 All the conditions of the *prema* of his *bhakta*, manifested in succession, so many transformations of so much sorrow and so much joy, 16 even Kṛṣṇa is not able to know these entirely. So he accepted the *bhāva* of a *bhakta* to taste them. 17 *Prema* causes Kṛṣṇa to dance, it causes the *bhakta* to dance, and itself dances—these three dance in one place together. 18 He who wishes to describe the transformations of *prema* is like the dwarf who wants to catch the moon. 19 As the wind steals one drop of the ocean's water, so the touch of the *jīva* does to a particle of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*. 20 There constantly rise up vast waves of *prema*; how can a miserable *jīva* find the end of it? 21 Among all people, only those among Svarūpa's group know that which Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya tasted. 22 But that *jīva* who describes it can but touch a corner of it, to purify himself.

23 In this way he recited all the *ślokas* of the *rāsa*, and finally he began to recite the *ślokas* of the water-play.

Śloka 2. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.33.22:

Accompanied by the women, like an elephant king by cows, he, being tired himself, broke the dam and entered the water to dispel the weariness of her whose garland was crushed by body contact and was reddened by the saffron on her breast.

24 In this way Mahāprabhu wandered and wandered, and suddenly he saw the sea from a garden. 25 And the waves glittered and rose in the brightness of the

13. Ganeśa, elephant-headed son of Śiva, is particularly skilled at writing.

14. "His *bhakta*" is Caitanya, who is both Kṛṣṇa and Kṛṣṇa-*bhakta*.

16. The primary reason for the Caitanya *avatāra*: Kṛṣṇa became Rādhā in the person of Caitanya in order to know the taste of *bhakti*. See 1.4.89-178.

19. As evaporation or spray does not really diminish the ocean, the taste of Kṛṣṇa-*prema* by a *jīva* does not really diminish Kṛṣṇa-*prema*.

21. Svarūpādi: "that group or series that begins with Svarūpa."

Śloka 2. Broke the dam: Rādhāgovinda Nātha defines this dam as a metaphor of the criticism of the world, of respect for Vedic and social *dharma*.

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moon, and flickered like the waters of the Yamunā. 26 Mistaking it for the Yamunā, Prabhu ran towards it; unseen he ran and jumped into the water of the sea. 27 When he fell, he fainted and knew nothing at all, and sometimes he sank into and sometimes he floated on the waves. 28 The waves carried him about like a dry stick; who can understand this play of Caitanya? 29 The waves carried Prabhu toward Koṇārka, and sometimes they kept him under, and sometimes they floated him on top. 30 "Kṛṣṇa plays in the water with the *gopīs* in the Yamunā"—Mahāprabhu was immersed in this delight.

31 When Svarūpa and the others failed to locate Prabhu, they were astonished and said, "Where has Prabhu gone?" 32 For Prabhu had gone with the swiftness of thought, and they could not see him, and when they did not see him, they grew concerned. 33 "Perhaps he has gone to the temple to see Jagannātha? Perhaps he has fallen in delirium in some garden? 34 Perhaps he went to Narendra, to the *guṇḍicā-mandira*? Perhaps he has gone to Mount Caṭaka or to Koṇārka?" 35 And so saying they all wandered about looking for Prabhu, and with many people [Svarūpa] came to the shore of the sea. 36 They wandered about looking for him until it was the end of the night, and they were certain that Prabhu had disappeared. 37 And in their sorrow in separation from Prabhu there was scarcely breath in their bodies, and there were no thoughts in their minds apart from those of fear and evil.

Śloka 3. *Abhijñānaśakuntalā Nāṭaka* 4:
In the hearts of friends arises fear that evil has befallen.

38 So coming together on the shore of the sea, they took counsel, and some of them went toward the mountain Cirāiyā. 39 And Svarūpa took some people and went to the east, and they searched for Prabhu in the water and on the shore of the sea. 40 All were overcome with grief, and they could not think, and they wandered in search of Prabhu, in *prema* for Prabhu. 41 They saw a fisherman coming with a net on his shoulder, and he was laughing and weeping and dancing and singing, and saying "Hari, Hari!" 42 Seeing these actions of the fisherman, they all were amazed, and Svarūpa Gosvāmī asked him for news, 43 "Tell me, O fisherman, have you seen anyone in this direction? Why are you in this

28. "Play" in the sense here of drama, *nāṭa*.

29. Koṇārka: Konarak, the place of the famous temple of Sūrya the god of the sun, the so-called "Black Pagoda." At this time it is likely that the temple was on the shore, although at the present day the beach has so built up that the temple is a good way inland.

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condition? Tell me the cause of it." 44 And the fisherman said, "I have seen no man here; while I was casting my net, a corpse came into it. 45 I thought it was a big fish, and I brought it in carefully, and when I saw it was a corpse I was very much afraid. 46 I had to touch the body, to free the net, and at my mere touch the spirit entered my heart. 47 In fear I trembled, and water flowed from my eyes, my voice was choked, and I trembled all over. 48 I cannot tell whether it was a *brahma-daitya* or a *bhūta*; on sight it entered a human body. 49 The body was tall—five or seven hands, and its arms and legs were three hands each. 50 The joints of the bones were loose and the skin was dangling, and when I saw it no life remained in the body. 51 As a dead body, he remained with his eyes rolled upwards, but sometimes he groaned, and sometimes remained unconscious. 52 I saw this before my very eyes; that *bhūta* has seized me, and if I die how will my wife and sons live? 53 That *bhūta* should not be spoken about; I am going to an *ojhā*, that he might drive that *bhūta* out. 54 Each night I wander alone and catch fish, and no *bhūta* or *preta* touches me, as I remember Nṛsiṃha. 55 But at the name of Nṛsiṃha this *bhūta* presses me twice as hard, and seeing his shape, fear strikes at my heart. 56 So do not go there; I forbid it. If you go there that *bhūta* will grab you all!"

57 When he heard this, Svarūpa Gosvāmī understood everything, and he said to the fisherman in very gentle words, 58 "I am a great *ojhā*; I know how to exorcise *bhūtas*." And he recited a *mantra* and put his holy hand on his head, 59 and slapping him three times he said, "The *bhūta* has fled." And saying, "Fear no more," he calmed him. 60 In him was *prema*, and added to that was fear, so he was doubly agitated; the fear-part had dissipated, and he calmed down a little.

61 Svarūpa said, "He whom you consider to be a *bhūta* is not a *bhūta*—he is Kṛṣṇa Caitanya Bhagavān. 62 Under the control of *prema* he fell into the waters of the sea, and you brought him out in your own net. 63 At his touch,

46. Bhūta: spirit, ghost of the dead, which seeks to enter a new living body.

48. Brahma-daitya: another kind of spirit. "On sight" is rather unclear; he seems to mean that he only looked at the corpse, and through that mere look he was entered by the spirit, though in v. 46 he says it was because of touch; the senses (*indriya*) are considered to be active, however, so the two may well be considered equivalent, i.e., looking as a form of visual touching.

49. A hand is about eighteen inches.

51. I.e., the eyes were rolled up and he was obviously dead, but still he, or the *bhūta* which was in him, would occasionally groan.

53. Ojhā: a magician to exorcise the *bhūta*.

54. Preta: a ghost or spirit of dead person.

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prema for Kṛṣṇa arose in you, and believing him to be a *bhūta* or *preta*, you were filled with fear. 64 But now your fear is gone, and your mind is calm. Where did you fish him out? Show me the place." 65 The fisherman said, "I have seen Prabhu again and again, and that is not he. This one has a greatly distorted body." 66 Svarūpa replied, "He is transformed because of *prema*; the joints of his bones separate, and his body becomes very long." 67 When he heard this, the fisherman was most glad, and he took them all and showed them Mahāprabhu.

68 Prabhu was lying there upon the ground, and his body had lengthened; his body was white from the water, and covered with sand. 69 His body was long and inert, and his skin was loose. The way was long, and they could not raise him up and carry him to his house. 70 So they took off his wet loin cloth, and put a dry one on him, and they laid him on an upper cloth and brushed the sand from him. 71 And all together they loudly sang *saṃkīrtana*, and loudly recited the naṃe of Kṛṣṇa into Prabhu's ear. 72 After a time the sound penetrated the ear of Prabhu, and Prabhu sat up there shouting aloud. 73 And as he arose his bones returned to their natural places, and half-conscious he looked this way and that. 74 In three states Mahāprabhu remained all the time: wholly internal, wholly external, and half-externally conscious. 75 When the internalized condition is half impervious and half externally conscious, the *bhaktas* call that condition "half-conscious." 76 In this semi-consciousness, Prabhu spoke words of lamentation; he spoke to the sky, and all the *bhaktas* listened. 77 "I went to Vṛndāvana and I saw the Kālindī, and I saw that Vrajendranandana was playing in the water. 78 He was together with Rādhikā and the other *gopīs*, and they were playing with great sport in the waters of the Yamunā. 79 I remained on the bank and I watched them with the *sakhīs*, and one of the *sakhīs* showed me all that fun.

80 Their silken garments and ornaments
they presented to their friends
and donned fine pure cloth.

74-75. [*Antarddaśā*: wholly internal, i.e., unconscious to the outside world; *bāhyadaśā*: wholly external, i.e., conscious to the outside world; and *arddhabāhya*: half-external, i.e., half or semi-conscious to the outside world, or in modern psychological terms, the equivalent of dissociative. It is in this last state of *arddhabāhya* that most of the physical manifestations of *prema*, Caitanya's divine madness, occur. See also 3.15.4. TKS]

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Kṛṣṇa with his loved ones
bathed in the water
and played beautiful water-games.

81 O *sakhī*, see the delight of Kṛṣṇa's water-sport!
Kṛṣṇa the mad rut-elephant,
his hands the restless tips of the trunk,
with the *gopīs*, the cow-elephants. [refrain]

82 They begin the water-play,
throwing water at one another,
and in the scuffle showers of water rain down.
All conquer and are conquered,
nothing is certain,
and the water-fight escalates endlessly.

83 Like steady lightning in the rain;
Śyāma the new cloud rains down;
the cloud rains on the lightning.
The eyes of the *sakhīs*
are delighted *cātakas*,
drinking nectar in happiness.

84 At first the fight was throwing water,
then it became hand to hand warfare,
and then mouth to mouth.
Then the war went breast to breast,
then tooth to tooth,
then the war shifted to nail to nail.

85 A thousand hands splashed water,
and the *gopīs* saw with a thousand eyes,
and approached with a thousand feet.
They kissed him with a thousand lips,
embraced him with a thousand bodies,
and listened to his jokes with a thousand ears.

82. "All . . . endlessly": like the growth of *prema* itself.

83. The *gopīs* are frequently described as fixed lightning, because of their grace of body as well as color; Śyāma, Kṛṣṇa, is the color of the first dark clouds of the monsoon; the *cātaka* birds only drink rain water directly from the clouds.

85. [Perhaps an allusion to the opening verses of the *puruṣa-sūkta*, *Ṛg Veda* 10.90. TKS]

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86 Kṛṣṇa took Rādhā forcefully
and went neck-deep into the water,
and released her there where the water was deep.
There she hung on the neck of Kṛṣṇa
and floated on the water
like a lotus uprooted by an elephant.

87 As many beautiful *gopīs* as there were,
Kṛṣṇa took that many forms,
and stole the clothes of all of them.
The water of the Yamunā was clear,
and their glittering limbs
Kṛṣṇa watched in great delight.

88 All the *sakhīs*, like lotus-creepers,
gave them help,
and with hands like waves presented them with leaves.
Some with strands of loosened hair
covered their lower parts,
and covered their breasts with their hands.

89 Kṛṣṇa did battle with Rādhā,
and the *gopīs* there
went to hide in the forest of golden lotuses.
They immersed their bodies up to the neck in water,
only showing their faces,
and no one could tell the faces from the lotuses.

90 Now Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā
did that which was in his mind,
and went to search for the *gopīs*,
and Rādhā who was of subtle mind,
knowing where the *sakhīs* were,
came and mingled with them.

91 So many golden lotuses floating in the water,
so many blue lotuses beside them,
they came and met together.

88. The leaves were to cover their bodies.

91. The blue lotuses are the face and hands of Kṛṣṇa. "Fought . . . them": Kṛṣṇa, as in the *rāsa* dance, has made himself from one into many, so that there was one Kṛṣṇa for each of the *gopīs*.

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Blue lotuses touched golden ones,
and fought with each of them,
and from the bank the *sakhīs* watched with delight.

92 *Maṇḍalas* like *cakravāka* birds
resting on each in pairs,
emerged from the water;
and there arose the blue lotus-*maṇḍala*,
and resting on each in pairs,
covered over those *cakravākas*.

93 And many red lotuses arose,
in pairs on each and every one
and blocked the blue lotuses.
The blue lotuses desired to loot,
the lilies strove to prevent them,
and both battled for the *cakravākas*.

94 The red and blue lotuses are unconscious,
while the *cakravākas* are conscious,
yet the lotuses covered the *cakravākas*.
This is the inverse condition for both,
their *dharmas* are reversed,
for in the kingdom of Kṛṣṇa such is proper.

95 Friends of friends live together,
and yet they came and plundered the *cakravākas*;
such is the way in the kingdom of Kṛṣṇa.

92. The image here is involved. *Maṇḍala* is something round or orb-like, and *cakravāka* birds always go in pairs; the *cakravāka-maṇḍala* then refers to the breasts of the *gopīs*. *Maṇḍala* also refers to the round shape of the lotus, and, as before, Kṛṣṇa's hands are blue lotuses; so all of the images combined describe Kṛṣṇa's hands, coming out of the water to rest on the breasts of each of the *gopīs*.

93. To complicate the figure, the red lotuses are the hands of the *gopīs*, so-called because of the red cosmetic used to paint the palms of the hands and soles of the feet; these hands also came out of the water and held the hands of Kṛṣṇa, the blue lotuses, from their breasts.

94. The "inverse (*ulaṭā*) condition" is that the lotuses are the inert things, yet they actively came and covered the breasts of the *gopīs*. "Inverse" also means that even though they wanted to feel the touch of Kṛṣṇa's hands, the *gopīs* struggled to keep them away. And it also means that the *cakravāka* birds usually perch on lotuses, not the other way around.

95. The image here is also complicated, and depends on a pun; "friend" is *mitra*, which is also "sun"; the sun is friend to the day-blooming lotus; so "friend of friend" is therefore the *cakravāka*, which is friend to the sun, which is friend to the lotus. Furthermore, in the second part of the *tripadi*, the *cakravāka* is called a stranger to the blue lotus, not only because the breasts of the *gopīs* are virgin territory, but because the blue lotus blooms at night; it is therefore stranger to the sun and to

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The stranger is friend of the enemy,
for the lotus protects it—this is a wonder,
this is a great conflict of *alaṃkāras*;

96 '*Atiśayokti*' and '*virodhābhāsa*'—
displaying these two *alaṃkāras*,
Kṛṣṇa showed them openly,
and having tasted them,
my mind is overjoyed;
it has soothed my eyes and ears.

97 Having played such games,
Śrī Hari came to the bank,
and took with him all the lovely women.
Anointing them with scented oil
and putting *āmalakī* on their bodies,
the *sakhīs* served them on the bank.

98 Again they bathed,
and donned dry clothing,
and came to the jeweled temple.
Collected by Vṛndā
those scented flowers and ornaments
they wore, in the dress of the forest.

99 The trees and creepers of Vṛndāvana
are wonderful to describe;
all year they bear fruits and flowers;
And the *devīs* of Vṛndāvana,
all servants of the bowers,
gathered fruits and brought them all to them.

the sun's friend, because the *cakravāka* is a day bird. And finally, the *cakravāka* is a friend of the enemy of the blue lotus, and therefore its own enemy; for the blue lotus closes with the rising of the sun. But even though the *cakravāka* and the blue lotus are enemies, the hands of Kṛṣṇa and the breasts of the *gopīs* strangers, the hands protect and cover those breasts. *Virodha alaṃkāra*: conflict of *alaṃkāras*, is a technical term meaning not real but seeming paradox in poetic ornamentation.

96. Atiśayokti: hyperbole; *virodhābhāsa*: *virodhālaṃkāra*, i.e., seeming but not real contradiction and paradox in poetic figures. Kṛṣṇa showed them openly: in this system of thought there is no distinction between poetic ornament and reality, so it is possible to say that Kṛṣṇa actually demonstrated these poetic figures in his water-play with the *gopīs*.

97. Āmalakī: a kind of cleansing unguent.

98. Vṛndā: the presiding goddess of Vṛndāvana.

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100 Preparing them most carefully,
they filled huge platters
on the *piṇḍā* of the jeweled temple,
and arranged them for eating,
placing them in rows,
and in front of them seats to sit upon.

101 Many kinds of coconuts
and many kinds of mangoes,
and of plantains and jujube,
and jackfruit, dates, oranges,
nāraṅga citrus, *jāma* berries, *samatārā*,
and grapes, and nuts and pistachio—all the kinds there are.

102 And *kharamujā* melons, cucumber, *tāla*,
water chestnuts, *pānīphala*, lotus stalks,
bel-fruit, *pīlu*, and pomegranate and the rest.
Famed in any country,
all are found in Vṛndāvana,
a thousand kinds; how many can be written of?

103 *Gaṅgājala* and *amṛtakeli*
pīyūṣagranthi and *karpūrakeli*,
sarapūpī, *amṛta-padma-cini*,
and *vṛkṣas* of *khaṇḍa-khirisāra*—
having prepared many edibles at home,
Rādhā brought them there for Kṛṣṇa.

104 Seeing the arrangements for the meal,
Kṛṣṇa was most delighted,
and sat down to the forest-feast.
With her companions
Rādhā then ate,
and the pair lay down in the temple.

100. Thālī: large platter on which food is arranged.

101. Koli: jujube; *panasa*: jackfruit; *kharjjura*: dates; *kamalā*: orange; *nāraṅga*: a kind of citrus fruit; *jāma*: berries; *samatārā*: a fruit; *drākṣā*: grapes; *meoyā*: pistachio nuts.

102. Kharamujā: a kind of melon; *khiriṇī*: a kind of cucumber; *tāla*: possibly, says Rādhāgovinda Nātha, the pulp of young palm trees; *keśara*: water-chestnuts; *pānīphala*: a water-grown fruit; *mṛnāla*: lotus stalks; *bilva*: bel-fruit; *pīlu*: see ante, 3.13.74 and commentary; *dāḍimbā*: pomegranate.

103. These are various kinds of sweets. For other food lists that include many of these same items, see 2.14.21-32; 2.15.205-19; 3.6.passim; and 3.10.14-38 and selections from the remainder of that chapter.

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105 Some fanned them
and some massaged their feet
and some fed them *tāmbūla*;
Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa slept,
and the *sakhīs* lay down,
and watching this my heart was pleased.

106 And then, seizing me,
making a great uproar,
you all came here.
Where is the Yamunā and Vṛndāvana?
Where are Kṛṣṇa and the *gopīs*?
You have broken that happiness of mine!"

107 While he was speaking so, Prabhu became fully conscious, and seeing Svarūpa Gosvāmī he asked him, 108 "Why did all of you come here for me?" And then Svarūpa Gosvāmī began to speak, 109 "You mistook the sea for the Yamunā and fell into it, and you drifted all this way in the waves of the sea. 110 This fisherman pulled you out in his net, and at your touch he became mad with *prema*. 111 All night long we have all been wandering about searching for you, and when we heard this tale from the fisherman, we came here and found you. 112 Deceived by your unconsciousness, all our hearts were filled with fear. 113 While we were taking Kṛṣṇa's name, your consciousness half returned; and in that state you were raving, and we heard it." 114 And Prabhu said, "I saw a dream, in Vṛndāvana, and I saw Kṛṣṇa in the *rāsa-līlā* with the *gopīs*. 115 They were playing games in the water, and feasting in the forest. And seeing this I raved, for it took my mind." 116 Then Svarūpa Gosvāmī made him bathe, and taking Prabhu he went home, in joy. 117 Thus has been narrated the story of Prabhu's falling into the sea, and he who hears it gains the feet of Caitanya.

118 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

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Antya Līlā
Chapter 19

Śloka 1.

I bow down to that Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, crest-jewel of those devoted to their mothers, who, raving, smashed his face and sported in the garden in the springtime.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 In this way Mahāprabhu was absorbed in *prema* for Kṛṣṇa, and day and night he raved like a madman. 3 Paṇḍita Jagadānanda was dearly beloved by Prabhu, and Prabhu got great delight by his actions. 4 And every year Prabhu sent him to Nadīyā to console his mother, knowing that she was sorrowed by their separation. 5 "Go to Nadīyā, make obeisance to my mother, and in my name hold her lotus-feet. 6 Tell her, 'You remember; and I come always to bow to your feet. 7 On that day when you want to feed me, I will on that day certainly come to eat. 8 I abandoned the service of you and took *saṃnyāsa*; I was mad, and destroyed *dharma*. 9 Do not take this as an offence of mine. I am subservient to you; I am your son. 10 I am at Nīlācala at your command, and as long as I live I will never be able to abandon you.'" 11 A piece of *prasāda*-cloth which he had gotten at the *gopa-līlā* he sent to his mother there at the word of Purī. 12 And he had brought, with great care, the best *prasāda* of

6. Smaraṇa: remember, meditate on me; the first person is used because Caitanya is speaking through Jagadānanda.

8. Bātula: mad.

11. The "*gopa-līlā*" is the celebration of Kṛṣṇa's birthday, when Caitanya would dress as one of the cowherd boys of Vṛndāvana. Paramānanda Purī instructed him to do these things.

12. Separately: i.e., he sent some to his mother and some to the *bhaktas*.

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Jagannātha, and he sent it separately to his mother and to the *bhaktas*. 13 So Prabhu was the crest-jewel of those devoted to their mothers, and even though he had taken *saṃnyāsa*, he always served his mother.

14 Jagadānanda went to Nadīyā and met the mother there, and told her the whole entreaty of Prabhu. 15 And he met the Ācārya and the rest of the *bhaktas*, giving them *prasāda*; and coming to the place of the Mother, he stayed there for a month. 16 And then he went to the Ācārya and begged his leave, and Ācārya Gosvāmī sent word to Prabhu. 17 The Ācārya spoke in riddles that were cryptic and mysterious; only Prabhu could understand them, no one else. 18 "Give Prabhu a crore of obeisances from me, and lay this entreaty of mine at his feet: 19 Tell the madman that people have become mad; tell the madman they do not sell rice in the market; 20 tell the madman there is no anxiety about the work; and tell the madman this is what the madman has said." 21 When he heard this, Jagadānanda began to smile, and when he came to Nīlācala he told it to Prabhu. 22 And when he heard the riddle Mahāprabhu smiled enigmatically, and saying "Whatever is his wish," he remained silent. 23 Svarūpa Gosvāmī asked Prabhu to explain it, saying "We do not understand the meaning of this riddle." 24 And Prabhu said, "The Ācārya is a most powerful *pūjaka*, and is skilled in the injunctions and methods of the *āgama-śāstras*. 25 For *upāsanā* he invokes the *deva*, and during *pūjā* he keeps him there for

15. Ācārya: Advaita Ācārya.

19-20. The riddle can be interpreted this way. "The madman," *bāula*, is Caitanya, mad with *prema*; "that the people have become mad" also means that the whole world is mad with *prema* for Kṛṣṇa. "Rice" is *prema*; when people have sufficient rice there is no need to buy and sell. "Anxiety" is *āula* (*ākula*); there is no need to worry further about spreading *prema*, for all people now are immersed in it. The second madman is of course Advaita himself. Caitanya is about to die, and Kṛṣṇadāsa has Advaita send him this message to assure him that his work is done. He sends it in a kind of code possibly because he knows of Caitanya's impending death, but does not want others to know.

24-27. [The obvious interpretation is Advaita's control over Caitanya. It was Advaita who was responsible for invoking the deity previously, which resulted in the appearance of Caitanya (1.13.61-69). Just as a *pūjārī* controls the presence of a deity during the course of a *pūjā*—actually making the deity present—Advaita has been orchestrating the events of Caitanya's life, and has now apparently determined that Caitanya's mission is fulfilled; so he is dismissing Caitanya—*visarjjana* (the immersion of the image in the river following *pūjā*, which leads to its disintegration)—to leave earth and return to the heavens. While it may be that Kṛṣṇadāsa is suggesting something more arcane, perhaps *tāntrika* in nature, involving the use of *sandhā-bhāṣā* (twilight language), by his use of the riddle and the specific terms "*mahāyogeśvara*" (v. 27), "*āgama-śāstra*" (v. 24), and the substitution of "*upāsanā*" (v. 25) for *pūjā*, there seems to be little need for such an interpretation, especially given the general use of such terms. TKS]

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some time. 26 And when the *pūjā* is over, afterwards he dismisses him. I do not know the meaning of the riddle, or what was in his mind. 27 The Ācārya is a *mahāyogeśvara* and is skilled at riddles. I cannot understand the meaning of the riddle." 28 When they heard this all the *bhaktas* were astonished, and Svarūpa Gosvāmī was a little put out.

29 From that day the condition of Prabhu intensified, his condition of separation from Kṛṣṇa doubled. 30 Day and night he displayed mad ravings, and incessantly his *viraha* grew, under the control of Rādhā-*bhāva*. 31 Suddenly the journey of Kṛṣṇa to Mathurā would come to him, and the signs of madness appeared, a condition of disorientation. 32 He raved, clinging to the neck of Rāmānanda, and he asked Svarūpa questions, believing him to be a *sakhī*. 33 As formerly Rādhikā asked Viśākhā, he began to rave like that, reciting this *śloka*.

Śloka 2. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Lalitamādhava* 3.25:
O friend, where is that moon of the family of Nanda? Where is he, adorned with the feathers of the peacock? Where is he, who plays deep sounds on his flute? Where is he, whose lustre is like that of the sapphire jewel? Where is he, the dancer of the *rasa* of the *rāsa-līlā*? Where is he, who is the medicine which saves my life? Alas, O friend, where is that priceless jewel, dear to my heart? Ah, a curse on fate!

34 "The family of Vrajendra is a sea of milk
and Kṛṣṇa is the full moon over it,
by his birth illumining the world.
Who drink the nectar of his effulgence
live eternally drinking—
the eyes of the people of Vraja, the *cakoras*.

35 O *sakhī*, where can you enable me to see Kṛṣṇa?
Whose face, if for an instant
I do not see, my heart bursts.
Show him to me quickly; or my life is lost! [refrain]

27. Mahāyogeśvara: a great *yogin*, who is able to accomplish extraordinary things by his power; and capable of choosing the time of his death, see 3.11.56. "Riddles" is *tarjā*, which means "enigma."

29. Daśā: "condition" of delirium because of *viraha*; knowing that his work was over, he longed increasingly to return to the *svarūpa* of the eternal *līlā*.

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36 These beautiful women of Vraja
are lotuses scorched by the sun of *kāma*;
giving the gift of the nectar of his own hands
he makes them bloom;
where is that moon of mine?
Show him to me, O *sakhī*. Save my life.

37 Where is that crest,
with waving peacock feathers,
like the bow of Indra on the new cloud?
With yellow cloth like a streak of lightning,
and his necklace of pearls, a row of herons,
his dark body shaming the new cloud.

38 Whose eyes he strikes once,
he is forever awake in his heart,
his dark body like the gum of the mango;
he enters into the hearts of women
and even with exertion cannot be dislodged;
it is not a body, it is a *seyākula* thorn.

39 Shaming the lustre of the *tamāla* tree,
a lustre like the sapphire,
his radiance intoxicates the world.
In it is kneaded *śṛngāra-rasa*,
mixed with the light of the moon—
Vidhāta knows the secrets of creating.

40 Where is the sound of that flute,
shaming the rumble of the new cloud,
hearing which the world is drawn?
The people of Vraja arise and run
like thirsty *cātaka* birds,
and come to drink the stream of his nectar-radiance.

37. The "crest" is the crown which Kṛṣṇa wears on his head, made up of peacock feathers.

38. The gum or sap of the mango is very adhesive; once Kṛṣṇa is within the heart, it is difficult to dislodge him. The *seyākula* tree has thorns which are barbed, and once lodged in the body they are very difficult and painful to dislodge.

39. The *tamāla*, *Xanthochymus pictorius*, has brilliant white blossoms that, in the moon's light, seem to shimmer and dance against the utter darkness of its bark. *Indranīla*: sapphire, but also emerald. That shining brilliance is mixed together with passion personified (*śṛṅgāra-rasa*) and the light of the moon.

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41 That moon of mine,
the great life-preserving medicine,
O friend, he is most dear to my heart.
My body lives without him,
O fie on this life;
the god of destiny is mocking me.

42 Who does not want to live,
why does he make her live?
Sorrow and anger arise against Vidhāta."
Thus he reproached Vidhāta
and reproached Kṛṣṇa, out of love,
and recited a *śloka* from the *Bhāgavata*.

Śloka 3. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.39.19:
O Vidhāta, you show no mercy at all, for you tie us *jīvas* with friendship and with love, but before they are fulfilled you cut us away. You act like a child, [your actions] devoid of meaning.

43 "You do not know the *dharma* of *prema*
and your efforts are vain;
you act like a child.
If I could catch you
I would give you a lesson,
and then you would not act like this.

44 O Vidhi, you are very cruel.
People who are inaccessible to one another
you cause to meet in *prema*;
why do you separate them with unfulfilled desire? [refrain]

41. There is a pun on the word "moon" (*kalānidhi*), which can also mean "one who is most skilled in the arts (*kalā*) of dance, song, etc."

42. "Her" is a liberty; Caitanya is speaking, but as there is no grammatical gender in the language, there is ambiguity.

43. Vidhāta, the creator god, is addressed; "vain" means fruitless have been his efforts at proper creation.

44. Durlabha: inaccessible or hard to gain, as Rādhā was hard for Kṛṣṇa to meet because of fear of reproach and social custom.

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45 O Vidhi, compassionless one,
having shown me Kṛṣṇa's face,
you made my heart and eyes desire.
While for one brief moment I drank of it,
you took it to another place;
you did wrong, in taking what was once given.

46 'Akrūra has done this wrong to you,
why are you angry with me?'—
if you say this it is wrong.
You hold the image of Akrūra,
and you have stolen Kṛṣṇa away,
no other could act like this.

47 It is the fault of my own *karma*:
why am I angry at you?
Your relation to me is very distant.
He who is the lord of my life,
with whom I live together,
it is that Kṛṣṇa who is cruel.

48 I abandoned all for him, I worship him,
and he kills me with his own hands;
Kṛṣṇa has no fear of killing women.
I die for him,
yet he does not turn to look;
in an instant he broke the bonds of love.

49 But why am I angry at Kṛṣṇa?
It is the fault of my own ill fate;
the fruit of my *pāpa* has ripened.
That Kṛṣṇa who was subservient to my love,
you have made indifferent;
that is the power of my misfortune."

46. Akrūra: an uncle of Kṛṣṇa. The name Akrūra means "one without cruelty"; he therefore could not have done this; "so it is you, Vidhāta, who have taken the form of Akrūra and taken him away to Mathurā in your chariot."

47. The relation is distant because Vidhāta merely assigns the results of one's own *karma*; the *karma* itself is the individual's responsibility.

49. *Pāpa*: bad or evil action which leads one away from Kṛṣṇa; occasionally understood as "sin" but only in the sense of *adharma*.

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50 In this way Gaura Rāya
lamented in his misery.
"Ah, Kṛṣṇa, where did you go?"
The *gopī-bhāva* in his heart
he raved in these words, [saying]
"Govinda, Dāmodara, Mādhava."

51 Then Svarūpa and Rāma Rāya
tried many ways
to reassure Mahāprabhu.
They sang songs of the union
and brought the mind of Prabhu back,
and his heart became a little calm.

52 In this way half the night passed in lamentation, and in the deep of the night Svarūpa Gosvāmī made Prabhu lie down. 53 Svarūpa and Govinda lay down in the door of the *gambhīrā*, and when they had made Prabhu lie down, Rāmānanda went to his own house. 54 Mahāprabhu's mind was whirling, under the control of *prema*, and he sat awake, making *nāma-saṃkīrtana*. 55 Anguish of *viraha* and anxiety rose up in Prabhu, and he began to hit his face on the walls of the *gambhīrā*. 56 His mouth and cheeks and nose were cut and bruised all over, but absorbed in *bhāva* Prabhu did not feel the streams of blood trickling down. 57 The whole night, in his *bhāva*, he wounded his face, and then Svarūpa heard him groaning. 58 Lighting a lamp he entered the room and saw Prabhu's face, and Svarūpa and Govinda both were dismayed. 59 Bringing Prabhu to the cot, they calmed him down, and Svarūpa asked him, "Why have you done this?" 60 And Prabhu replied, "I was anxious, and I could not stay in the room; so I wandered about looking for the door, so that I could go quickly outside. 61 I could not find the door, and I hit my face on the four walls. It was bruised and the blood fell, and I could not find the way to go."

62 In his maddened state, Prabhu's mind was not still, and what he did and what he said, in all these were the signs of madness. 63 Svarūpa Gosvāmī was deeply concerned in his heart, and the next day he consulted with the *bhaktas*. 64 All the *bhaktas* together pleaded with Prabhu, and they had Śaṅkara Paṇḍita

50. According to *BhP* 10.39.31, it was by calling out the many names of Kṛṣṇa that the *gopīs* raved when Akrūra took Kṛṣṇa to Mathurā.

62. Unmāda: mad, madness.

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lie with him. 65 Śaṅkara would rest at the feet of Prabhu, and Prabhu rested his feet on him. 66 And thus his name became "the pillow of the feet of Prabhu," as formerly Śrī Śuka described Vidura.

Śloka 4. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.13.5:
To Vidura who had just spoken, the humble foot-pillow of Sahasraśīrṣa, the hermit, thrilled at the story of Kṛṣṇa and affectionate, replied.

67 Śaṅkara massaged the feet of Prabhu, and when he had fallen asleep, then [Śaṅkara] lay down. 68 Śaṅkara fell asleep with his body uncovered, and Prabhu got up and spread his own cloth over him. 69 All the time [Caitanya] was asleep, Śaṅkara was quick to wake; and sometimes he sat awake the whole night long, massaging his feet. 70 So out of concern for him, Prabhu was not able to go outside, and in fear of him he was unable to hit his lotus-face on the walls. 71 This *līlā* of Mahāprabhu Raghunātha Dāsa has revealed in his *Gaurāṅgastava-kalpavṛkṣa*.

Śloka 5. Raghunātha Dāsa Gosvāmin's *Gaurāṅgastavakalpataru* 6:
Maddened by *viraha* from his *goṣṭha*, which was like a crore of his own lives, he raved incessantly, and in his confusion he struck his face on the walls and the blood flowed incessantly from the wounds on his moon-like face; that Gaurāṅga has entered my heart and makes me mad.

72 Mahāprabhu was this way day and night, immersed in a sea of *prema*, sometimes sinking and sometimes floating. 73 Once, on the day of the full moon of Vaiśākha, in the night Prabhu went into a garden. 74 It was a vast garden, Jagannātha-vallabha by name, and Prabhu entered it with his *bhaktas*. 75 The trees and creepers were in bloom, and it was like Vṛndāvana; the parrots and parakeets, and the nightingales and bees were singing, 76 and the *malaya*-wind blew, redolent with the scent of the flowers, like a *guru* teaching the creepers and the trees to dance. 77 The light of the full moon was very bright, and the trees and creepers glistened in the moonlight. 78 Spring is the chief among the six seasons; and when he saw all this, Gaura Bhagavān was

Śloka 5. *Goṣṭha*: Vṛndāvana and its inhabitants.
76. *Malaya*-wind: the south wind, named after the mountains of the Western Ghats (*malaya*).

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delighted. 79 He asked that the *pada* "*lalita-lavaṅgalatā*" be sung, and Prabhu went forward dancing with his own people. 80 He wandered to each tree and creeper there, and suddenly he saw Kṛṣṇa under an *aśoka* tree. 81 When he saw Kṛṣṇa, Mahāprabhu went running there; seeing him before him he laughed; then Kṛṣṇa disappeared. 82 He had found Kṛṣṇa before him, and again had lost him—Prabhu fell fainting on the ground. 83 The garden was permeated with the perfume of the holy body of Kṛṣṇa, and when he smelled that perfume, Prabhu became unconscious. 84 The scent of Kṛṣṇa always entered his nostrils, and when he tasted the scent, Prabhu became mad. 85 Drunken with the fragrance of Kṛṣṇa, as Rādhā spoke to her *sakhīs*, so Prabhu recited and expanded on that *śloka*.

Śloka 6. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Govindalīlāmṛta* 8.6:

O friend, he who by the waves of fragrance of his body which is more intoxicating than musk attracts the women [of Vraja] and who with the eight lotuses of his body spreads the scent of lotuses mixed with camphor, and who anoints his own body with sweet-smelling things like musk, and camphor, sandalwood and *kṛṣṇāguru*, that Enchanter of Madana makes my nostrils yearn.

86 "Blue lotuses mixed with musk—
the perfume of that,
the fragrance of the body of Kṛṣṇa, conquers.
It pervades the fourteen worlds,

79. This is the opening expression of verse 27 of the first part of the *Gītgovinda* of Jayadeva, and is a good example of the clever and entertaining alliteration and other *śabda-alaṃkāras* typical of Jayadeva:

lalitalavaṅgalatāpariśīlanakomalamalayasamīre /
madhukaranikarakarambitakokilakūjitakuñjakuṭīre /
viharati haririha sarasavasante /
nṛtyati yuvatijanena samaṃ sakhi virahijanasya durante //.

Barbara Stoler Miller (*Love Song of the Dark Lord* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1977], v. 27, p. 74) translates:

Soft sandal mountain winds caress quivering vines of clove.
Forest huts hum with droning bees and crying cuckoos.
When spring's mood is rich, Hari roams here
To dance with young women, friend—
A cruel time for deserted lovers.

84. Pāgala: mad.

Śloka 6. Kṛṣṇāguru: a dark colored kind of sandalwood.

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and draws everything,
and blinds the eyes of women.

87 O *sakhī*, the fragrance of Kṛṣṇa intoxicates the world.
It enters the nostrils of women,
and lingers there for all time,
and they are drawn to Kṛṣṇa's side. [refrain]

88 Eyes and navel and face,
and his two hands and feet,
are eight lotuses on the body of Kṛṣṇa.
A lotus anointed with camphor—
the perfume of that
is the fragrance found on those eight lotuses.
89 Sandalwood bound with gold—
having rubbed that,
and with it aloe wood, saffron, and musk,
and with camphor anointing the body—
together with the fragrance of his body before that—
all these combine to steal like thieves.
90 They steal the hearts and bodies of women,
and whirl in the nostrils
and untie the waist-knot, and loosen bound hair.
First making them madwomen,
it causes the women of the world to dance;
such is the plundering of the fragrance of the body of Kṛṣṇa.
91 The nostrils are controlled by the scent—
they always hope for it;
sometimes they find it and sometimes not.
When they get it, they drink their fill
and still say 'Let me drink!';
if they do not find it they die of thirst.
92 The dance of Madanamohana,
shopkeeper of the market of fragrances,

89. In order to make the cooling and sweet-smelling sandalwood paste, the wood itself is rubbed on a stone; to grip the piece of wood, often a handle is provided, it is that handle which is described here.

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makes the buyers—the women of the world—yearn.
He gives them priceless fragrance,
and giving it he blinds them,
and they cannot find the path to their homes."

93 In this way Gaurahari,
his mind stolen by the perfume,
like a bee ran this way and that.
He went to the side of trees and creepers
in hope of finding Kṛṣṇa there;
he found no Kṛṣṇa; he only picked up the scent.

94 Svarūpa and Raghunātha sang,
and Prabhu danced in happiness,
and in this way morning came.
Svarūpa and Rāmānanda Rāya
tried many means,
until Mahāprabhu's consciousness returned.

95 His delirium and devotion to his mother,
and wounding his face on the walls,
and the divine dance because of Kṛṣṇa's fragrance—
these four separate *līlās*
have been sung in this chapter,
by Kṛṣṇadāsa, the servant of Rūpa Gosvāmī.

96 In this way, Mahāprabhu regained consciousness, and having bathed he went to have *darśana* of Jagannātha. 97 The *līlās* of Kṛṣṇa are unworldly: they have divine power and cannot be ascertained by logic. 98 In whose heart this *prema* is always awakened, even wise and learned men cannot understand the way of it.

Śloka 7. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pūrva-vibhāga, premabhakti-laharī*] 1.4.17:

In whose mind this new *prema* arises, that fortunate man's gestures even wise men will find difficult fully to understand.

Śloka 7. See 2.23.śl.19.

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99 Hearing the unworldly ravings and actions of Prabhu, do not discuss them rationally, but hear them with faith. 100 The proof of the truth of them is in the *Śrī Bhāgavata*, in the *Bhramara Gītā*, in the *prema*-lamentations of Śrī Rādhā. 101 Like the song of the queens at the end of the tenth book, even learned and wise men do not understand the special significance of these. 102 It is through the pair, Nityānanda and Mahāprabhu, and the servants of their servants, that grace is granted, and through whom comes faith. 103 So hear and believe, and while listening you will gain great happiness, and you will cut away the misery of *ādhyātmikā* and the rest, and of false logic. 104 The nectar of the acts of Caitanya is eternally renewed, and while listening to it the ears and the heart are soothed.

105 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

100. In *BhP* 10.47 the *gopīs* vent to Uddhava the frustration of their longing for Kṛṣṇa by heaping abuse on bees, whom they liken to Kṛṣṇa in their fickle flirting with different flowers, stopping only momentarily to drink the nectar before abandoning the open blossom and moving on. They show Uddhava that his message from Kṛṣṇa—that he is always with them—is so much vedāntic sophistry, and he reluctantly concurs. These famous lamentations are called the *Bhramara Gītā*.

101. Also in the tenth chapter of the tenth book of the *BhP* there are songs of lament sung because of the agony of separation (*viraha*) by the queens of Kṛṣṇa at Dvārakā.

103. *Ādhyātmikā* and the rest: the three types of miseries (*duḥkha*); see text and commentary to 2.20.96.

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Antya Līlā
Chapter 20

Śloka 1.

Delight, spite, anxiety, humility, and grief, all born of *prema*, are mixed together, and are heard by fortunate people in the raving words of Gaurāṅga.

1 Glory, glory to Gauracandra, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to the hosts of Gaura-*bhakta*s.

2 In this way Mahāprabhu remained at Nīlācala, day and night in anguish because of *viraha* from Kṛṣṇa. 3 With the same two, Svarūpa and Rāmānanda, day and night he tasted *śloka*s and songs of *rasa*. 4 Various *bhāva*s rose up in Prabhu, delight and grief and anger, humility, anxiety, distress, misery, and joy. 5 And according to those *bhāva*s he himself recited *śloka*s, and with his two friends he savored the meanings of the *śloka*s. 6 On one of those days he recited *śloka*s in a particular *bhāva*, and he stayed awake the whole night, to taste those *śloka*s. 7 In delight Prabhu said, "Listen, O Svarūpa and Rāma Rāya, the best religious means in the Kali age is *nāma-saṃkīrtana*. 8 By the sacrifice of the *saṃkīrtana* Kṛṣṇa is worshiped, and by that alone, wise man, are the feet of Kṛṣṇa gained.

Śloka 2. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.5.32:

Good and wise people indeed worship [him] by sacrifice, [namely] chiefly *saṃkīrtana*, together with his followers and weapons of *aṅga* and *upāṅga*, black-colored yet light-colored in his glory.

7. *Upāya*: religious means, i.e., ritual act.
Śloka 2. See 1.3.*śl*.10; 2.6.*śl*.4; 2.11.*śl*.10; 2.20.*śl*.53.

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9 By *nāma-saṃkīrtana* all that is meaningless is destroyed, and in the delight of Kṛṣṇa-*prema* arises all that is auspicious.

Śloka 3. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 22 [quoting Kṛṣṇa Caitanya]:
That which polishes the mirror of the mind, which extinguishes the forest-fire of the heat of worldly life, which spreads the radiance of the moonlight of auspiciousness, which is the soul of the bride of knowledge, which expands the ocean of joy, which on the first day of waxing gives nectar of the full moon, bathing the souls of all, that Kṛṣṇa-*nāma-saṃkīrtana* conquers all with its excellence.

10 From *saṃkīrtana* comes the destruction of *pāpa* and of the purification of the mind, and the sprouting of all *sādhana-bhakti*. 11 [In it] is the sprouting of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*, the taste of the nectar of *prema*, the attainment of Kṛṣṇa, immersion in the ocean of the nectar of service."

12 And there rose up dejection and misery as he recited a *śloka*, and when they heard the interpretation of it, all were plunged into unhappiness and grief.

Śloka 4. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 31 [quoting Kṛṣṇa Caitanya]:
You have propagated your many names; by them you have delegated all your own power; you have established no time for the remembering of them. O Bhagavān, such is your mercy. But such is my misfortune that there has not been born in me any profound attachment to them.

13 "The desires of many people are of many kinds, and in his mercy he has propagated many names. 14 One takes a name at any time, while eating or while lying down; there is no fixed time nor place, for it is the perfection of all. 15 He

Śloka 3. The moon waxes because it is slowly filling with nectar. This and the following seven *śloka*s together make up the "*śikṣāṣṭaka*," the eight verses of instruction which are traditionally said to be the only pieces of writing left by Caitanya himself, and recorded by Rūpa in his *Padyāvalī*. [Each stanza is signed "Śrībhagavataḥ." The numbering refers to S. K. De's edition of Rūpa's *Padyāvalī*. The "*śikṣāṣṭaka*" have been published together as a separate work, usually with lengthy commentaries, as a devotee's guide to *bhakti* and proper conduct in the world (see bibliography). It is perhaps significant that Rūpa does not collate the stanzas within the *Padyāvalī* compilation; Kṛṣṇadāsa appears to be the first to present them as a coherent unit in the traditional eight-stanza form of the *aṣṭaka*. TKS]

10. Pāpa: bad or evil action which results in the individual turning away from Kṛṣṇa.

15. I.e., each of the many names is infused with the full power of the deity. *Anurāga*: profound love.

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had divided all his power among the names, and such is my misfortune that I possess none of that profound love in the names. 16 But if you take the name, how *prema* is born, hear the signs of that, O Svarūpa and Rāma Rāya.

Śloka 5. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 32 [quoting Kṛṣṇa Caitanya]:
He who knows himself as humbler than the grass, who is more forbearing than a tree, who feels no pride but gives honor to other men, he should practice always the Hari-*kīrtana*.

17 He is best who considers himself as lower than grass, and like the tree his forbearance is of two kinds. 18 As the tree says nothing when it is cut, and even if it dies, shrivelling up, it does not beg for water. 19 To anyone who asks, it gives to him its own wealth; it bears the heat and the rain, protecting others. 20 So that Vaiṣṇava is best, who is without pride; he will honor *jīva*s, knowing them to be abodes of Kṛṣṇa. 21 Like this is he who takes the name of Kṛṣṇa, and in such a one, at the feet of Kṛṣṇa, is *prema* born."

22 While he was speaking in this way, the humility of Prabhu grew, and he began to beg Kṛṣṇa for pure *bhakti*. 23 For this is the nature of *prema*, that he who is immersed in *prema* considers, "I have not a hint of *prema* for Kṛṣṇa."

Śloka 6. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 94 [quoting Kṛṣṇa Caitanya]:
O Jagadīśa, I do not desire wealth, or offspring, or a beautiful woman, nor poetic genius, but that from birth to birth spontaneous *bhakti* be in me toward you.

24 "I do not beg wealth or children, nor poetry nor beautiful women; but give me, O Kṛṣṇa, pure *bhakti*, and be merciful." 25 And in his deep humility again he begged the gift of *dāsya-bhakti*, considering himself as a *jīva* in the world.

Śloka 7. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 71 [quoting Kṛṣṇa Caitanya]:
O son of Nanda, be merciful to me, your servant, fallen into the sea of this vicious world, and consider me as the dust on your lotus feet.

26 "I am your eternal slave, and have forgotten you, and trapped by *māyā* I have fallen into the sea of the world. 27 Be merciful and treat me as the dust on your feet; I am your servant, and I serve you."

Śloka 5. See 1.17.*śl.*4; 3.6.*śl.*3.
Śloka 6. Jagadīśa: "Lord (*īśa*) of the world (*jagat*)."

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28 And again great anxiety and humility arose, and he begged of Kṛṣṇa the *nāma-saṃkīrtana* with *prema*.

Śloka 8. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 93 [quoting Kṛṣṇa Caitanya]:
When, in taking your name, will the streams of tears from my eyes wet my cheeks, and my voice choke, and my body be thrilled?

29 "Without the wealth of *prema* life is miserable and meaningless; make me your servant, and give me wages of the wealth of *prema*!" 30 His heart absorbed in *rasa*, [the emotion of] separation burst forth, and in grief and anguish and misery he raved.

Śloka 9. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 324 [quoting Kṛṣṇa Caitanya]:
In *viraha* for Govinda an instant is for me an age, and my eyes are rainclouds, and the whole world is empty.

31 "In my misery the days do not pass, and an instant becomes an age, and my eyes like rainclouds shed tears. 32 In *viraha* for Govinda, the three worlds are empty; life does not pass, but burns like a grass-fire."

33 "Kṛṣṇa is indifferent"; "it must be examined"; "and all the *sakhī*s say, 'so ignore Kṛṣṇa'"— 34 And while thinking thus, Rādhā's heart became pure, and the nature of her, naturally *prema*, arose [again]. 35 Spite and anxiety and grief and eagerness and humility, all these *bhāva*s arose at one time. 36 And in such *bhāva*s the heart of Rādhā was unsteady, and before her *sakhī*s she recited a *śloka* of eagerness. 37 In this *bhāva* Prabhu also pronounced that *śloka*, and while pronouncing it he himself became that same way.

Śloka 10. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 337 [quoting Kṛṣṇa Caitanya]:
He may crush my breasts in embracing me, a slave to his feet, he may destroy my heart by not appearing to me, he may be a libertine wherever he wants, but still he is the lord of my heart, and there is no other.

38 "This *śloka* has most vast meanings; let me explain in brief, for I do not find the end of it.

33. "It must be examined": if it is examined, it will soon be clear that Kṛṣṇa is indifferent; and all Rādhā's friends were telling her to face the fact, and ignore him in turn.

38. Caitanya is speaking; the explanation ends at v. 51.

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39 I am a slave to the feet of Kṛṣṇa
and he is a fountain of joy and *rasa*;
embracing me he crushes me.
Sometimes he does not show himself,
and burns my body and my heart;
still, he is the lord of my life.

40 O *sakhī*, hear the secrets of my heart.
Whether he loves me,
or kills me with grief,
Kṛṣṇa is the lord of my life, there is no other. [refrain]

41 Leaving other women,
he controls my body and my heart,
displaying my glory.
He gives distress to all of them,
for he sports with me,
and shows those other women.

42 If he is a libertine—
deceitful, shameless, crafty—
and keeps company with other women,
giving anguish to my heart
sporting in front of me,
still, he is the lord of my life.

43 I do not count my own sorrow,
but always desire his happiness;
his happiness is my intent.
If he gives me pain,
and that gives him great pleasure,
then that pain is my chief happiness.

44 Whatever woman Kṛṣṇa wants,
thirsty for her beauty,
not getting her why should he be unhappy?
I fall at her feet,

41. *Mora saubhāgya prakaṭa kariyā*: displaying my glory; Rādhāgovinda Nātha interprets "*mora*" as an accusative, and reads the line "displaying glory to me."

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and go and take her by the hand,
make her sport with him, make him happy.

45 When a beautiful woman is angry at him,
Kṛṣṇa is delighted,
adoring her chastisement and rebukes.
Her *māna* is appropriate,
and from that Kṛṣṇa gets pleasure,
for abandonment of *māna* means negligible *sādhana*.

46 Why does that woman cling to life,
knowing the inner pain of Kṛṣṇa,
still having deep anger for him?
She considers that in *māna* is her own happiness;
let a thunderbolt fall on her head,
she still wants only the happiness of Kṛṣṇa.

47 That *gopī* who envies me
makes Kṛṣṇa happy,
and Kṛṣṇa desires her.
I go to her house
and serve her like a slave,
and that to me is a sea of great delight.

48 The wife of the leper *brāhmaṇa*,
crest-jewel of chaste women,
for her husband's sake served a courtesan.
She stopped the sun in its course,

45. Māna, which is the anger and pique—often feigned—of lovers, springs from deep love; therefore if one has *māna* toward him, she loves him, and that gives pleasure to Kṛṣṇa. If she leaves her *māna*, however, it means that her love for him is fading, and that means that *sādhana*, striving to attain him, is lessened.

48. The story told by Rādhāgovinda Nātha in his commentary, is a charming one. Once there was a poor *brāhmaṇa* who had been afflicted with leprosy. His wife was a woman true to her vows (*pativratā*), and desired nothing in life but her husband's happiness. It happened that one day her husband caught sight of a beautiful courtesan, and fell madly in love with her. But he had neither the strength, being wasted by disease, nor the money to go to her. His wife, knowing what was in his heart making him unhappy, went to serve the courtesan, and pleased her so much by her service that the courtesan agreed to see her husband. But she insisted that he come to her house. The wife could not carry her husband there during the day, but when night came she carried him toward the courtesan's house. On the way, however, they passed the great sage Mārkaṇḍa, who was sitting in meditation. Accidently the husband touched the sage, whose meditation was broken, and in a rage he cursed the leper that when the sun came up he would die. The wife, distraught at hear-

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and brought her dead husband back to life,
and satisfied the three chief *devas*.

49 Kṛṣṇa is my life,
Kṛṣṇa is the wealth of my heart,
Kṛṣṇa is the heart of my heart.
I shall hold him in my heart,
and serving him shall make him happy—
this remains my sole and constant meditation.

50 My happiness is in service;
Kṛṣṇa's happiness is in union;
so I give him the gift of my body.
Kṛṣṇa calls me 'beloved,'
and says 'you are the goddess of my heart';
I consider myself as slave.

51 Service of the beloved fulfills happiness,
still more sweet than union;
of that Lakṣmī Ṭhākurāṇī is witness.
Her place is in the heart of Nārāyaṇa,
her heart in the service of his feet;
she serves, proud to be his slave."

52 These words of Rādhā,
signs of pure *prema*,
Śrī Gaura Rāya tasted.
In *bhāva* his heart was unsteady,
the *sāttvika* [signs] spread over his body,
he could not control body or mind.

53 The *prema* of Vraja is pure,
like the gold of the Jāmbu river;

ing the curse, then vowed, "If I have been true to my vows, let the sun not arise." And when the time came for the sun to rise, darkness remained, for truth can conquer all. Brahmā, Śiva, and Viṣṇu then, realizing that something was amiss, went to the *pativratā* and asked her to remove her word, so that the sun could rise and things return to normal. She replied that she would do so if the curse were annulled. The three gods said that they could not do that, but they granted her that her husband, after dying, would again be restored to life. Satisfied, the woman removed her word, the sun rose, the husband died, and was again restored to life, and in a pure and healthy body.

49. Dhyāna: meditation, intense concentration in the higher stages of *yoga*, here to bring a thing to pass.

52. For the *sāttvika* signs, see 2.8.135 and 2.23.31-32.

53. See commentary to 2.2.38.

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it has no hint of satisfaction of the self.
To make people know that *prema*
Prabhu made that *śloka*,
and attached this poem of its meaning.

54 In this way Prabhu, absorbed in this *bhāva* and that, raved, reciting these various *ślokas*. 55 Previously he composed eight *ślokas*, and through them he taught the people, and he himself tasted the meaning of those eight *ślokas*. 56 In him who recites or listens to the "*śikṣāṣṭaka*" *ślokas* of Prabhu, day by day Kṛṣṇa-*prema-bhakti* grows. 57 Still, Prabhu, profound as a crore of seas, swelled in many *bhāvas* as at the rising of the moon. 58 Those *ślokas* in Jayadeva and in the *Bhāgavata*, and in the drama of Rāya and in the *Karṇāmṛta*— 59 reciting *ślokas* of all those various *bhāvas*, controlled by those *bhāvas* he tasted them. 60 Thus he lived day and night for twelve years, tasting Kṛṣṇa-*rasa* with his two friends. 61 The *rasa* of all those *līlās* is such that Ananta himself, speaking with a thousand mouths, could not reach the end of it. 62 A *jīva* is of small wisdom; how can he describe it; he touches a corner of it, to purify himself.

63 All [of Caitanya's] actions, all his ravings, there is no end to them; if they were all described, the book would become much too vast. 64 Vṛndāvana Dāsa first described some of the *līlās*, and of all those *līlās* I have given only condensed *sūtras*. 65 I have spoken briefly of some omitted by him at the end [of Caitanya's life]; and still, because of the vast number of the *līlās*, the book has grown huge. 66 So I cannot describe all the *līlās*; I have completed [the book], and I make obeisance to the *līlās*. 67 Should one follow out that little which has been mentioned in this survey, much more will be tasted. 68 I cannot fathom the profound *līlās* of Prabhu; they do not penetrate my intelligence, so I cannot properly describe them. 69 Bowing to the feet of all Vaiṣṇavas who listen, the description of the actions of Caitanya is completed. 70 The sky is infinite, and in it there are birds. Who has sufficient power ascends there. 71 So with the *līlā* of Mahāprabhu: there is no end to it; what *jīva* can describe it fully? 72 As much as my mind can comprehend, so much have I described, like touching a drop of water in the sea. 73 Vṛndāvana Dāsa was the vessel of the grace of Nityānanda, and he is the original Vyāsa of the Caitanya-*līlā*. 74 And

57. I.e., *bhāvas* rose and fell in him, as the tides rise and fall with the pull of the moon.

58. [I.e., Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Rāmānanda Rāya's *Jagannāthavallabha Nāṭaka*, and Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala's *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta*. TKS]

74. I.e., Nityānanda, whose disciple Vṛndāvana Dāsa was, knew about all the *līlās*, and even though he was available as a source to Vṛndāvana Dāsa, he did not describe them all in full.

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even though before him was the storehouse of all the *līlās*, he described but a little bit of them, and left out much more. 75 "What little has been described has been described in brief; I cannot write more"—in his book he has written so. 76 In various places in his *Caitanya Maṅgala* he has written so, and listen to these words, for these are the highest proof of it: 77 "I have written in brief, and did not expand on it; for Veda Vyāsa will provide a detailed description." 78 This he has written in various places in his *Caitanya Maṅgala*, and he speaks truly: The Vyāsa who will come will describe it. 79 The ocean of the nectar of the Caitanya-*līlā* is like the sea of milk. According to his thirst he filled a pot and drank it. 80 That little nectar which was left in the pot he gave to me; but that filled my belly, and my thirst was quenched. 81 I am a most insignificant *jīva*, a tiny *rāṅgāṭuni* bird, and as it in its thirst drinks the water of the sea, 82 so I have touched only a drop of the *līlā*. By this example you know how vast are the *līlā*s of Prabhu. 83 I write, and I consider this false pride; my body is like a wooden doll. 84 "I am old and worn out, and deaf and blind; my hand trembles, and my mind is not steady. 85 I am devoured by disease; I can neither sit nor move, and day and night I suffer the pains of the five diseases." 86 I spoke of all this in the previous book. And still I have written: hear the reason why. 87 Śrī Govinda, Śrī Caitanya, Śrī Nityānanda, Śrī Advaita, Śrī *bhakta*s, and revered hosts of listeners, 88 Śrī Svarūpa, Śrī Rūpa, Śrī Sanātana, Śrī Raghunātha [who is] Śrī Guru, and Śrī Jīva—the feet [of these]: 89 by the mercy of the feet of all of these I was made to write. And there is another, who

75. Cf. 1.8.42-44 above. [Kṛṣṇadāsa's *payāra* does not appear to be a direct quote from *CBh*, but a paraphrase; Vṛndāvana Dāsa's statement appears periodically throughout the text. TKS]

76. Caitanya Maṅgala: *Caitanya Bhāgavata*. (*CBh*)

77. [The verse in question may be *CBh* 1.1.161. TKS]

78. Kṛṣṇadāsa, with his great humility, is not claiming that he is the Vyāsa who Vṛndāvana said would come; instead, he is giving the reason why he himself has been incomplete in his descriptions: he is not Vyāsa, and it would take a great sage like Vyāsa to do the job adequately.

79. Vṛndāvana Dāsa filled a waterpot and drank from it; what little remained he gave to Kṛṣṇadāsa.

81. Rāṅgāṭuni: by its name, a small reddish bird, otherwise unidentified.

83. Wooden doll: a puppet, whose movements are directed by someone else; but the meaning is also that his body is old and inert.

85. The five diseases are ignorance, egotism, anger, malice, and instinctive clinging to the things of the body.

86. The previous book is the "*madhya līlā*."

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has been most gracious: 90 Śrī Madanagopāla commanded me and made me write. It is not right to speak of this, but I cannot contain it. 91 If I did not tell of it, it would be a *kṛtaghnatā-doṣa* against me. So even though it is arrogant, I speak. O listeners, do not be angry with me. 92 I bow to the dust of the feet of all of you, and because of that I have written this little of the *līlā* of Caitanya.

93 Now let me summarize the final *līlā*s, for when I summarize them I get the taste of the *līlā*s. 94 In the first chapter there was the second meeting with Rūpa, and within that the hearing of the arrangement of the two dramas. 95 And within it too is the dog who came with Śivānanda, and how Prabhu released him, causing him to say "Kṛṣṇa." 96 In the second is the lesson given to Choṭa Haridāsa, and within it the wonderful vision of Śivānanda. 97 In the third is the vast greatness of Śrī Haridāsa, and how Dāmodara Paṇḍita rebuked Prabhu. 98 And how with the name, Prabhu freed the Brahmā-worlds. And Haridāsa established the greatness of the name. 99 In the fourth is the second meeting with Sanātana, and how he was saved from suicide. 100 In the heat of the month of Jyaiṣṭha he tested him, and infusing him with *śakti*, he sent him to Vṛndāvana. 101 In the fifth Prabhu was gracious to Pradyumna Miśra, and by means of Rāya he caused him to hear stories of Kṛṣṇa. 102 And within that also is the slight of the drama of the Bengali poet, and how Svarūpa Gosvāmī established the greatness of the *vigraha*. 103 In the eighth, Raghunātha Dāsa met Prabhu, and at the command of Nityānanda made the *ciḍā-mahotsava*. 104 And he dedicated him to Svarūpa Dāmodara, and he gave to him the *guñja* garland and the Govarddhana-*śīlā*. 105 In the seventh chapter is the meeting with Vallabha Bhaṭṭa, and how in various ways he broke his pride. 106 In the eighth is the coming of Rāmacandra Purī, and how in fear of him Prabhu re-

90. See also 1.8.73-74 above; Kṛṣṇadāsa went to the temple of Madanagopāla, and there the permission of that deity was signified by his garland dropping onto Kṛṣṇadāsa's neck. Kṛṣṇadāsa does not feel right about telling all this, presumably because the use of the first person indicates a lack of humility.

91. *Kṛtaghnatā-doṣa*: the fault of not acknowledging assistance which has been given.

93. The final *līlā*s compose the last section of the book "*antya līlā*."

94. [*Nāṭaka*: drama, i.e., Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidaghamādhava* and *Lalitamādhava*. TKS]

100. Jyaiṣṭha: May-June.

103. *Ciḍā*: rice which has been soaked, parched, and flattened.

104. *Guñja*: flowers from the bowers of Vṛndāvana; Govarddhana-*śīlā*: sacred rock from Mt. Govarddhana in Vraja.

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duced his food. 107 In the ninth is the release of Gopīnātha Paṭṭanāyaka, and how the people of the three worlds gain *darśana* of Prabhu. 108 In the tenth he tastes the gifts of his *bhaktas*, and the *jhālis* there prepared by Rāghava Paṇḍita. 109 And here too is the examination of Govinda, and the description of the Parimuṇḍā dance. 110 In the eleventh is the death of Haridasa Ṭhākura, where Gaura Bhagavān shows his affection for his *bhakta*. 111 In the twelfth is the breaking of the oil jar by Jagadānanda, and the rebuke of Śivānanda by Nityānanda. 112 In the thirteenth Jagadānanda goes to Mathurā, and Mahāprabhu hears the song of the *devadāsī*. 113 And there is his meeting with Raghunātha Bhaṭṭācārya, and how Prabhu, being gracious to him, sent him to Vṛndāvana. 114 In the fourteenth the description of the divine madness begins, and how Prabhu's body was here, but his mind in Vṛndāvana; 115 and within it is the falling of Prabhu at the lion-gate, and the experience of the appearance of separation of the joints of his bones, 116 and how Prabhu ran, when he saw the Caṭaka mountain, and within that too a little description of the delirium of Prabhu. 117 In the fifteenth chapter is his *vilāsa* in the garden, and how he entered it, mistaking it for Vṛndāvana. 118 In it also is the attraction of the five senses of Prabhu, and how he searched for Kṛṣṇa at the *rāsa*-dance. 119 In the sixteenth Prabhu is gracious to Kālidāsa, and he shows the fruit of taking the remnants of a Vaiṣṇava's food; 120 he makes the son of Śivānanda recite a *śloka*. [There too] the gate-keeper of the lion-gate shows Kṛṣṇa to Prahbu. 121 And there is described the greatness of *mahāprasāda*, and how all tasted *ślokas* of the nectar of the lips of Kṛṣṇa. 122 In the seventeenth Prabhu falls among the cows, and there he assumed the shape of a tortoise. 123 The heart of Prabhu is drawn by the qualities of the sound of Kṛṣṇa, and he is overcome by the meaning of the "*kāstryaṅgate*" *śloka*. 124 And again he raves, overcome with *bhāva*, and expands upon the meaning of the *Karṇāmṛta-śloka*. 125 In the eighteenth chapter he falls into the sea, and has *darśana* of the water-games of Kṛṣṇa and the *gopīs*. 126 And there he sees the forest-feast of Kṛṣṇa, and the fisherman pulls him out, and Prabhu goes to his own house.

108. Jhāli: a special bag in which Rāghava brought food prepared for Caitanya.

109. Parimuṇḍā dance: the dance at the time of the waving of lights before the image of Jagannātha.

112. Devadāsī: a female servant of the temple image, who is married to that lord.

117. Vilāsa: activity or play, synonymous here with *līlā*.

123. The *śloka* is 3.17.*śl.*2; also found at 2.24.*śl.*16.

124. The *śloka* is 3.17.*śl.*4.

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127 In the nineteenth, Prabhu wounds his face on the wall, and there is a description of his delirium in the blossoming of his *viraha* from Kṛṣṇa. 128 And here on a spring night is his wandering in the flower-garden, and the description of the meaning of the *śloka* on the fragrance of Kṛṣṇa. 129 And in the twentieth chapter is the recitation of his own "Teaching in Eight Verses," and how tasting the meaning of them he was absorbed in *prema*. 130 To teach the *bhaktas* he gradually composed that *aṣṭaka*, and the meaning of the *aṣṭaka ślokas* he tasted again. 131 Thus have been summarized the chief parts of the *līlā*, and from that summary one can recall the contents of the book. 132 There are many events in each of the chapters; only the very chief ones have been recounted, and while listening to them you will fathom their endlessness.

133 Śrī Madanamohana with Śrī Rādhā, Śrī Govindacaraṇa with Śrī Rādhā, 134 Śrī Gopīnātha with Śrī Rādhā, these three *ṭhākuras* are the lords of all the Gauḍīyas. 135 Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, Śrīyuta Nityānanda, Śrī Advaita Ācārya, and the hosts of the Śrī Gaura-*bhaktas*, 136 Śrī Svarūpa, Śrī Rūpa, Śrī Sanātana, Śrī *Guru*, Śrī Raghunātha, Śrī Jīva— 137 I take the feet of all of these on my own head, from which all that is desired is fulfilled. 138 The grace of the feet of them all is *guru* and *upādhyāyī*; my speech is their pupil, and they make it dance. 139 Seeing the fatigue of his pupil, the *guru* has stopped the dance; mercy made it stop dancing, and speech remained at rest. 140 Speech is not skilled, and does not know how to dance by itself. It danced as much as it was made to dance, and then rested. 141 I bow to the feet of all who listen; the mercy of the feet of all of them prompts auspiciousness. 142 Who listens to the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' I drink the water with which I wash his feet. 143 The dust of the feet of listeners I take as ornament upon my head, and if you drink that nectar, my labor is fulfilled.

144 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

END OF ANTYA-LĪLĀ

129. Śikṣāṣṭaka; see commentary to *śloka* 3 above.

133-34. Ṭhākura: deity or image. These three deities were those served by the Bengali Vaiṣṇavas in Vṛndāvana.

138. Upādhyāyī: teacher or instructor.

139. Kṛṣṇadāsa is old and ill, and his inspiration has been exhausted.

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Upasaṃhāra

Śloka 1.

He, who tastes with faith the nectar of the acts of Śrīla Caitanya Viṣṇu, which gives auspiciousness and destroys inauspiciousness, is a bee on his stainless lotus feet, and he tastes in highest form the *rasa*, full of the honey of *prema*.

Śloka 2.

May this book, the 'Nectar of the Acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, offered to Caitanya, be a source of satisfaction to Śrī Govindadeva and Śrī Madanagopāla.

Śloka 3.

Does any *rasika-bhakta* wish to abandon those lotus feet of Giridhara, which scent the whole world with their fragrance and where the bees which know *rasa* are maddened by their *rasa*?

Śloka 4.

In *śaka* fifteen hundred and thirty seven, on Sunday in the month of Jyaiṣṭha, on *kṛṣṇa-pañcamī*, in Vṛndāvana, this book has been completed.

END OF THE *CAITANYA CARITĀMṚTA*

Śloka 2. See 2.25.*śl.*48.

Śloka 4. 1537 *śaka* is 1615 AD. Jyaiṣṭha: May-June; *kṛṣṇa-pañcamī*: fifth day of the dark lunar fortnight.

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PART THREE

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Glossaries

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Glossary

abhimāna - vide *māna*.

ācārya - a person of impeccable conduct, a teacher. The most famous *ācārya* in the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava tradition is Advaitācārya.

acintya bhedābheda - *bheda* (separation) and *abheda* (non-separation) are the terms used to describe the essential philosophical position of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas: the relationship between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, between creator and creation, and between the devotee and God, are all thought of as being simultaneously immanent and transcendant. Because this constitutes a paradox to the human mind (though not in reality or to the mind of God), Jīva Gosvāmin termed it *acintya* ("inconceivable logically," aside from reason).

advaita - "not" (*a*-) "two" (*dvi*), the term refers to the monistic system of thought propounded by Śaṅkara and others, usually called Vedānta (q.v.). Among its tenets are the essential unity of the individual self and the monistic principle that underlies the universe, and the deceptive quality (*māyā*, q.v.) of that which is visible and considered to be reality. Both these tenets are anathema to the Vaiṣṇavas, who consider that a doctrine of unity negates worship in devotion (*bhakti*, q.v.), which requires dualism (*dvaita*, q.v.), and that as the material universe is an emanation of Kṛṣṇa himself it is real. Advaita is also the name of one of Caitanya's early followers (vide *ācārya*).

aiśvarya - vide *bhagavān* and *īśvara*.

amṛta - "nectar," that which is not (*a*-) mortal (*mṛta*), the drink of immortality, over which gods and demons contended in the Vedic story of the churning of the ocean of milk. *Amṛta* carries with it the undertone of "essence" or "eternal quality," which can be seen in the title of Kṛṣṇadāsa's book, the "nectar" (*amṛta*) of the "acts" (*carita*) of Caitanya, *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

aṃśa - from the root *aṃś*-, "to divide"; a portion or part of God (*bhagavān*, q.v.) that is detached to perform some cosmic function, e.g., *avatāra* (q.v.).

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ānanda - one of three fundamental qualities (*guṇa*, q.v.) of the godhead and of the self (*ātman*, q.v.), generally translated as "bliss"; pure happiness or enjoyment; from the root *nand-*, meaning to rejoice or be delighted. Vide *sat* and *cit*.

aṅga - a "limb" or extension of God (*bhagavān*, q.v.) or of the central figure of a social group, e.g., the followers (*aṅga*) of Caitanya.

anubhāva - the ensuant emotion, including the physical effects, of the experience of *bhāva* (q.v.), which can take a number of forms, eight of which are primary: stupor, perspiration, thrill or horripilation, break in the voice, trembling, changes in color, weeping, and loss of consciousness. These eight are recognizable from lists as far back as Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra* and seem to serve, in this Vaiṣṇava context, to validate the presence of genuine *prema* (q.v.) or possession by the godhead (*āveśa*, q.v.). The reader should also check the index for *sañcari bhāva*, *vyabhicāri bhāva*, and *sāttvika bhāva* for a more complete and technical breakdown of the concept.

anurāga - the renewal or increase of "passion," a technical step in the progression of love; for its precise location and meaning in this hierarchy, vide *prema*.

āśrama - from the root *śram-*, to exert oneself or overcome; a hermitage or abode of ascetics. In the *varṇāśrama dharma* (q.v.), *āśrama* designates the four progressive divisions of an individual's life: studentship (*brahmacarya*); householding (*gṛhasthya*); dwelling in the forest (*vānaprasthya*); and renunciation (*saṃnyāsa*, q.v.).

āśraya - from the root *śri-*, to seek refuge in or depend on; a receptacle, place of refuge, the person in whom a special quality is inherent. In the devotional esthetic developed by Rūpa Gosvāmin, *āśraya* refers to the individual who becomes the vessel of love for Kṛṣṇa—the ultimate object (*viṣaya*) of such emotion—according to generic categories of human experience (*bhāva*, q.v.)

ātman - "self," "individual"; often seen misleadingly translated as "soul." In Vedānta (q.v.) the *ātman* possesses the same basic qualities (*guṇa*, q.v.) as *brahman* (q.v.), and is identified with it. As such the *ātman* is the true, unchanging reality that is imprisoned within the body in the rounds of rebirth (*saṃsāra*, q.v.) and which one strives to liberate (*mukti*, *mokṣa*, q.v.). For Vaiṣṇavas the *ātman* is only a part (*aṃśa*, q.v.) of the godhead, locatable within the *jīva śakti* (q.v.).

avadhūta - the "pure" or "cleansed" one (root *dhav-*, "wash"); a renunciate, one who has turned his back on the material world and taken ascetic vows. Nityānanda is described throughout the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* text as *avadhūta*.

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avatāra - usually translated as "incarnation," but literally meaning "descent," as a deity to earth. The literal meaning is more appropriate in the present context, for there is no question of the deity's taking on "flesh" (carn-); the form of the deity is substantial but the substance is not made up of the material qualities (*guṇa*, q.v.).

avatārī, avatārin - the container or source of all the *avatāras* (q.v.), Kṛṣṇa or Caitanya as *svayaṃ bhagavān* (q.v.).

aveśa, aviṣṭa - possession, absorption; the state in which the devotee is possessed by deity and which results in an often uncontrollable behavior. This state is often popularly considered as, but should be contrasted with, the condition of *bhāva* (q.v.), which operates in the opposite direction: *bhāva* is an emotional state that wells up from within the individual and is not a result of being possessed from without. The signs of *aveśa* are often seen to be identical with the *anubhāvas* (q.v.).

bhagavān - can be translated as "God," but is more literally "He who possesses" (*vān*) "the shares of fortune or wealth" (*bhaga*, from the root *bhaj*-; vide *bhakti*), i.e., Kṛṣṇa. It is in *bhagavān* that all *bhaktas* (q.v.) participate. In this text, *bhagavān* is often used to denote Kṛṣṇa and Caitanya. *Svayaṃ bhagavān* is the complete innate Godhead, who is self-dependent (*svatantra*, q.v.), not a descent (*avatāra*, q.v.), not an extension (*aṅga*, q.v.), not a portion (*aṃśa*, q.v.), but the whole itself. For Kṛṣṇadāsa, the nature of *bhagavān* is essentially twofold: that part which is sovereign, majestic, lordly, and fearfully awesome (*aiśvarya*, vide *īsvara*), and that which is loving, sweet, and erotically playful (*mādhurya*), the latter holding a much greater appeal for Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas than the former.

bhagavat - vide *bhagavān*.

bhāgavata - "devotee" or "*bhakta*," as it is used by Kṛṣṇadāsa. The term has a technical generalized meaning, however, i.e., a follower of the Pāñcarātra tradition, which served as the foundation for the popular Śrī Vaiṣṇavism of South India. Kṛṣṇadāsa and his teachers exhibit more than a passing knowledge of that tradition, and their use of the term suggests an orientation to the world along those of the Pāñcarātra, albeit with an emphasis on the *mādhurya* (q.v.) dimension of the godhead.

bhakta - a devotee; etymologically, one who shares in or is devoted to God (*bhagavān*, q.v.). In this text it refers almost exclusively to devotees of Kṛṣṇa. Vide *bhakti*.

bhakti - usually translated "devotion," the term is a derivative of the Vedic root *bhaj*-, "divide, distribute, share with," and this etymological meaning is in fact

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closer to what the Vaiṣṇavas mean by the term than is the usual translation; in the Vaiṣṇava system *ānanda* (q.v.) or "bliss" is shared by the worshiper and the deity, each providing the other the experience by means of *hlādinī-śakti* (within the *svarūpa-śakti*, q.v.). Vide *bhakta* and *bhagavān*.

bhaṇitā - the signature line of the popular lyric poem called *pada* (q.v.). The author concludes his composition with a personal statement that often leads the reader or listener to a new interpretation of the poem. By adept devotees, the *bhaṇitā* is used to insert the author into the action of the poem, which suggests that the poem is a new revelation of God's activities (*līlā*, q.v.) in which the author has participated.

bhāva - the term is a very loaded one in Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava thought and practice. It is based on the usage in esthetic theory, where the reference is to one of several basic emotional states based on particular experience (e.g., love), which can be refined by poetic skill to convey a related but abstracted experience in the same mode to an audience. In the religious scheme, based on the esthetic propounded by Rūpa Gosvāmin and his student Kṛṣṇadāsa, types of relationships between the devotee and Kṛṣṇa are basically five: *śānta* (q.v.), "peace"; *dāsya* (q.v.), "servant-like"; *sakhya* (q.v.), "like a friend"; *vātsalya* (q.v.), "like a parent"; and *mādhurya* (q.v.), "sweetly, like a lover." *Mādhurya* is also called *śṛṅgāra*. In esthetic theory, and in Rūpa's (and Kṛṣṇadāsa's) theological gloss on it, *bhāva* is also used to describe manifestations of these conditions (e.g., "dizziness" is apt to be one of the states related to love), and the use of description of the manifestation is a poetic device used to suggest the presence of the condition. Vide *anubhāva* and *āveśa*.

bhedābheda - vide *acintya bhedābheda*.

bīja - "seed," usually referring to a one-syllabled *mantra* (q.v.), often without cognitive significance; examples are *klīṃ*, *hriṃ*, *haṃ*, etc. *Bīja* is the starting point, the seed from which the tree grows (the seed is in the tree, as the tree is in the seed), the point which is the source of creation.

Brahmā - name of a deity, one of the so-called "Hindu trinity" of Śiva the destroyer, Viṣṇu the preserver, and Brahmā the creator of the universe. The universes of his creation are known as Brahmā-eggs (*brahmāṇḍa*), often translated in the text as Brahmā-worlds. Attested by mythology, Brahmā is only rarely found as a functional deity in contemporary India.

brahma, brahman - the basic neuter monistic principle of the universe, with which the *ātman* (q.v.) is considered to be one, this reality being hidden by *māyā* (q.v.): this is the view of the Vedānta (q.v.). It is considered by the Vaiṣṇavas lowest

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in a three-tiered hierarchy of reality, the highest reality of course being Kṛṣṇa.

brāhmaṇa - the highest of the four *varṇas* (q.v.); *brāhmaṇas* are traditionally considered to be priests and ritual functionaries generally, and learned in the scriptures. One of the interesting social teachings of the Vaiṣṇavas, and of *bhakti* generally, is that the privileged social position of *brāhmaṇa* is not bestowed by birth but by merit (i.e., he who has devotion is a *brāhmaṇa*, not necessarily he who has a *brāhmaṇa* father).

cit - one of the three fundamental qualities (*guṇa*, q.v.) of the Godhead and of the self (*ātman*, q.v.), usually translated as "thought," "intellect," or "spirit." In Kṛṣṇa's divine personality this *śakti* (q.v.) is identified with the *svarūpa* (q.v.), Kṛṣṇa's intrinsic nature, the highest form of which is *hlādinī śakti*, identified as the bliss-bestowing Rādhā. Vide *sat* and *ānanda*. From *cit* comes *cetana*, "conscious" or "sentient" from which Kṛṣṇa Caitanya received his own name, "He who makes the world conscious (*caitanya*) of Kṛṣṇa."

daṇḍa - a measure of time, the sixtieth part of a day; twenty-four minutes. Vide *prahāra*. *Daṇḍa* is also a staff, an emblem of power and an instrument of punishment, often associated with kings and ascetics.

darśana - seeing, looking at, showing, perceiving, knowing, from the root *dṛś-*, "to see." This most often refers to the act of viewing or getting a glimpse of the deity, usually through an icon in a temple, or of some holy personage, and the reciprocal granting of this act. The most central act of temple worship (*pūjā*, q.v.), *darśana* is an intimate exchange between devotee and deity, perhaps best described as visual touching. The senses, as for example of sight and touch, are more intimately related and interchangeable than in the western concept. One can say in English "touched by the sight of" something, but in India the physical quality of the relationship is more powerful. A sideways glance can be insulting, or erotic (or both) in a way that is not familiar to a westerner. *Darśana* also refers to the traditional six schools of philosophy, or philosophical "perspectives."

dāsa - "servant," often a part of religious names take by Vaiṣṇavas upon initiation (*dīkṣā*, q.v.). The initiate will relinquish his given name and patronymic and become, by his *guru*'s instruction, something like Kṛṣṇadāsa, "servant of Kṛṣṇa," or Jagannāthadāsa, "servant of the Lord of the Universe." The term implies humility, a prime Vaiṣṇava trait, and designates one of the five *bhāvas* (q.v.).

dāsya - servitude, one of the five *bhāvas* (q.v.) or basic states of relationship of the worshiper to Kṛṣṇa: one who looks on Kṛṣṇa as master and himself as servant (vide *dāsa*).

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deva, *devatā*, *devī* - deity, from the old Vedic root *div*-, "heaven, the sky," later "shining," which is the etymology Kṛṣṇadāsa uses for *devī*, "goddess." The Vedic is cognate with the Latin, which yields the English "divine" (Skt. *deva*, Latin *deus*, "god").

dhāma - the physical and social "environment" of Kṛṣṇa, the primary *dhāma* being his heavenly domain of Vaikuṇṭha (q.v.), with Goloka (q.v.) the most intimate portion therein. The eternal servant of Kṛṣṇa, Ananta-Śeṣa, conjures this realm, which is composed of the physical setting and Kṛṣṇa's entourage, and which accompanies Kṛṣṇa wherever he journeys throughout the cosmos in time or space. Consequently the *dhāma* enbraces that which is manifest (*prakaṭa*), and so includes earthly Vṛndāvana (q.v.), as well as the unmanifest (*aprakaṭa*) or innate, i.e., the timeless realms of Vaikuṇṭha. This ancient concept justifies the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava theological position that all of Caitanya's followers were a part of his *avatāra* as eternal attendants of Kṛṣṇa; the *pañca tattva* doctrine (q.v.) formalizes the belief. Kavikarṇapūra's *Gauragaṇoddeśadīpikā* identifies over one hundred eighty of these historical followers of Caitanya with their heavenly counterparts.

dharma - usually translated "righteousness," "propriety," or "law," the term signifies a complex relationship between individual action and the cosmic order: proper performance of social duty and observation of conventional regulation assures the continued turning of the cosmic wheel. In one place in the text of the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* (1.17.167) the term Hindu-*dharma* is used, and seems to mean the specifically Hindu view of this social ordering, rather than "religion" per se. Vide *varṇa* for *varṇāśrama dharma*.

dīkṣā - "consecration," "dedication to a god," "anointing," the term in the Vaiṣṇava context means specifically to take initiation as a Vaiṣṇava, or into a monastic order (Caitanya became a *saṃnyāsin* [q.v.] in an order of Advaitin *saṃnyāsins*). At the initiation the *dīkṣā mantra* (q.v.), the personal formula containing a name of God is given to the initiate by the *dīkṣā guru* (in Caitanya's case this was Keśava Bhārati), and it is this *mantra* which the initiate will repeat and meditate upon for the rest of his life.

dīkṣā-guru - vide *guru* (q.v.) and *dīkṣā* (q.v.).

doṣa - "fault" or "flaw," either moral or physical, or, in poetic theory, a problem with the composition that hinders the reader or listener's appreciation and experience of *rasa* (q.v.).

dūtī - female messenger or go-between. These intermediaries carry messages and arrange the meetings of the lovers, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. They can take many forms,

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but the most common as described in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and Vaiṣṇava lyrics (*pada*, q.v.) are female companions, young and old, of Rādhā.

dvaita - "twoness" or dualism, the name of the doctrine which insists on absolute division between human and divine; it is opposed to *advaita* (q.v.). The primary *guru* of the doctrine is Madhva, a twelfth century philosopher among whose followers was the eighteenth century influential Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava theologian Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa. Some partisans have tried to trace direct influence of pure dualism on the Gosvāmins (q.v.), but it seems clear that the basic Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava doctrine of *acintya bhedābheda* (q.v.) is neither *dvaita* nor *advaita* in its conception.

Gauḍa - roughly the central portion of West Bengal, including Navadvīpa and other Vaiṣṇava centers, such as Śāntipura and Śrīkhaṇḍa; often translated simply as "Bengal." This region lends its name to the style of Vaiṣṇavism practiced by Caitanya and his followers, the only religion to be named after geographic region, hence Gauḍīya.

Gauḍīya - vide Gauḍa.

Gayā - a pilgrimage town in the modern-day state of Bihar, where devout Bengali Vaiṣṇavas go to perform obsequies (*śrāddha*) for departed fathers usually according to the *piṇḍa-dāna* or rice-ball offering, which sustains the ancestors for seven generations. It was here, when he was performing the rites for his father, Jagannātha Miśra, that Caitanya met Īśvara Purī and was initiated into the *bhakti* of Kṛṣṇa. From this point he returns to Bengal to lead the devotional community.

Goloka - the "realm" or "sphere" (*loka*) of the "cow" (*go*), it is generally synonymous with Vṛndāvana. Goloka takes two forms: manifest (*prakaṭa*) and unmanifest (*aprakaṭa*), the former found in the Vraja region of north India, the latter being the innermost realm of the Vaikuṇṭha (q.v.) heavens, where Kṛṣṇa eternally plays (*līlā*, q.v.) with the *gopīs* and *gopas* (q.v.). Vide *dhāma*.

gopa (m.), *gopī* (f.) - designation of male and female members of a cowherding group to which Kṛṣṇa belonged and who lived around pastoral Vṛndāvana. A popular name of Kṛṣṇa is Gopāla or "cow" (*go-*) "protector" (*pāla*). The most well-known *gopī* is of course Rādhā.

Gosvāmī, Gosvāmin - "lord" (*svāmī*) of "cows" (*go-*), an honorific title among Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas, due to the intimate connection of Kṛṣṇa and cow-herding people (vide *gopa*, *gopī*). Specifically, the term is applied to the six philosophers and theologians, five of whom were personally deputed by Caitanya to establish a "school" at Vṛndāvana (q.v.) and who wrote the basic texts defining the Gauḍīya

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Vaiṣṇava positions. The six were Rūpa and Sanātana, two brothers who had been high officials at the Muslim court, their nephew Jīva, perhaps the greatest theologian of them all, Raghunātha Dāsa and Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa, great devotees, and Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, the ritual specialist.

guṇa - the term that is most usually translated "quality," in the sense that the qualities of a thing define that thing and set it apart from everything else. The material qualities (*sattva* or purity and truth, *rajas* or passion, and *tamas* or darkness) are present in all material beings, but in such relations or proportions as to define each being as an individual. Corresponding to these three are the three "immaterial" qualities, *sat* (q.v.), *cit* (q.v.), and *ānanda* (q.v.), which make up the divine being.

guṇḍicā - vide *rathayātrā*.

guru - teacher, spiritual preceptor. The text routinely distinguishes two: *dīkṣā-* (q.v.) "initiatory" guide who bestows the *mantra* (q.v.) for purification and future meditation, and *śikṣā-* (q.v.) "instructional" guide who teaches the *śāstras* appropriate to the particular tradition. Among Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas, a devotee can have but one *dīkṣā-gurus*, but several *śikṣā-gurus*.

īśvara - lord or God, from the root *īś-*, to be powerful or capable, often used by Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas as a synonym for *bhagavān* (q.v.), but suggestive of a cosmic sovereignty (*aiśvarya*) of the older Pāñcarātra forms of divinity, as opposed to a more approachable gentleness (*mādhurya*). In non-Vaiṣṇava texts, the term generally refers to Śiva.

Jagannātha - "lord of the world"; name of the image in the temple at Puri, considered to be a form of Kṛṣṇa. Caitanya was often called the "animated" or "mobile" (*sacala*) Jagannātha in contrast to the image in the temple which was fixed (*acala*).

Jagannāthakṣetra - the "land" (*kṣetra*) of "Jagannātha," an alternate name for the city of Puri (q.v.).

japa - quietly muttering or silently repeating the name or names of God. Vide *kīrtana* and *mantra*.

jāti - from the root *jā-*, "to be born," its derivatives seem to function in much the same way as derivatives of the Latin root *nat-* (as in native, national), i.e., to indicate a group born with or from something, often a common ancestor. The term *jāti* is usually translated as "caste" or "subcaste" in the sociological literature particularly, but the Bengali meaning is much broader: *strī-jāti*, "women as a type of person"; *yavana-jāti* (q.v.), "foreigners (usually referring to Muslims) as a group." Vide *varṇa*.

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jīva - living beings; technically that *śakti* (q.v.) which is physical matter (*māyā*, q.v.) suffused with life or sentience (*cit*, q.v.), called *taṭastha* (on the border, i.e., suspended between the two categories). As *jīvas* human beings are parts of Kṛṣṇa.

jñāna - intellectual knowledge or knowledge acquired by study. It is one of the paths to religious realization discussed by the *Bhagavad Gītā*, and one much valued by the more philosophically oriented of the *brāhmaṇas* (q.v.). To the Vaiṣṇavas it is not a highly valued pursuit, since they consider intellectual endeavor not only valueless but an obstacle to *bhakti* (q.v.); to the Vaiṣṇavas true knowledge is that received by association with Kṛṣṇa and the things related to him. In some other texts (e.g., the *Manasā Maṅgala*) *jñāna* means "esoteric knowledge," "knowledge of the occult," which suggests its association with the extremes of yogic practice and magic.

jñānin - the religious practitioner who pursues the path of knowledge (*jñāna*, q.v.). In the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, often refers more specifically to followers of Śaṅkara, Vedāntins (q.v.) or Māyāvādins (q.v.; vide also *-vādī*, *-vādin*).

Kāma, *kāma* - the name of the god of love (also called Kāmadeva, Kandarpa, Madana, Anaṅga, etc.), who carries, like Eros, a bow from which he shoots enchanting flower-arrows. In the Vaiṣṇava context the term, while used in poetic passages referring to the god, more usually means "lust" or "physical desire," and by extension "desire for the satisfaction of the self" in opposition to *prema* (q.v.), which is love that seeks the satisfaction of others. While not a condition appropriate for a devotee, *kāma* is not thoroughly to be scorned, for it is a basic experience which suggests, in its quality of joy, the ultimate religious relationship.

karma - from the root *kar-/kṛ-*, "to do," the term signifies action; in an extended and commonly understood meaning, *karma* is action that results in certain consequences, either in this birth or in future ones; also implied is that one's present condition is the result of actions performed in a past life. The Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava position vis-à-vis this ancient Hindu doctrine is ambivalent: there is frequent reference to actions leading to consequences, but there is also the frequent statement that "*karma* is not for Vaiṣṇavas," for *bhakti* (q.v.) frees the *bhakta* (q.v.) from the necessity of action and from its fruits. Vide *vāsanā*.

kāvya - "wisdom from a sage or poet (*kavi*)," the term comes to denote the literary genre as opposed to the philosophical, and to mean "poetry" much as that term is understood in English. *Mahākāvya*, or "great poetry," is extended literature, as an epic or long narrative, in verse. In Bengali, the term *maṅgala kāvya* (q.v.) refers to an even more narrow semi-epic genre.

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kīrtana - "praise," from the root *kīrt-*, in the present context a specific type of hymn-singing in glorification of Kṛṣṇa; the foremost among enjoined ritual practices, it can take the form of a mere singing of Kṛṣṇa's names (*nāma-saṃkīrtana*), or it can be the singing of the full cycle of hymns describing Kṛṣṇa's *līlā* (q.v.) in the world, specifically his love affair with Rādhā and the *gopīs* (q.v.). *Saṃkīrtana* is technically the collective or public form of this singing, but the term is often used interchangeably with *kīrtana*. Closely associated with these musical forms is the practice of privately chanting the names of God, called *japa* (q.v.).

kṣatriya - vide *varṇa*.

Kṣetra - an alternate name for the city of Puri (q.v.); vide Jagannāthakṣetra.

līlā - usually translated "play," but the etymology is complex and obscure, related perhaps to the licking of flames and suggestive of often unpredictable actions, usually of God, which seem to be performed or take place simply for their own sake. The actions of Kṛṣṇa and Caitanya on earth are styled *līlā*, as are the love-making activities of Rādhā and the *gopīs* with Kṛṣṇa. In the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, *līlā* is often synonymous with *vilāsa* (q.v.). For Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas, the *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa is of two kinds: manifest (*prakaṭa*) or unmanifest (*aprakaṭa*), the former being associated with his appearances on earth and conditioned by time, the latter being eternal and timeless and which can simultaneously permeate the manifest. Vide *dhāma*.

madhura, *mādhurya* - also called *śṛṅgāra*, one of the five basic emotional states of relationship between the devotee and Kṛṣṇa. This *bhāva* (q.v.) is the highest of the set, being emotionally the most rich; it is the condition of the *gopīs* (q.v.) in passionate love with Kṛṣṇa. It is described as "fullest," containing as it does the types of love which characterize the other four *bhāvas*, thus the most to be desired and striven for by the *bhakta* (q.v.). *Mādhurya* also signifies that half of *bhagavān*'s (q.v.) personality, i.e., his sweet, loving nature, in contrast with his martial sovereignty (*aiśvarya*, q.v.)

mahābhāva - the highest form of love which is sefless and pure, embodied best by Rādhā. For its technical use, vide *prema*.

mahāprasāda - vide *prasāda*.

mahāśaya - literally "great receptacle" or "ocean," the term refers to a man of noble disposition and high-mindedness; it is used as a respectful form of address, "sir." In context it becomes an unofficial title designating great accomplishment in *bhakti* (q.v.).

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mahiṣī - the wives of Kṛṣṇa when he ruled as king in the city of Dvāraka in western India. According to this part of the Kṛṣṇa myth, the wives numbered sixteen thousand (*Mahābhārata, sabhāparvan*).

māna - "pique" or "annoyance": the condition of Rādhā when she discovers that Kṛṣṇa has been dallying with other *gopīs* (q.v.), thus the title of the section of the poetic cycle dealing with Rādhā in this condition. The term has a more subtle psychological connotation as well: hurt feigned in order to bring the "offender" around to a position of humility—a condition often referred to also as *abhimāna*. Vide *prema*.

mandira - temple, habitation, waiting place; in this text almost always the abode of a deity.

maṅgala - auspiciousness, felicity, welfare, bliss; the term also denotes a blessing, benediction, or words of praise or glorification, hence its use in the titles of several of the Caitanya biographies and the entire genre of texts in praise of the various goddesses and gods of Bengal called *maṅgala kāvya* (vide *kāvya*).

mantra - an "instrument of thought" (*man*), a formula which can be a single syllable (*bīja*, q.v.) or an extended utterance (as the Vedic *gāyatrī*, a hymn of praise recited each morning to the rising sun), to glorify a deity or to focus the concentration of the worshiper in his meditation. The formula is sometimes super- or sub-cognitive, i.e., without overt meaning, as in magic, and sometimes, in poetic form, it names and thus calls down the gods or natural powers to participate in human activities. The simplest Vaiṣṇava *mantra* consists of one or two names of Kṛṣṇa, the most popular form of which is the sixteen name *mahāmantra*: Hare Kṛṣṇa Hare Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Hare Hare/ Hare Rāma Hare Rāma Rāma Rāma Hare Hare//.

-maya (m), *mayī* (f) - suffix meaning "full of" or "consisting of"; at the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* stage of the Bengali language, the suffix was a very productive one, used largely in epithets of god or goddess, e.g., *karuṇā*, "compassion," *karuṇāmayī*, "she who is compassionate," or *māyā* (q.v.), *māyāmayī*, "she who consists of *māyā*."

māyā - the term that is usually translated "illusion," especially in the context of the Vedānta (q.v.), in which the visible universe is considered to be an artificial mental construct. The term also means "magic," as in the extraordinary powers of god to bring about miracles and to disrupt the ordinary course of events. This is closer to its meaning in the present context, where "*yogamāyā*" is the power of Kṛṣṇa to deceive himself, as when, in order to insure the normality of his reactions as

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a human being, he hides his true divine nature from himself. Kṛṣṇadāsa also uses the term *māyāvādī* (vide *vādī*) to refer to the *advaitin* followers of Śaṅkara, i.e., "those who propound the doctrine of *māyā*," for the Vaiṣṇavas do not consider that the material universe is false. The *māyā śakti* (vide *śakti*) of Kṛṣṇa, by which he creates and relates himself to the material world, is a power of Kṛṣṇa and therefore real.

Māyāvādin - vide Vedāntin and *-vādī*.

mleccha - from the root *mlech-*, "to speak indistinctly," referring to anyone who does not know Sanskrit and is, therefore, a barbarian; the term is used generally to mean foreigner, occasionally outcaste or wicked person, and anyone who is ritually unclean and does not honor the usual Hindu institutions. In this text the term is often synonymous with *yavana* (q.v.).

mokṣa, *mukti* - from the root *muc-*, "to liberate"; liberation, release, setting free, technically used to designate the release of the *ātman* (q.v.) from the cycle of rebirth (*saṃsāra*, q.v.) in Vedānta (q.v.) and schools of *yoga*. The term is often used in the devotional context more generally to mean "salvation," with the same overtones of escaping the rounds of existence, but without the obliteration of those distinctions that serve to define the individual in contrast to God (*bhagavān*, q.v.). In Hindu religious thought this is opposed to both life and death, i.e., life and death are in a continuum, while *mokṣa* breaks or transcends that continuum.

mūrti - that which has a shape, or limits; that which is made up of material substance. The latter definition is perhaps not entirely appropriate here, for as in *avatāra* (q.v.) of the deity, the deity's form, while substantial, is not material, being made up of *guṇas* (q.v.) but not the material ones. A *mūrti* then is an image of a deity, defining and making visible that deity, but not coterminous with that deity's true nature. A *mūrti* defines a deity in space and time, but does not necessarily represent that deity's form a moment before or a moment after the *mūrti* in question; it is the deity, but is not the deity's only or final form.

Nadīyā - an alternate name for the city of Navadvīpa (q.v.); the name of the modern-day administrative district in which Navadvīpa lies.

nāma - "name," the name of Kṛṣṇa, which through repetition is the vehicle and key to religious salvation in the Kali Age; vide *japa*, *kīrtana*, and *śabda*.

nāmasaṃkīrtana - vide *kīrtana*.

namaskāra - obeisance, a word or gesture of greeting, which, in modern times and probably at the time of the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, was often—though not always—

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a formal gesture like a salute. It is usually accompanied by a bow, either a nod or a slight bow from the waist, with palms pressed together and raised to the forehead.

Navadvīpa - place of the "nine" (*nava*) "islands" (*dvīpa*), the city of Caitanya's birth and youth, about seventy miles north of modern-day Calcutta in the Nadīyā district of West Bengal. The city remains the active center of Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava piety along with Vṛndāvana (q.v.) in modern Uttar Pradesh and Puri (q.v.) in Orissa. The city was, in Caitanya's time, a center of learning, especially in the Navyanyāya system of philosophy, and students from all over India congregated there.

Nīlācala - "Blue Mountain," an alternate name for the city of Puri (q.v.).

pada, pāda - "foot," as in metrics; the term also comes to mean the type of lyric poem highly developed by the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas, usually a short song of twelve or fourteen lines in *payāra* (q.v.) or *tripadī* (q.v.) meter. These lyrics, which comprise the content of *kīrtana* (q.v.), describe and glorify either Caitanya (as a group such songs are called *gauracandrikā*) or the childhood, youth, and especially the love-play of Kṛṣṇa. Among the most accomplished of the early writers (called *padakartās*) of these lyrics, Vidyāpati, Caṇḍīdāsa, Govindadāsa, and Jñānadāsa can be named. The composition usually concludes with a signature line (*bhaṇitā*, q.v.) by the author.

pañca tattva - theory of Caitanya's descent that identifies him and four of his chief disciples as representing the five essential elements or principles (vide *tattva*) necessary to generate *bhakti* toward Kṛṣṇa on this earth. Caitanya is understood to be Kṛṣṇa (*svayaṃ bhakta rūpa*); Nityānanda is Kṛṣṇa's brother Balarāma (*bhakta svarūpa*); Advaitācārya is Sadāśiva (*bhaktāvatāra rūpa*); Śrīvāsa represents the ranks of devotees (*bhakta*); and Gadādhara represents the *gopīs* (*bhakti śakti*) or more specifically, Rādhā. The theory is attributed to Svarūpa Dāmodara and elaborated in *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* 1.1-8 and in summary in Kavikarṇapūra's *Gauraganoddeśadīpikā*. The latter text extends the theory to match all of Caitanya's earthly devotees with those in Kṛṣṇa's eternal realm (*dhāma*, q.v.).

pāṣaṇḍa, pāṣaṇḍī - one who is heretical, impious, often applied by Hindu texts to Jainas or Buddhists because of their atheism.

payāra - in Bengali metrics, a term used to denote a couplet form, usually of fourteen syllables with caesura after the first eight, with rhyme scheme a-a, b-b, etc. The number of syllables can vary, and each line of the couplet can be broken into three feet instead of two: in such cases, usually for lyrical passages, the form is called *tripadī* (q.v.). The *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* is composed, except for San-

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skrit passages, in one of the several varieties of this form. In this text the *payāras* have been translated as prose, while the *tripadī* sections have been translated as three-part lines to preserve a sense of the versification.

prahara - a measurement of time; the eighth part of a day; a watch (three hours). Vide *daṇḍa*.

prakṛti - the primal nature, the original producer of the phenomenal world, which is feminine, especially when in opposition to the inactive masculine spirit (*puruṣa*, q.v.); from the root *kṛ*-, meaning to fashion, achieve, accomplish. *Prakṛti* when personified is associated generically with the goddess. Vide *śakti*.

praṇāma - from the root *nam*-, "go down" or "descend"; *praṇāma* is a bending down, an obeisance. The gesture, one of reverence and submission as well as simple salutation, can vary from a bow from the waist to a full-length prostration, in the case of a god, saint, or very honored person.

praṇaya - vide *prema*.

prasāda - etymologically meaning "favor," *prasāda* is God's grace in the substantial form of food that has first been offerred to the presiding deity of a temple and then distributed to worshipers. Just as the ingestion of this physical form of grace transforms the very being of the eater, so too the special attention (*prasāda*, usually with some form of the root *kṛ*-, "to do" or "to make") that Caitanya (or any *guru* [q.v.] within the tradition) proffers to a favored or deserving disciple, which constitutes the term's second use. *Mahāprasāda* is technically that food distributed from the temple of Jagannātha in Puri.

prema - in general usage, "love" or "affection." More specific to its use in the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* and Vaiṣṇava esthetics, *prema* refers to the highest form of love which is the distillation of a succession of experiences, the purest love for Kṛṣṇa embodied best by Rādhā. Love (*rati*, q.v.) moves through a hierarchy of stages from lowest to highest: *sneha* (q.v.), the condition of young love when the mind is affected and separation from the object of that affection cannot be borne; *māna* (q.v.), a feigned anger or irritation deployed to increase the pleasure of the love affair; *praṇaya* (q.v.), the emergence of faith in the beloved; *rāga* (q.v.), the passion that emerges upon the realization that it might actually be possible to gain Kṛṣṇa, so that any experience connected with him is considered joyous, even sadness or pain; *anurāga* (q.v.), the ever-increasing renewal of *rāga* that enables one to experience this love in new and different ways; *bhāva* (q.v.), the stabilizing of the experience when the heart is completely controlled by this love; *mahābhāva*, the increase of *bhāva* to the point of nothing else existing for

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the experiencer, Rādhā being considered the only one to perfect this love. *Mahābhāva* is often synonymous with *prema*.

pūjā - honor, worship, respect, reverence, or veneration; *pūjā* is the ritual form of worship that signifies the devotional submission of the *bhakta* (q.v.) to the deity. The ritual consists of a formal viewing of the deity (vide *darśana*) and various offerings of foods and flowers, accompanied by incense, the waving of lights, blowing of the conch, etc., and is generally conducted in a temple or private shrine. *Pūjā* often concludes for the individual with the receipt of *prasāda* (q.v.).

purāṇa - a class of texts narrating the ancient histories of the sectarian Hindu traditions, the source of much of the mythology of Kṛṣṇa and other deities; from the root *pur-*, meaning to precede or go before, i.e., that which belongs to ancient times. For Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is the most revered source of revelation for the life of Kṛṣṇa, containing as it does the stories of Kṛṣṇa's childhood and youth. In a false etymology, the stem *pūr-*, "filling" or "completing" is invoked and the *Bhāgavata* becomes the "fulfillment" of the Vedas (q.v.).

Puri - city of Jagannātha (q.v.), lying on the coast of modern-day Orissa. Puri was the center of Vaiṣṇava piety and pilgrimage in eastern India during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Jagannātha temple was the last major temple in eastern India under the protection of independent Hindu kings, the Gajapati dynasty which ruled to 1559 AD; in 1568 the temple was ransacked by Muslims and the image temporarily removed. It was in Puri that Caitanya passed the last eighteen years of his life, and where he died. Former names of the city include Nīlācala (the most popular designation in the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*), Jagannātha-kṣetra, and Kṣetra.

puruṣa - "man" or "person": either specifically the male gender or the total primordial Man, from whom the created universe comes (*Ṛg Veda* 10.90). The term comes also to indicate a philosophical principle, especially in Sāṃkhya, where *puruṣa* is an inactive spirit, in opposition to *prakṛti* (q.v.), primal nature or the female.

puruṣārtha - the four values (*artha*) of humankind (*puruṣa*): propriety (*dharma*, q.v.), prosperity and power (*artha*); pleasure (*kāma*), and release from all of the above (*mokṣa*, q.v.). Vide *varṇa* for *varṇāśrama dharma*.

rāga - the feeling of passion, especially love, that embraces desire, joy, and delight, most often in the Vaiṣṇava context signifying the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa and of the devotees for God. In other contexts it is often erotic in its motivation,

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while the Vaiṣṇavas generally see it as pure, selfless, and spontaneous in contrast to lower forms of physical lust (*kāma*, q.v.) which are self-satisfying. For its technical usage as a stage in the development of pure love, vide *prema*.

rāgānugā - "a following after" (*anugā*) "of passion" (*rāga*, q.v.); that specifically Vaiṣṇava form of ritual striving (*sādhanā*, q.v.) that by virtue of the practitioner's depth of love, allows him spontaneously to participate in the eternal activities (*līlā*, q.v.) of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. For its use in this context, vide *sādhanā*; cf., *vidhi*.

rasa - literally "juice," "sap," or "flavor," the term is used in esthetic theory to signify the abstracted joy that the appreciator of art (*sahṛdaya*, "the man with heart") experiences; it is connected to, but not identical with, immediate sensation or condition (*bhāva*, q.v.). The Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas, and especially Rūpa Gosvāmin in his *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* and *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi*, applied the concept to *bhakti* (q.v.), and in this way experience of absorption in God (*bhagavān*, q.v.) is described.

rāsa - the circular dance performed by Kṛṣṇa and the *gopīs* (q.v.), in which Kṛṣṇa appears between each pair of *gopīs* and simultaneously in the center of the circle. Vide *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.29.42-48.

rathayātrā - the "chariot journey" or, as it is more normally called, the "car festival"; specifically the annual festival taking place on the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of Āṣāḍha (June-July) in which the image of Jagannātha (q.v.) is taken out of his temple. The prototypical festival is at Puri, and is literally a vacation for the god, as he goes, with his brother and sister, to reside for a few days at another temple, the *guṇḍicā*. For devotees of Jagannātha it is a time of great rejoicing, not only because of the opportunity for the *darśana* (q.v.) of the god, but for the demonstration of devotion—the pulling of the massive car, the sweeping of the streets before it (traditionally done by the *mahārāja* of Puri), cleaning the *guṇḍicā mandira*, etc.

rati - from the root *ram*-, to delight in, to enjoy carnally; love and the pleasure and delight in it, especially the erotic. In the text of the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, *rati* is often synonymous with *prema* (q.v.), but more technically the term refers to the gamut of love experiences that culminates in *prema*.

rūpa - "beauty" of form; also and usually in Vaiṣṇava texts, the form which the deity takes. Kṛṣṇa's infinite power and his nature as containing infinite qualities allow him to take all forms at all times, any form at any time, or anything in between; the *rūpa* is that definable shape, with particular characteristics, that Kṛṣṇa holds at any point in time and space. Thus one of Kṛṣṇa's *rūpas* is the

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four-armed Viṣṇu which matches his personality as martial sovereign (*aiśvarya*, q.v.); another is the two-armed Kṛṣṇa, which is identical with the *svarūpa* (q.v.), and which matches his gentle and loving nature (*mādhurya*, q.v.).

śabda - "word," both the grammatically defined linguistic word, and, in linguistic philosophy, the ultimate principle (e.g., *śabdabrahman* is the creative force). In Vaiṣṇava literature the term is most often used to refer to the "word" of revelation, i.,e., the Vaiṣṇava *śāstras* (q.v.), and in particular the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

sādhanā - the act of mastering or subduing (e.g., the senses); striving (e.g., for perfection); personal ritual practices. According to Rūpa's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*, *sādhanās* are of two kinds: those performed according to injunction (*vaidhī*, q.v.), and those arising spontaneously in the passion-controlled devotee (*rāgānugā*, q.v.). The former number sixty-four, five of which are deemed most effective, viz. chanting the name of Kṛṣṇa (*kīrtana*, q.v.), association with pure and adept devotees, reading the stories of Kṛṣṇa from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, residing in the holy region of Mathurā, and honoring and serving the image of God. These somewhat mechanical rites serve to build and nurture devotion. *Rāgānugā* practices are those in which the worshiper participates spontaneously in the activities (*līlā*, q.v.) of Kṛṣṇa, often through yogic processes that involve the development of a perfected body.

sādhu - in the Hindu tradition, a virtuous or holy man, one who is pure, honorable, righteous, and well-considered in his judgments. The term is often used generically to refer to renunciates or ascetics (called *saṃnyāsins*, q.v.) and to pious *bhaktas* (q.v.). Sometimes, in Bengali texts of other traditions during this same period, *sādhu* means a merchant.

sakhī - "companion"; vide *gopī*.

sakhya - "friendly," one of the five basic *bhāvas* (q.v.) emotional states of relationship between the worshiper and Kṛṣṇa. The relationship is as that of the *gopas* (q.v.) of Vṛndāvana, who wrestled with Kṛṣṇa, jumped on his back, and played all manner of rough and boyish games with him.

śakti - from the root *śak*-, meaning to be strong, powerful, or capable; power, might, efficacy; the generic title of the goddess (as worshipped by Śāktas); vide *prakṛti*. In Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava theology the world and everything in it is the result of Kṛṣṇa's *śaktis*: *māyā* (q.v.) is that *śakti* extrinsic to Kṛṣṇa and comprises the material world; *cit* (q.v.) is that *śakti* intrinsic to Kṛṣṇa, his innermost character and his true form (*svarūpa*, q.v.); and *jīva* (q.v.) is that in-between category of *śakti* which comprises all living beings, i.e., physical forms infused with life, both divine and not divine

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(*acintya bhedābheda*, q.v.). Additionally, Rādhā is conceived of as the ultimate *śakti* and Kṛṣṇa as the possessor or container of all *saktis* (*śaktimān*).

saṃkīrtana - vide *kīrtana*.

saṃnyāsa - from the stem *ny-ās*, "put aside" the life of the material world to follow religious asceticism. Vide *saṃnyāsin*.

saṃnyāsin, *saṃnyāsī* - *ny-ās*, "put aside" or "lay down"; a renunciate, ascetic, or religious mendicant, one who gives up the householder's life to devote himself fulltime to the religious path. Traditionally there are ten recognized orders of *saṃnyāsins* among Vedāntins (q.v.): Caitanya was initiated into the Bhārati order. Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava ascetics have come to be called *vairāgins*, literally "those who have divorced themselves" (*vi/vai*) from their "bodily passions" (*rāga*; n.b. *rāga* here is not a technical term in the sense defined above). Vide Gosvāmī.

saṃsāra - "the flowing together" (*saṃ* + the root *sṛ*-), the ocean of existence, referring to the constant flow of transmigration, the cycle of births, from which each living being (*jīva*, q.v.) desires escape (*mokṣa*, *mukti*, q.v.), the mundane world. This term is frequently invoked in the metaphors of salvation and is especially effective in Bengal with its riverine ecology.

śānta - one of the five *bhāvas* (q.v.), basic states of relationship of the worshiper to Kṛṣṇa: one whose condition is "peaceful" (*śānta*). The implication is that the worshiper looks upon Kṛṣṇa in his majestic (*aiśvarya*, q.v.) aspect, the relationship therefore being *bheda*, "separate," not personally and emotionally direct. It is for this reason that *śānta* is considered to be the most meager of the five states, and is by some commentators not considered to be a proper *bhāva* at all.

Śāntipura - the "citadel" (*pura*) of "repose" (*śānti*), the home of Caitanya's primary disciple Advaitācārya. Modern-day Śāntipura lies on the east bank of the Ganges, approximately seven miles south of Navadvīpa, which is situated on the west bank of the river; in the sixteenth century both lay on the east bank. Śāntipura today is, like Navadvīpa, a major Vaiṣṇava center.

śāstra - texts of regulation, instruction, and injunction in any of the multifarious forms of human endeavor; thus *kāma-śāstra*, "*śāstra* of love," *dharma-śāstra*, "*śāstra* of conduct," Vaiṣṇava *śāstra*, "*śāstra* which the Vaiṣṇavas consider particular to their belief (e.g., *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, *Bhagavad Gītā*).

sat - one of three fundamental qualities (*guṇa*, q.v.) of the godhead and of the self (*ātman*, q.v.), usually translated as "being" or "existence"; from the root *as*-, "to be." Vide *cit* and *ānanda*.

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śikṣā - instruction; as the *dīkṣā-guru* gives the initiate a *mantra* (q.v.) at the time of initiation into an ascetic order, the *śikṣā-guru* provides detailed instruction in the rules of that order and of the religious life generally. Kṛṣṇadāsa's *śikṣā-gurus* are those Gosvāmins with whom he spent the whole of his adult life in Vṛndāvana, most notably Rūpa, Jīva, and Raghunātha Dāsa.

śloka - in Sanskrit literature, the name of a specific verse form (first devised by Vālmīki in composition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, according to mythology), usually a fluid couplet broken into four feet of eight syllables each. In the present context the term refers to any Sanskrit verse used as a *sūtra* (q.v.) by Kṛṣṇadāsa.

smaraṇa - from the root *smṛ-* to remember; recalling and thinking about the name and exploits of Kṛṣṇa, one of the primary ritual injunctions (*vaidhī*, q.v.) for Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas. The term also refers to the more sophisticated forms of yogic *sādhanā* (q.v.) that visualize the realm of Kṛṣṇa and his various activities as a means of gaining access to Kṛṣṇa in heavenly Vṛndāvana (q.v.).

sneha - literally "unctuousnes" or "oiliness," a cloying affection that is the foundation of higher forms of love, but because of its immaturity is not completely selfless or pure; for its technical position in the hierarchy of love's growth, vide *prema*.

Śrī, *śrī* - a name of the goddess Lakṣmī. In the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* text, and commonly throughout India, the term is prefixed to a name, and signifies that the person so designated is to be honored. The literal meaning of the word is "wealth" and "good fortune," but in context it can function in much the same way as the English use of "Sir," "Mr." or "Ms."

śruti - "that which is heard," texts of revelation such as the Vedas (q.v.) and their *saṃhitās* (i.e., *brāhmaṇas*, *āraṇyakas*, *upaniṣads*); such texts have ultimate authority, greater, that is, than texts that have been "remembered" or *smṛti*, i.e., the *itihāsas* ("histories," such as the *Mahābhārata*) and the *purāṇas* ("stories of yore"). For Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is considered the last *śruti*, the fifth Veda, the culmination of its truth.

śūdra - vide *varṇa*.

sūtra - literally "thread"; in language descriptive of philosophical texts it signifies a pithy, aphoristic summary of an argument or principle, or an exemplary statement which can then be unpacked by commentary. Thus Kṛṣṇadāsa will state, usually as a *śloka* (q.v.) from some authoritative text, what the subject matter of his discourse will be, and proceed to explain this at great length and in specific relation to Caitanya.

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svarūpa - Kṛṣṇa's "intrinsic" (*sva*) "nature" or "form" (*rūpa*), identified with *cit śakti* (q.v.). This most fundamental aspect of Kṛṣṇa's identity is spiritual or immaterial, pure consciousness, with no admixture of the physical qualities of existence. As such the highest, most pleasing portion is the *hlādinī śakti*, identified as the bliss- (*ānanda*, q.v.) bestowing Rādhā.

svatantra - self dependent, independent, self willed; a characteristic of *svayaṃ bhagavān* (q.v.) referring to his independent nature as first cause, the undivided source of all pluralities, the uncreated creator, etc.

svayaṃ bhagavān - vide *bhagavān*.

tantra (text) - the root *tan-* means "spread" or "extend," and the class of texts called *tantras*, usually constructed in the form of an instructional dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī, deal both with ritual and with an often heterodox view of the world. There have been Vaiṣṇava *tantras* since the Pāñcarātra period, but in recent centuries in Bengal, *tantras* are usually classed, in the Vaiṣṇava literature, with *āgamas*, another type of ritually oriented text, usually undestood to be Śaiva. The effect of this literature on Vaiṣṇava thinking has not been insignificant.

tapas - "heat," most usually, in religious contexts, the heat generated by ascetic activity, including intense meditation; by extension, the term also means mortification or asceticism itself.

tattva - "that-ness"; quiddity, the intrinsic quality of a thing that makes it what it is; what is called in linguistics a "distinctive feature"; more broadly a "principle" or "truth," and in certain contexts best translated as "metaphysical reality." The latter meaning is especially significant in the philosophical context of the Vedānta (q.v.), in which the formula "that" (*tat*) is "you" (*tva*) states the identity of the individual with the *brahman* (q.v.). The latter, and usual, meaning is inappropriate in the present context because the idea of the identity of deity and worshiper is anathema to the Vaiṣṇavas except in a complexly modified form, i.e., *bhedābheda* (q.v., vide introduction). The translation "principle," or "metaphysical principle," is often apt, as in *pañca tattva* (q.v.), "five principles."

ṭhākura - an honorific term, sometimes applied to a deity or an image of a deity, and sometimes to a particularly revered person (e.g., Haridāsa Ṭhākura); the feminine, *ṭhākurāṇī*, is often used with reference to Rādhā, or to other significant women in the tradition, such as Caitanya's mother, Śacī Ṭhākurāṇī.

tīrtha - a crossing, ford; the term has been extended to indicate any holy site worthy of pilgrimage, often associated with those places where the deity descended to earth, or where the dismembered goddess' various parts fell. These places are

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remarkable for their power to enable the pilgrim to "cross over" the stormy waters of this worldly life (*saṃsāra*, q.v.). Among Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas, Vṛndāvana and the sites of the Vraja region (q.v.), Navadvīpa (q.v.), Puri (q.v.), and to a lesser extent Gayā (q.v.) are considered most auspicious.

tribhaṅga - "thrice-bent," a term descriptive of the charming and graceful posture of Kṛṣṇa as he plays his flute: his body is bent at the neck, waist, and knee.

tripadī - "three-footed," in Bengali metrics a variation of *payāra* (q.v.) meter. A form usually used for lyric passages and capable of considerable variation and subtlety, the *tripadī* presents a variety of rhyme schemes, e.g., aab, ccb; abc, abc; aac; bbc; etc. In the translation an effort has been made to preserve the *tripadī* structure to set it off from the more prosaic *payāra*.

tulasī, tulsī - a kind of basil (*ocymum sanctum*), venerated by Vaiṣṇavas. According to the *Devī Bhāgavata*, Lakṣmī, wife of Viṣṇu, herself became the basil plant, accounting for its holiness; in other *purāṇas tulasī* is churned from the ocean of milk and on occasion embodies various female figures, many of whom were cursed to become the plant, but in that process become dear to forms of Viṣṇu. Every Vaiṣṇava family will keep one of the plants in the courtyard or on the front stoop of the house, and there are careful instructions in Vaiṣṇava texts as to how it should be treated.

-vāda - suffix meaning "doctrine" or "argument"; thus *māyāvāda*, "the doctrine that treats of *māyā*" (q.v.), i.e., *advaita* (q.v.).

-vādī, -vādin - suffix meaning "the follower of a *vāda*," e.g., *māyāvādī* or *māyāvādin*, an *advaitin* or follower of the philosophy of Śaṅkara.

vaidhī - vide *vidhi*.

Vaikuṇṭha - the heaven of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa. According to Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava cosmography, Vaikuṇṭha is divided into realms that become domiciles for devotees according to their emotional proclivities and devotional accomplishments. The innermost realm is Goloka (q.v.) or Vṛndāvana (q.v.), whose inhabitants enjoy frequent interaction with Kṛṣṇa in his loving play with the *gopas* and *gopīs* (q.v.), corresponding to the most intimate forms of *bhakti* (q.v.), the *mādhurya* (q.v.); succeeding realms include Mathurā and Dvārakā, these emphasizing Kṛṣṇa's nature as lord (*aiśvarya*, q.v.); the set ends finally with the *paravyoman* region, in appearance not unlike the effulgent aureole surrounding the sun, which is reserved for practitioners of the Vedānta, a formless eternity.

vaiśya - vide *varṇa*.

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vāma - "left" or "left-handed," e.g., that which is deviant or crooked, which departs from ordinary, or in the case of religion, from orthodox, "straight-line" behavior. Rādhā's playfulness in her early flirtation with Kṛṣṇa is often said to be *vāma*: a little tricky, but with a feeling of light-heartedness, and charmingly unpredictable. In other contexts the term is heavier, e.g., "left-handed" *tantras* (q.v.) are those texts which propound rituals which are diametrically opposite to those of orthodox brahmanism.

Vaṅga - the region of eastern Bengal, roughly the central portions of contemporary Bangladesh; during the life of a Caitanya a relatively unsettled place that was expanding in populations, both Hindu and Muslim, but also as the entry point for a number of Europeans who were just beginning to trickle into the region.

varṇa, varṇāśramadharma - literally meaning "color," the term *varṇa* signifies the traditional four-way division of society into *brāhmaṇas* or priests (also called *vipra*, "inspired" or "wise," and *dvija*, "twice-born"); *kṣatriya* or warriors; *vaiśyas* or settlers, farmers; and *śūdras* or servants (*Ṛg Veda* 10.90.12). The term *varṇāśramadharma*, which the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* text says should not be recognized by Vaiṣṇavas, means acceptance of this traditional social division plus that of the *āśramas* (q.v.), the four progressive divisions of an individual's life: *brahmacarya*, studentship; *gṛhasthya*, householding; *vānaprasthya*, dwelling in the forest; and *saṃnyāsa* (q.v.), renunciation. Traditionally the *puruṣārthas* (q.v.) are included in this schema, but are not promoted by the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas.

vaśa, vaśya - "control," usually the impelling power of *bhakti* (q.v.), that yokes Kṛṣṇa (or Caitanya) to his devotees, bringing them to his attention and granting them direct access.

vāsanā - the effect of something from the past that remains in the mind; the present effect of past perceptions. Sometimes the *vāsanās* are considered to be that part of a personality which continues from birth to birth, accounting not only for such phenomena as *déja vu*, but also predispositions of personality. Vide *karma*.

vātsalya - "affectionate," "the love of a parent for a child," one of the five basic *bhāvas* (q.v.) or states of relationship between Kṛṣṇa and the devotee. In this state one offers Kṛṣṇa food, dresses and plays with him, and in general acts toward him as did his foster parents Yaśodā and Nanda in Vṛndāvana.

Veda - from the root *vid-*, "to know," the oldest and most celebrated class of texts in the Hindu tradition, deemed to contain the original revelations of the ancient sages. The Hindu tradition conceives of itself as the culmination or fulfillment of this original revelation and the Vaiṣṇavas are no exception, promoting the

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exploits of Kṛṣṇa contained in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, and by extension those of Caitanya, as the apex of this truth. In the *Caitanya caritāmṛta* text the term often means "orthodoxy," i.e., the *varṇāśrama dharma* (q.v.). Vide *purāṇa*.

Vedānta - the end (*anta*) of the Vedas (q.v.); that form of monistic belief (*advaita*, q.v.) that proposes the ultimate unity of the self (*ātman*, q.v.) with the principle of cosmic unity called *brahman* (q.v.). In the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, Vedānta is seemingly often used indiscriminately to refer to any philosophical system that opposes the qualified non-dualism of the *bhedābheda* (q.v.) school espoused by Caitanya and developed by the Gosvāmins.

Vedāntin - a follower of one of the Vedānta schools, especially the *advaita* (q.v.) of Śaṅkara.

vidhi - rule, injunction, ordinance, directed rite; ritual acts that are enjoined by scripture and which provide the foundation of ritual practice. In Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava practice, *vidhi* is contrasted with *rāgānugā* (q.v.), the spontaneous following of passion. *Vaidhī* is "according to the *vidhi*." Vide *sādhanā*.

vilāsa - vide *līlā*; also a technical name for a class of divine manifestations or *avatāras* (q.v.).

viraha - the pain of separation of lover and beloved, it is a condition common in the poetic world of India, but used with particular effectiveness in the lyric poetry describing the love affair of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. In theological interpretation the condition stands for the separation of the worshiper from God, the *bhakta* (q.v.) from Kṛṣṇa.

Vraja - region (*maṇḍala*) around Mathurā, roughly bounded by the Yamuṇā River on its east, and including the twelve forests of Vṛndāvana (q.v.), Gokula, and Mount Govarddhana.

Vṛndāvana - "the forest of Vṛndā (the goddess of the place)": the region around Mathurā, to the south of contemporary Delhi; it is also the region in which the myth of Kṛṣṇa as related in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and later texts was acted out. Being thus sanctified as Kṛṣṇa's *dhāma* (q.v.), it was also the holy place where the Gosvāmins (q.v.) settled to establish the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava school of Vaiṣṇavism. It is still a place of pilgrimage (*tīrtha*, q.v.) for devotees from all over India, for whom the circumambulation of the hallowed spots within the region—many of which were "rediscovered" by the Gosvāmins—is particularly efficacious.

yavana - "Ionian" or "Greek," later coming to be applied to Muslims and finally, to any foreigner. At the time of the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* text its meaning is clearly "Muslim"; the term is often used synonymously with *mleccha* (q.v.), "barbarian."

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yugāvatāra - descent of Kṛṣṇa to restore *dharma* (q.v.) and correct the excesses of *adharma* (i.e., anything that goes against *dharma*, q.v.). Each age (*yuga*) has a religious practice and color symbolism appropriate to it: Satya or Kṛta has *dhyāna*, meditation, and the color white; Tretā has *yajña*, sacrifice, and the color red; Dvāpara has *pūjā* (q.v.), temple worship, and the color blue-black; Kali, the final age, has *saṃkīrtana* (q.v.), celebration of the name of Kṛṣṇa, and the color yellow or gold. In this text, Kṛṣṇa as *svayaṃ bhagavān* appears as Kṛṣṇa in the Dvāpara Age and as Caitanya in the Kali Age.

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Names and Epithets of Kṛṣṇa

Acyuta - "he who is not (*a-*) perishable (*cyuta*)," and epithet of Viṣṇu in the *Amarkośa.*

Ādipuruṣa - "the first (*ādi*) man (*puruṣa*)," an epithet of Viṣṇu, see e.g., *Raghuvaṃśa* 10.6.

Adhokṣaja - "he who was born (*-ja*) beneath (*adhas*) the axle (*ukṣa*)," an epithet of Kṛṣṇa; see e.g., *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.9.14. Vettam Mani, *Purāṇic Encyclopedia*, translates it "he who is not discernible by the senses."

Anagha - "he who is without (*an-*) impurity (*agha*)," e.g., *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.29.39.

Ajita - "he who is not (*a-*) conquered (*jita*)," e.g., *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 12.12.69.

Bālagopāla - "Kṛṣṇa the cowherd (*gopāla*, q.v.) as a boy (*bāla*)," passim.

Damodara, "He who has a rope (*dama*) around his waist (*udara*)"; when Kṛṣṇa was a child, his mother Yaśodā sought to tie him to a mortar, but could not find rope adequate to the task; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.9.12-17.

Gadādhara - "the holder (*dhara*) of the club (*gadā*)," an epithet of Viṣṇu, who stood guard at the sacrifice if King Gaya; see *Vāmana Purāṇa* 76.

Giridhara - "he who holds (*dhara*) the mountain (*giri*)"; Kṛṣṇa held the mountain Govarddhana over Vraja to protect the people and cattle of that place from a storm sent by Indra when they failed to worship him; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.25.19-26.

Gopāla - "the protector (*pāla*)of cows (*go*)"; a name favoring Kṛṣṇa's benign and intimate side exhibited during his childhood and youth in Vraja, passim.

Gopendranandana - "the son (*nandana*, lit., "he who gladdens") of the lord (*indra*) of the cowherds (*gopa*)," i.e., the son of Kṛṣṇa's foster father Nanda, passim.

Gopīnātha - "the lord (*nātha*) of the *gopīs*, passim.

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Govarddhanadhara - "he who holds (*dhara*) the hill named Govarddhana (i.e., "that which increases [*varddhana*] cows [*go*])," vide Giridhara.

Govinda - "the keeper (*vinda*) of cattle (*go*)," e.g., *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.27.25 and passim.

Jagadīśa - "the lord (*īśa*) of the world (*jagat*)," see e.g., *BhG* 1.5ff and *Gītagovinda*, passim.

Janārdana - "he who agitates (*ardana*) people (*jana*)," e.g., *Mahābhārata, Udyoga parva* 70.6.

Kān, Kānu, Kānhu - an affectionate name of Kṛṣṇa; the form is found through, especially, the lyric poetry, and is, according to Sukumar Sen's *Etymological Dictionary of Bengali*, a *tadbhāva* form of **kṛṣṇuka*. The final *-u*, in Bengali and in many Indian languages, including some Dravidian ones, is a diminutive or affectionate suffix.

Keśava - "he who has a full, handsome head of hair (*keśa*)," an epithet of Kṛṣṇa through the *Mahābhārata* and many other texts.

Madanamohana - "he who bewilders or intoxicates (*mohana*) the god of love" (*madana*, i.e., "passion itself"), see *Padmā Purāṇa*, passim.

Mādhava - "a descendent of Madhu," who was of the Yādava clan; see *Harivaṃśa*.

Mādhavendra - "lord (*indra*) of the Mādhavas (q.v.).

Mukunda - a name of Viṣṇu in the *Mahābhārata*; the etymology is uncertain, though it may be the "giver (*-da*) of freedom or liberation (*muku/mukha/mukta*)."

Nandanandana - vide Gopendranandana.

Rāmānujā - "he who is born (*-jā*) after (*anu*) Rāma; the Rāma referred to here is Balarāma, who was the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa; see *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.30.12.

Śauri - "heroic," a patronymic of Vasudeva in MBh; *CC* 2.22.*śl*.42 quotes *Haribhaktivilāsa* 10.224 and *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* 1.2.51.

Vaṃśivadana - "he who plays (*vadana*) the bamboo flute (*vaṃśi*)"; it is the music of Kṛṣṇa's flute that summons the *gopīs* to the tryst in the forest (e.g., *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.29.34), and is thus a favorite epithet with the lyric poets (*padakartā*).

Vrajendranandana - "the son (*nandana*) of the lord (*indra*) of Vraja," i.e., the son of Nanda; vide Gopendranandana.

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Personae

The following is a list of prominent personae in the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*; for a complete listing of all individuals mentioned by name in the text, the reader should consult the indexes.

Avadhūta - see Nityānanda.

Ācārya - see Advaita.

Advaita, Advaita Ācārya, Advaitācārya - an orthodox Varendra *brāhmaṇa* residing in Śāntipura and close companion of Caitanya; it was his call to Kṛṣṇa that caused the *avatāra* of Caitanya. As his name suggests, he was a former *advaitin*; and he was believed to be Sadāśiva in the *pañca tattva* doctrine. His chief wife was Sītādevī, herself a prominent devotee and mother of Acyutānanda, who became a member of Caitanya's personal religious lineage. Advaita was also known as Kamalākṣa or Kamalakānta.

Āi - Śacī, mother of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya.

Caitanya - Kṛṣṇa Caitanya.

Gadādhara Paṇḍita - a Varendra *brāhmaṇa*, Caitanya's close companion from youth; he was believed to be Rādhā or one of the *gopīs* in the *pañca tattva* doctrine. He was affectionately known by the diminutive Gadāi.

Gaura - "the golden one," Kṛṣṇa Caitanya.

Gaurahari - "the golden Kṛṣṇa," Kṛṣṇa Caitanya.

Gauracandra - "the golden moon," Kṛṣṇa Caitanya.

Gauradhāma - the "repository (of divinity)" that is Gaura, "the golden one," Kṛṣṇa Caitanya replete with all of the resources of full divinity, *svayaṃ bhagavān*.

Gaurāṅga - "the golden-limbed one," Kṛṣṇa Caitanya.

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Gaurasundara - "the handsome golden one," Kṛṣṇa Caitanya.

Gopāla Bhaṭṭa - one of the six Gosvāmins, a *brāhmaṇa* from Śrīraṅgama in the South, he was a ritual specialist who composed the *Haribhaktivilāsa* often quoted by Kṛṣṇadāsa.

Haridāsa Ṭhākura - a converted Muslim whose name became synonymous with the chanting of the name of Kṛṣṇa, he was often used as an illustration of the power of devotion to overcome temptation and misery, e.g., he was whipped through twenty-two market places by the local *qazi* for apostasy, and was unsuccessfully tempted by a prostitute, whom he converted.

Īśvara Purī - a disciple of Mādhavendra Purī and the *dīkṣā guru* of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya and prominent among Vaiṣṇavas. It was a meeting with Īśvara Purī in the city of Gayā where Caitanya had gone to perform the funerary obsequies (*śrāddha*) for his deceased father that prompted Caitanya's change of heart, leading to his initiation and public acceptance of the path of *bhakti*.

Jagannātha Miśra - Caitanya's father, a *brāhmaṇa* from Navadvīpa who was originally from Śrīhaṭṭa or Sylhet distict in East Bengal. He made his living as a *paṇḍita*, a capacity for which he apparently trained his second son, Viśvambhara (i.e., Kṛṣṇa Caitanya); he died shortly thereafter. He is often called Purandara; his wife's name was Śacī.

Jīva Gosvāmin - the nephew of Rūpa and Sanātana, probably the most gifted theologian of the early community in Vṛndāvana and author of numerous texts, including the *Ṣaṭ-* or *Bhāgavata-sandarbha*, *Harināmāmṛta-vyākharaṇa*, and *Gopāla-campu*.

Kavikarṇapūra - the son of Śivānanda Sena, he was born Paramānanda Sena and later given the title "Ear Ornament (*karṇapūra*) of Poets (*kavi*)" by Caitanya for composing an extemporaneous Sanskrit verse in praise of Kṛṣṇa. At an early age he wrote the Sanskrit biography, *Kṛṣṇacaitanyacaritāmṛta Mahākāvya*, and as an old man the drama, *Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka*, which Kṛṣṇadāsa used extensively.

Keśava Bhāratī - a Varendra *brāhmaṇa* and disciple of Mādhavendra Purī, the *guru* who initiated Caitanya as a *saṃnyāsin*.

Kṛṣṇa Caitanya - "He who makes the world conscious of Kṛṣṇa"; the ascetic son of *brāhmaṇa* Jagannātha Miśra, born Viśvambhara in the town of Navadvīpa where he lived until age twenty-four; at that age he renounced the householder's life and spent the next six years wandering through India on pilgrimage and teaching;

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the last eighteen years he lived in the city of Puri in Orissa. He was believed to be Kṛṣṇa, *svayaṃ bhagavān*, Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, various *avatāras*, and in dual incarnation, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in a single body. His other names include Caitanya, Gaura, Gauracandra, Gaurāṅga, Gaurasundara, Mahāprabhu, Nimāi, Prabhu, Śacīnandana.

Lakṣmīpriyā - Caitanya's first wife, daughter of the Navadvīpa *brāhmaṇa* Vallabha Ācārya. Lakṣmīpriyā died prematurely, possibly from snakebite, when Caitanya was travelling in East Bengal shortly after their marriage.

Mādhavendra Purī - the prominent *guru* of Caitanya's own *guru*, Īśvara Purī, thus Caitanya's *paramaguru*.

Mahāprabhu - "great master" or "great lord," Kṛṣṇa Caitanya.

Mukunda Datta - a singer (*kīrtanīyā*) and close companion of Caitanya in Navadvīpa. Mukunda authored numerous verses in praise of Caitanya.

Murāri Gupta - Caitanya's childhood companion in Navadvīpa and schoolmate in the Sanskrit *ṭola* of Gaṅgādāsa Paṇḍita; he was a *vaidya*, also formerly of Śrīhaṭṭa. He composed the oldest extant Sanskrit biography of Caitanya, *Kṛṣṇacaitanyacaritāmṛta*, and was the only biographer to know Caitanya well.

Narahari Sarakāra - a *vaidya* from Śrīkhaṇḍa, personal devotee of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, and a writer of Bengali lyrics in praise of him; Narahari also composed the theological work, *Kṛṣṇabhajanāmṛta*, in Sanskrit.

Nimāi - a pet name of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya given by the women of his house; this diminutive derives from the *nim* tree (<*nimba* [Skt], *azadirachta indica*), noted for its bitter leaves, thereby protecting Caitanya from the harm of demons and ghouls who would shy away from eating anything so foul.

Nitāi - a diminutive of the name Nityānanda, often used in tandem with Nimāi when the two are paired.

Nityānanda - an ascetic, so close a companion to Caitanya that he was accepted in Śacī's household in lieu of Caitanya's absent older brother. He was theologically believed to be Balarāma, Ananta, and Śeṣa in the *pañca tattva* doctrine; also called Nityānanda Svarūpa, Avadhūta, and by the affectionate name Nitāi. Nityānanda was the *guru* of Vṛndāvana Dāsa, the first Bengali biographer of Caitanya. Though very close to Caitanya he had a somewhat strained relationship with the other prominent *guru* of the tradition, Advaitācārya. Late in life Nityānanda abandoned his ascetic vows and married two daughters of a prominent Bengali devotee.

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Paramānanda Purī - a disciple of Mādhavendra Purī whom Caitanya met on his trip south and whom Kṛṣṇadāsa labels as one of two people truly understanding of Caitanya's nature.

Prabhu - "lord" or "master," Kṛṣṇa Caitanya; the term occasionally refers to Nityānanda or Advaita at which point Caitanya is called Mahāprabhu.

Pratāparudra - the last great Gajapati king of Orissa and who ruled during Caitanya's lifetime (r. 1497-1540 AD); he was protector of the Jagannātha temple and personal devotee of Caitanya. He may have commissioned Kavikarṇapūra to write the biographical drama of Caitanya, the *Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka*.

Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa - the son of the Vārāṇasī *brāhmaṇa* devotee, Tapana Miśra, he was one of the six Gosvāmins in Vṛndāvana, especially well-versed in the traditional *śāstras*.

Raghunātha Dāsa - companion to Caitanya and in the personal charge of Svarūpa Dāmodara in Puri, he later became a Gosvāmin in Vṛndāvana. As *śikṣā guru*, he taught Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja the fundamental theology of the *pañca tattva* doctrine attributed to Svarūpa Dāmodara and provided many of the details of Caitanya's later days in Puri, the outline of which can be found in the *Caitanyāṣṭaka* and *Gaurāṅgastavakalpataru* of his collected *Stavāvalī*.

Rāmānanda Rāya - minister to king Pratāparudra, he met Caitanya when the latter was traveling south, at which meeting he is reported to have discerned Caitanya's identity as Rādhā and subsequently witnessed the only recorded revelation of Caitanya's androgynous dual incarnation (*Caitanya Caritāmṛta* 2.8); later he lived near Caitanya in Puri. Before meeting Caitanya he had already composed the Vaiṣṇava drama, *Jagannāthavallabha Nāṭaka*.

Rūpa Gosvāmin - a high-ranking secretary in the court of Husain Shāh (r. 1494-1518 AD), he used the title Dabīr Khās, prior to joining Caitanya. He was descended of Karṇāṭa *brāhmaṇas* who settled in Rāmakeli not far from Navadvīpa. One of the two premier theologians among the Gosvāmins, he was sent to Vṛndāvana by Caitanya to establish a systematic basis for *bhakti*. Rūpa wrote numerous texts on *rasa śāstra* and poetics, including the *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* and *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* which Kṛṣṇadāsa utilitizes so extensively, dramas, such as the oft-quoted *Vidagdhamādhava* and *Lalitamādhava*, *kāvyas*, etc. Rūpa was brother to Sanātana, uncle to Jīva, the other prominent theologian, and one of Kṛṣṇadāsa's *śikṣā gurus*.

Śacī, Śaci-mā - Caitanya's mother, also called Āi, bore eight daughters, all of whom died, before mothering Caitanya's older brother Viśvarūpa, who disappeared after

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his renunciation at a young age, and then Viśvambhara, i.e., Caitanya. Śacī survived Caitanya, living out her final years in the care of the Vaiṣṇavas of Navadvīpa and with Caitanya's second wife, Viṣṇupriyā.

Śacīnandana - "son of Śacī," Kṛṣṇa Caitanya.

Sanātana Gosvāmin - brother of Rūpa, he used the title Sākar Mallik in his capacity as an official in Husain Shāh's (r. 1497-1518 AD) ministry. Prior to joining Caitanya he studied with Vidyāvācaspati, the brother of Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya. Sanātana was sent to Vṛndāvana by Caitanya where he composed several poetic, ritual, and commentarial works, notably the *Bṛhadbhāgavatāmṛta* and *Bṛhadvaiṣṇavatoṣaṇī*.

Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya - a prominent Vedāntin, influential scholar, and personal adviser to the Gajapati king, Pratāparudra (r. 1497-1540 AD), in Puri, he was converted by Caitanya shortly after the latter's arrival. He was also the author of short devotional works on Caitanya, e.g., *Caitanyāṣṭaka Stotra*, *Caitanyasahasranāma* and at least seven *padas* found in Rūpa's anthology, *Padyāvalī*. Sārvabhauma suggested the all-important meeting between Rāmānanda Rāya and Caitanya; he also made numerous arrangements for the Bengali devotees on their annual pilgrimage to Puri to visit Caitanya during the Car Festival. Sārvabhauma is often referred to by the name Vāsudeva.

Śivānanda Sena - a *vaidya* of Navadvīpa, he was an early devotee of Caitanya who, apparently because of his wealth and extensive business contacts, was designated to organize and lead the annual trips to Puri for the Bengali devotees. Śivānanda, an author of Bengali lyrics on Caitanya, was the father of Kavikarṇapūra, the devotee who while living in Puri authored several Sanskrit works devoted to Caitanya, including *Kṛṣṇacaitanyacaritāmṛta Mahākāvya* and *Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka*.

Śrīvāsa (Śrīnivāsa) Paṇḍita - a wealthy *brāhmaṇa* in whose Navadvīpa house many of Caitanya's early devotional activities, especially group *kīrtana* sessions, took place. Śrivāsa represents the hosts of devotees in the *pañca tattva* doctrine; sometimes in the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* text he is called Śrīnivāsa.

Svarūpa Dāmodara - an ascetic, formerly known as Puruṣottama Ācārya, he became Caitanya's personal amanuensis in Puri. The first biography of Caitanya is attributed to Svarūpa, although it is no longer extant; it was probably a short composition (*kaḍacā*) in which the theological doctrine of the *pañca tattva* was most likely articulated. He was the personal mentor of Raghunātha Dasa Gosvāmin, whom Kṛṣṇadāsa acknowledges for his understanding of the *pañca tattva*, etc.

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Tapana Miśra - a *brāhmaṇa* residing in Vārāṇasī who was a favored devotee of Caitanya, he was the father of Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa, one of the six Gosvāmins of Vṛndāvana.

Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma - vide Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya.

Viṣṇupriyā - Daughter of a *brāhmaṇa* of Navadvīpa named Sanātana Miśra, she was Caitanya's second wife, whom he abandoned to become an ascetic. She became the object of worship among certain devotees, which however is a fact not even mentioned by Kṛṣṇadāsa. She is also credited with having installed the first image (wooden) of Caitanya, which was for her personal worship.

Viśvambhara Miśra - Kṛṣṇa Caitanya's given name and title as a householder in Navadvīpa.

Viśvarūpa Miśra - Caitanya's older brother who became an ascetic at an early age; he was called Śaṅkarāraṇya after his initiation. To search for his brother gave Caitanya his reason for embarking on the southern pilgrimage, but he was reported dead in Pāṇḍupura, in contemporary Karnataka.

Vṛndāvana Dāsa - a Navadvīpa disciple of Nītyānanda, he is the author of the first Bengali biography of Caitanya, the *Caitanya Bhāgavata*, for which he is identified within the devotional community as the Vyāsa of the Caitanya-*līlā*.

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Bibliographies

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Bibliographies

The bibliographies are organized to emphasize the biographical trend that culminated in the central text of the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

Editions of Source Texts. The editions of the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* have been listed chronologically with their complete titles, apart from the standard appelation of *Śrī*, unless that is part of the title of its English translation. Multiple editions of many other texts have been listed, not only to serve as a reference guide, but as a way of indicating the strong positive correlation between a book's importance, its popularity, and the number of editions it has seen. This list is representative, but in no way exhaustive; and it should be noted that the resurgence of printing in the Vraja region is not adequately covered here (many of those publications are Sanskrit with Hindi translations and commentaries), nor indeed many of the publications that marked the celebration of the fifth birth centenary of Caitanya in Bengal.

Monographs and Studies. The accompanying list of monographs and studies includes not only the expected academic production, but also numerous works by academically inclined devotees from within the tradition. The scholastic portion of that bibliography is perhaps more systematically represented than the source texts.

Articles. The articles are considerably more haphazard, generally reflecting those issues that are germane to materials covered in the Introduction. A complete list of the journal articles in Bengali alone would considerably exceed the space given to this entire bibliography. The reader is directed to a short article by the editor, together with Ms. Hena Basu of Calcutta, that catalogs one hundred twenty-two separate Vaiṣṇava or predominately Vaiṣṇava journals published during the last century and a half (see the entry: Sṭuyārṭa, Ṭoni Ke and Henā Basu, "Bāṃlāya prakāśita vaiṣṇava sāmayika patrikā: ekṭi tathya nirdeśika suci," *Baṅgīya sāhitya pariṣat patrikā* 90, no. 2 [1390 BS]: 1-8).

Dates. There are five different dating systems in use and except in the section pertaining to the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, no effort has been made to convert to the approximate western equivalent. For those conversion formulae, see "A Note on Dating Systems" on p. xxxv of the front matter.

TKS

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I. BIOGRAPHIES OF KṚṢṆA CAITANYA: TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

A. CAITANYA CARITĀMṚTA [Chronological Order of Publication]

Caitanya Caritāmṛta of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. Edited by Jñānacandra Siddhānta Bāgiśa. Calcutta: Prasannacandra Bhaṭṭācārya at Jñānāñjana Yantra, [*antya līlā*] 1251 BS [c.1844]; [*ādi* and *madhya līlā*], 1252 BS [1845].

Caitanya Caritāmṛta of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. Edited by Rādhāmādhava Vidyāvagīśa. Calcutta: Veṇimādhava De Co., 1773 *śaka* [c. 1851]

Caitanya Caritāmṛta of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. Calcutta: Haridāsa Cūḍāmaṇī [under licensed agreement with Veṇimādhava De], 1776 *śaka* [c. 1854].

Caitanya Caritāmṛta of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja [*ādimadhyāntalīlātmakaṃ*]. With the commentary *Ānandacandrika ṭippanī* [of Utsavānanda]. Calcutta: Veṇimādhava Dera Vidyāratna Yantra, 1780 *śaka* [c. 1858].

Caitanya Caritāmṛta of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. Calcutta: Rāmakānai Dāsa at Sudhāsindhu Yantra, 1275 BS [1868].

Caitanya Caritāmṛta of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. Calcutta: Akṣayakumāra Rāya and Co. at Harihara Press, 1285 BS [1878].

Śrīśrīcaitanyacaritāmṛta grantha: ādimadhyāntalīlātmakaṃ of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. Calcutta: Vinodavihārī Śīla, 1285 BS [c. 1878].

Caitanya Caritāmṛta of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. With the commentary *Ānandacandrika ṭippanī* [of Utsavānanda]. Calcutta: Vaneśvara Ghoṣa, [*ādi līlā*], 1291 BS [c. 1884]; [*madhya līlā*], Calcutta: Nṛsiṃhakumāra Ghoṣa, n.d.; [*antya līlā*], Calcutta: Vaneśvara Ghoṣa, n.d.

Caitanya Caritāmṛta of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. Edited with *ṭīkā* and *vyākhyā* by Jagadīśvara Gupta. Calcutta: Deviprasanna Rāya Caudhurī, 1293 BS [c. 1886]; resissued 1296 BS [c. 1889].

Caitanya Caritāmṛta of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. Edited by Nagendrakumāra Rāya. Ḍhākā: by the editor at Āṣutoṣa Press, [*ādi līlā*] 1312 BS [c. 1905]; [*madhya līlā*] 1319 BS [c. 1912]; [*antya līlā*], by the editor at East Bengal Printing and Publishing House, 1319 BS [c. 1912].

Caitanya Caritāmṛta of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. Edited by Mākhanalāla Dāsa Bhāgavatabhuṣaṇa. With the *payāra ṭīkā* of Viśvanātha Cakravartī and the editor's commentary *Sudhāsañcāriṇī vyākhyā*. 3 vols. Calcutta: Candra and Co. and Oriental Printing Works, 1315 BS [c. 1908].

Caitanya Caritāmṛta of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. Edited by Upendranātha Mukhopādhyāya. Calcutta: Vasumatī Kāryālaya, 423 GA [c. 1909].

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B. SANSKRIT

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—	2.24.*śl.*41	2.24.92
—	2.25.*śl.*43	2.25.112
18.64-65	2.22.*śl.*23-24	2.22.34
18.66	2.8.*śl.*7	2.8.56
—	2.9.*śl.*22	2.9.242
—	2.22.*śl.*44	2.22.50
Bhāgavata Purāṇa		
1.1.1	2.8.*śl.*51	2.8.219
—	2.20.*śl.*59	2.20.297
—	2.25.*śl.*39	2.25.109
1.1.2	1.1.*śl.*37	1.1.50
—	2.24.*śl.*31	2.24.70
—	2.25.*śl.*40	2.25.109
1.1.3	2.25.*śl.*41	2.25.110
1.1.19	2.25.*śl.*42	2.25.110
1.1.23	2.24.*śl.*91	2.24.233

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Citation	CC *Śloka*	after CC verse
1.2.8	3.5.*śl.*2	3.5.8
1.2.11	1.2.*śl.*4	1.2.7
—	1.2.*śl.*12	1.2.51
—	2.20.*śl.*21	2.20.134
—	2.24.*śl.*22	2.24.54
—	2.24.*śl.*25	2.24.58
—	2.25.*śl.*27	2.25.105
1.2.26	2.24.*śl.*37	2.24.87
1.3.1	1.5.*śl.*13	1.5.70
—	2.20.*śl.*34	2.20.229
1.3.23	2.20.*śl.*30	2.20.216
1.3.28	1.2.*śl.*13	1.2.54
—	1.5.*śl.*11	1.5.67
—	2.9.*śl.*12	2.9.131
—	2.20.*śl.*20	2.20.133
—	2.25.*śl.*29	2.25.105
1.3.42	2.25.*śl.*37	2.25.108
1.3.45	2.24.*śl.*92	2.24.233
1.5.12	2.22.*śl.*4	2.22.15
1.5.18	2.24.*śl.*56	2.24.114
1.7.10	2.6.*śl.*15	2.6.167
—	2.17.*śl.*8	2.17.132
—	2.24.*śl.*2	2.24.3
—	2.24.*śl.*73	2.24.128
—	2.25.*śl.*47	2.25.112
1.7.11	2.24.*śl.*35	2.24.83
1.9.37	2.16.*śl.*2	2.16.143
1.9.42	1.2.*śl.*8	1.2.13
1.10.11	2.24.*śl.*30	2.24.69
1.11.39	1.2.*śl.*11	1.2.44
—	1.5.*śl.*14	1.5.72
1.13.10	1.1.*śl.*31	1.1.30
—	2.10.*śl.*2	2.10.10
—	2.20.*śl.*2	2.20.55
1.18.12	2.24.*śl.*80	2.24.139
1.18.13	2.22.*śl.*22	2.22.33
1.19.15	2.23.*śl.*10	2.23.11
1.19.33	3.7.*śl.*2	3.7.8
1.28.1	3.8.*śl.*6	3.8.72
2.1.9	2.24.*śl.*11	2.24.37
2.1.9	2.25.*śl.*45	2.25.112
2.1.15	2.22.*śl.*51	2.22.59
2.2.5	2.23.*śl.*58	2.23.56
2.2.8	2.24.*śl.*51	2.24.106
2.3.10	2.22.*śl.*13	2.22.23
—	2.24.*śl.*28	2.24.63

Citation	CC *Śloka*	after CC verse
—	2.24.*śl.*72	2.24.127
2.3.24	1.8.*śl.*4	1.8.21
2.4.17	2.22.*śl.*5	2.22.15
2.4.18	2.24.*śl.*64	2.24.117
—	2.24.*śl.*78	2.24.135
2.5.13	2.22.*śl.*11	2.22.21
2.6.32	2.20.*śl.*47	2.20.268
—	2.21.*śl.*9	2.21.28
2.6.42	1.5.*śl.*12	1.5.70
—	2.20.*śl.*35	2.20.229
2.7.40	2.24.*śl.*6	2.24.16
2.7.41	2.6.*śl.*18	2.6.212
2.7.42	2.21.*śl.*4	2.21.9
2.7.45	2.24.*śl.*69	2.24.123
2.9.10	2.20.*śl.*36	2.20.231
2.9.30	1.1.*śl.*21	1.1.28
—	2.25.*śl.*18	2.25.87
2.9.31	1.1.*śl.*22	1.1.28
—	2.25.*śl.*19	2.25.90
2.9.32	1.1.*śl.*23	1.1.28
—	2.24.*śl.*23	2.24.55
—	2.25.*śl.*20	2.25.93
2.9.33	1.1.*śl.*24	1.1.28
—	2.25.sl.21	2.25.98
2.9.34	1.1.*śl.*25	1.1.28
—	2.25.*śl.*23	2.25.103
2.9.35	1.1.*śl.*26	1.1.28
—	2.25.*śl.*22	2.25.101
2.10.1-2	1.2.*śl.*15	1.2.76
2.10.6	2.24.*śl.*43	2.24.93
3.2.12	2.21.*śl.*18	2.21.82
3.2.21	2.21.*śl.*7	2.21.26
3.2.23	2.22.*śl.*46	2.22.52
3.5.23	2.20.*śl.*38	2.20.234
3.5.24	2.25.*śl.*28	2.25.105
3.7.20	2.11.*śl.*8	2.11.23
3.9.3	2.25.*śl.*4	2.25.32
—	3.5.*śl.*6	3.5.118
3.9.4	2.25.*śl.*6	2.25.32
—	3.5.*śl.*7	3.5.118
3.9.11	1.3.*śl.*20	1.3.89
3.13.5	3.19.*śl.*4	3.19.66
3.15.25	2.24.*śl.*27	2.24.62
3.15.43	2.17.*śl.*9	2.17.133
—	2.24.*śl.*10	2.24.36
—	2.24.*śl.*34	2.24.82

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Citation	CC *Sloka*	after CC verse
—	2.25.*śl*.46	2.25.112
3.25.21	2.22.*śl*.34	2.22.47
3.25.24	1.1.*śl*.29	1.1.29
—	2.22.*śl*.38	2.22.48
—	2.23.*śl*.7	2.23.9
3.25.38	2.22.*śl*.71	2.22.92
3.26.19	2.20.*śl*.37	2.20.234
3.28.14	2.24.*śl*.52	2.24.106
3.29.11-12	1.4.*śl*.34-35	1.4.172
—	2.19.*śl*.22-23	2.19.149
3.29.13	1.4.*śl*.36	1.4.172
—	2.6.*śl*.23	2.6.242
—	2.9.*śl*.24	2.9.243
—	2.19.*śl*.24	2.19.149
—	3.3.*śl*.12	3.3.177
3.29.14	2.19.*śl*.25	2.19.149
3.31.33-34	2.22.*śl*.40-41	2.22.49
3.31.35	2.22.*śl*.39	2.22.49
3.33.6	2.16.*śl*.3	2.16.183
—	2.18.*śl*.10	2.18.115
3.33.7	2.11.*śl*.14	2.11.176
—	2.19.*śl*.5	2.19.67
—	3.16.*śl*.4	3.16.24
4.3.23	1.4.*śl*.10	1.4.57
4.21.31	2.24.*śl*.81	2.24.140
4.29.46	2.11.*śl*.12	2.11.104
4.31.14	2.22.*śl*.26	2.22.37
5.5.2	2.22.*śl*.35	2.22.47
5.6.18	1.8.*śl*.3	1.8.16
5.14.43	2.23.*śl*.12	2.23.13
—	3.6.*śl*.2	3.6.135
5.14.44	2.9.*śl*.25	2.9.243
5.18.12	1.8.*śl*.5	1.8.53
—	2.22.*śl*.33	2.22.43
5.19.12	2.22.*śl*.20	2.22.32
5.19.26	2.22.*śl*.14	2.22.26
—	2.24.*śl*.32	2.24.72
—	2.24.*śl*.74	2.24.128
6.2.49	3.3.*śl*.5	3.3.59
—	3.3.*śl*.11	3.3.176
6.4.31	2.6.*śl*.6	2.6.101
6.14.5	2.19.*śl*.19	2.19.132
—	2.25.*śl*.14	2.25.69
6.17.28	2.9.*śl*.26	2.9.243
—	2.19.*śl*.38	2.19.175
7.5.23-24	2.9.*śl*.18-19	2.9.240

Citation	CC *Sloka*	after CC verse
7.5.32	2.22.*śl*.21	2.22.32
—	2.25.*śl*.16	2.25.69
7.9.10	2.20.*śl*.4	2.20.55
—	3.4.*śl*.5	3.4.64
—	3.16.*śl*.3	3.16.24
7.11.28	2.15.*śl*.6	2.15.261
7.15.40	3.6.*śl*.7	3.6.307
8.1.1	2.25.*śl*.17	2.25.84
9.4.18-20	2.22.*śl*.59-61	2.22.78
9.4.67	1.4.*śl*.37	1.4.172
—	2.24.*śl*.66	2.24.119
9.4.68	1.1.*śl*.30	1.1.30
9.5.16	2.8.*śl*.12	2.8.60
9.19.17	3.2.*śl*.2	3.2.117
(quoting *Manu Saṃhitā*)		
9.24.65	2.21.*śl*.20	2.21.103
10.2.32	2.22.*śl*.10	2.22.20
—	2.24.*śl*.40	2.24.92
—	2.24.*śl*.47	2.24.95
—	2.25.*śl*.3	2.25.29
10.2.40	2.20.*śl*.40	2.20.256
10.4.46	2.15.*śl*.8	2.15.264
—	2.25.*śl*.15	2.25.69
10.8.4	2.8.*śl*.3	2.8.37
10.8.13	1.3.*śl*.6	1.3.28
—	2.6.*śl*.3	2.6.98
—	2.20.*śl*.48	2.20.280
10.8.45	2.19.*śl*.31	2.19.172
—	3.7.*śl*.8	3.7.27
10.8.46	2.8.*śl*.15	2.8.62
—	3.7.*śl*.7	3.7.26
10.9.14	2.19.*śl*.32	2.19.172
10.9.20	2.8.*śl*.16	2.8.62
10.9.21	2.8.*śl*.49	2.8.182
—	2.9.*śl*.11	2.9.121
—	2.24.*śl*.26	2.24.61
—	3.7.*śl*.4	3.7.23
10.10.34	2.20.*śl*.58	2.20.294
10.11.40	1.5.*śl*.17	1.5.120
10.12.11	2.8.*śl*.14	2.8.61
—	3.7.*śl*.6	3.7.26
10.13.37	1.5.*śl*.19	1.5.120
10.13.60	2.17.*śl*.3	2.17.36
10.14.3	2.8.*śl*.9	2.8.58
10.14.4	2.22.*śl*.6	2.22.16
—	2.24.*śl*.46	2.24.95

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Citation	CC *Śloka*	after CC verse
—	2.25.*śl.*2	2.25.29
10.14.7	2.21.*śl.*3	2.21.8
10.14.8	2.6.*śl.*22	2.6.234
—	3.9.*śl.*2	3.9.75
10.14.11	1.5.*śl.*9	1.5.62
10.14.14	1.2.*śl.*9	1.2.21
—	1.3.*śl.*13	1.3.54
—	1.6.*śl.*4	1.6.19
10.14.21	2.21.*śl.*2	2.21.7
10.14.29	2.6.*śl.*2	2.6.82
—	2.11.*śl.*11	2.11.91
10.14.32	2.6.*śl.*9	2.6.139
10.14.38	2.21.*śl.*6	2.21.21
—	2.21.*śl.*16	2.21.67
10.14.55	2.20.*śl.*23	2.20.136
10.15.6-7	2.24.*śl.*61-62	2.24.117
10.15.8	2.24.*śl.*75	2.24.135
10.15.14	1.5.*śl.*18	1.5.120
10.15.17	1.6.*śl.*7	1.6.57
10.15.35	1.13.*śl.*3	1.13.74
10.16.36	2.8.*śl.*34	2.8.113
—	2.9.*śl.*7	2.9.107
—	2.24.*śl.*15	2.24.40
10.18.24	2.19.*śl.*33	2.19.172
10.21.7	1.4.*śl.*23	1.4.133
10.21.9	3.16.*śl.*11	3.16.130
10.21.11	2.17.*śl.*2	2.17.34
10.21.14	2.24.*śl.*60	2.24.117
10.21.18	2.18.*śl.*5	2.18.29
—	3.14.*śl.*6	3.14.80
10.21.19	2.24.*śl.*76	2.24.135
10.22.25	1.14.*śl.*4	1.14.65
10.22.33	1.9.*śl.*5	1.9.41
10.22.35	1.9.*śl.*3	1.9.39
10.25.5	3.5.*śl.*9	3.5.128
10.28.39	1.4.*śl.*22	1.4.132
10.29.16	3.3.*śl.*6	3.3.78
10.29.38	3.4.*śl.*4	3.4.60
10.29.39	2.24.*śl.*13	2.24.38
—	3.15.*śl.*9	3.15.61
10.29.40	2.24.*śl.*16	2.24.41
—	3.17.*śl.*2	3.17.29
10.29.40.c-d	2.24.*śl.*17	2.24.43
10.29.48	3.15.*śl.*11	3.15.70
10.30.4	2.25.*śl.*26	2.25.104
10.30.7-8	3.15.*śl.*4-5	3.15.29
10.30.9	3.15.*śl.*3	3.15.29
10.30.11	3.15.*śl.*6	3.15.38
10.30.12	3.15.*śl.*7	3.15.44
10.30.28	1.4.*śl.*14	1.4.75
—	2.8.*śl.*25	2.8.75
10.30.37	2.19.*śl.*34	2.19.172
10.30.39	1.6.*śl.*10	1.6.61
10.31.1	2.2.*śl.*5	2.2.37
10.31.6	1.6.*śl.*8	1.6.59
10.31.9	2.14.*śl.*2	2.14.11
10.31.14	3.16.*śl.*9	3.16.109
10.31.15	1.4.*śl.*21	1.4.132
—	2.21.*śl.*21	2.21.103
10.31.16	2.19.*śl.*35	2.19.172
—	3.7.*śl.*10	3.7.31
10.31.19	1.4.*śl.*26	1.4.148
—	2.8.*śl.*47	2.8.176
—	2.18.*śl.*7	2.18.58
—	3.7.*śl.*9	3.7.30
10.32.2	1.5.*śl.*22	1.5.191
—	2.8.*śl.*18	2.8.63
—	2.8.*śl.*30	2.8.110
10.32.21	1.4.*śl.*27	1.4.149
10.32.22	1.4.*śl.*29	1.4.152
—	2.8.*śl.*22	2.8.71
—	3.7.*śl.*11	3.7.32
10.33.3	1.1.*śl.*33	1.1.37
10.33.6	2.8.*śl.*23	2.8.72
10.33.22	3.18.*śl.*2	3.18.23
10.33.25	2.14.*śl.*3	2.14.155
10.33.36	1.4.*śl.*4	1.4.30
10.33.39	3.5.*śl.*3	3.5.45
10.34.9	2.25.*śl.*12	2.25.65
10.35.9	2.8.*śl.*53	2.8.227
—	2.24.*śl.*77	2.24.135
10.35.11	2.24.*śl.*63	2.24.117
10.38.5	2.22.16	2.22.28
10.39.19	3.19.*śl.*3	3.19.42
10.40.7	2.20.*śl.*26	2.20.144
10.44.14	1.4.*śl.*24	1.4.133
—	2.21.*śl.*19	2.21.93
10.44.51	2.19.*śl.*27	2.19.169
10.46.31	2.20.*śl.*33	2.20.226
10.46.43	2.25.*śl.*5	2.25.32
10.47.21	1.6.*śl.*9	1.6.59
10.47.60	2.8.*śl.*17	2.8.63

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Citation	CC *Śloka*	after CC verse
—	2.8.*śl.*50	2.8.186
—	2.9.*śl.*9	2.9.112
—	3.7.*śl.*5	3.7.24
10.47.61	3.7.*śl.*12	3.7.34
10.47.66-67	1.6.*śl.*5-6	1.6.55
10.51.52	2.22.*śl.*17	2.22.29
—	2.22.*śl.*36	2.22.48
10.52.37	2.24.*śl.*14	2.24.39
10.52.43	3.4.*śl.*3	3.4.60
10.60.24	2.19.*śl.*30	2.19.171
10.68.37	1.5.sl.20	1.5.120
—	2.20.*śl.*42	2.20.261
10.69.2	1.1.*śl.*32	1.1.37
—	2.20.*śl.*25	2.20.142
10.81.16	1.17.*śl.*6	1.17.72
—	2.7.*śl.*4	2.7.139
10.82.44	1.4.*śl.*3	1.4.20
—	2.8.*śl.*20	2.8.69
—	2.13.*śl.*8	2.13.152
10.82.48	2.1.*śl.*8	2.1.73
—	2.13.*śl.*7	2.13.129
10.83.8	1.6.*śl.*11	1.6.62
10.83.11	1.6.*śl.*12	1.6.62
10.83.39	1.6.*śl.*13	1.6.62
10.87.14	2.15.*śl.*4	2.15.178
10.87.18	2.24.*śl.*55	2.24.112
—	2.24.*śl.*79	2.24.138
10.87.23	2.8.*śl.*48	2.8.180
—	2.9.*śl.*10	2.9.113
10.87.30a	2.19.*śl.*15	2.19.126
10.87.30b	2.19.*śl.*18	2.19.126
10.87.41	2.21.*śl.*5	2.21.10
10.88.3	2.20.*śl.*44	2.20.265
10.88.5	2.20.*śl.*45	2.20.265
10.88.26	2.22.*śl.*45	2.22.51
10.89.58	2.8.*śl.*33	2.8.113
10.90.15	2.23.*śl.*21	2.23.44
10.90.48	2.13.*śl.*4	2.13.75
11.2.30	2.22.*śl.*37	2.22.48
11.2.37	2.20.*śl.*11	2.20.105
—	2.24.*śl.*44	2.24.94
—	2.25.*śl.*32	2.25.106
11.2.40	1.7.*śl.*4	1.7.90
—	2.9.*śl.*20	2.9.241
—	2.23.*śl.*20	2.23.21
—	2.25.*śl.*34	2.25.107

Citation	CC *Śloka*	after CC verse
—	3.3.*śl.*9	3.3.170
11.2.45	2.8.*śl.*52	2.8.227
—	2.22.*śl.*30	2.22.42
—	2.25.*śl.*25	2.25.104
11.2.46-47	2.22.*śl.*31-32	2.22.42
11.2.55	2.25.*śl.*24	2.25.104
11.3.31	2.25.*śl.*33	2.25.107
11.5.2	2.22.*śl.*8	2.22.19
—	2.22.*śl.*52	2.22.59
—	2.24.*śl.*48	2.24.95
11.5.3	2.22.*śl.*9	2.22.19
—	2.22.*śl.*53	2.22.59
11.5.21	2.20.*śl.*49	2.20.280
11.5.24	2.20.*śl.*50	2.20.280
11.5.27	1.3.*śl.*7	1.3.30
—	2.20.*śl.*51	2.20.283
11.5.29	2.20.*śl.*52	2.20.283
11.5.31	1.3.*śl.*9	1.3.40
11.5.32	1.3.*śl.*10	1.3.40
—	2.6.*śl.*4	2.6.98
—	2.11.*śl.*10	2.11.88
—	2.20.*śl.*53	2.20.286
—	3.20.*śl.*2	3.20.8
11.5.36	2.20.*śl.*57	2.20.287
11.5.41	2.22.*śl.*62	2.22.79
11.5.42	2.22.*śl.*63	2.22.81
11.6.47	1.2.*śl.*6	1.2.11
11.6.64	2.15.*śl.*5	2.15.234
11.11.32	2.8.*śl.*6	2.8.56
—	2.9.*śl.*21	2.9.242
11.14.15	1.6.*śl.*14	1.6.88
11.14.19	2.24.*śl.*18	2.24.45
11.14.20	1.17.*śl.*5	1.17.71
—	2.20.*śl.*13	2.20.121
—	2.25.*śl.*31	2.25.106
—	3.4.*śl.*2	3.34.57
11.14.21	2.20.*śl.*14	2.20.121
—	2.25.*śl.*30	2.25.106
11.16.11	2.19.*śl.*17	2.19.126
11.17.27	1.1.*śl.*18	1.1.27
11.19.21-22	2.11.*śl.*5-6	2.11.23
11.19.36	2.19.*śl.*37	2.19.173
11.20.8	2.22.*śl.*19	2.22.31
11.20.9	2.9.*śl.*23	2.9.242
—	2.22.*śl.*25	2.22.36
11.20.31	2.22.*śl.*64	2.22.*śl.*82

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Citation	CC *Śloka*	after CC verse
11.21.42-43	2.20.*śl.*16-17	2.20.128
11.22.4	2.6.*śl.*7	2.6.101
11.23.57	2.3.*śl.*2	2.3.4
11.26.26	1.1.*śl.*28	1.1.29
11.28.4	3.4.*śl.*6	3.4.169
11.29.6	1.1.*śl.*19	1.1.28
—	2.22.*śl.*18	2.22.30
11.29.34	2.22.*śl.*49	2.22.54
—	3.4.*śl.*9	3.4.185
12.3.51-52	2.20.*śl.*54-55	2.20.287
12.12.69	2.17.*śl.*7	2.17.131
—	2.24.*śl.*12	2.24.37
12.13.15	2.25.*śl.*38	2.25.108
Bhāgavata Sandarbha of Jīva Gosvāmin		
1.2	1.3.*śl.*14	1.3.65
Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu of Rūpa Gosvāmin		
1.1.1	2.8.*śl.*31	2.8.111
1.1.2	2.19.*śl.*14	2.19.121
—	3.1.*śl.*56	3.1.156
1.1.12	2.19.*śl.*21	2.19.149
(quoting *Nārada Pañcarātra*)		
1.1.35	2.24.*śl.*58	2.24.115
1.1.36	1.8.*śl.*2	1.8.15
1.1.39	1.7.*śl.*5	1.7.93
(quoting *Haribhaktisudhodaya*)		
—	2.24.*śl.*9	2.24.29
—	3.3.*śl.*13	3.3.184
1.2.2	2.22.*śl.*50	2.22.55
1.2.8	2.22.*śl.*54	2.22.59
(quoting *Padmottara Purāṇa*)		
1.2.17	2.22.*śl.*27	2.22.39
1.2.18	2.22.*śl.*28	2.22.40
1.2.19	2.22.*śl.*29	2.22.41
1.2.22	2.19.*śl.*26	2.19.150
1.2.59	2.9.*śl.*8	2.9.109
—	2.9.*śl.*13	2.9.133
1.2.90-92	2.22.*śl.*55-56	2.22.75
1.2.103	2.20.*śl.*7	2.20.99
—	2.24.*śl.*57	2.24.114
1.2.154	2.1.*śl.*10	2.1.179
1.2.156	2.23.*śl.*18	2.23.19
1.2.233	2.17.*śl.*5	2.17.128
(quoting *Padma Purāṇa*)		
1.2.234	2.17.*śl.*6	2.17.130
1.2.238	2.22.*śl.*57	2.22.75
—	2.24.*śl.*71	2.24.126
1.2.239	1.5.*śl.*23	1.5.200
1.2.255	2.23.*śl.*49	2.23.56
1.2.262	2.22.*śl.*65	2.22.83
(quoting *Skānda Purāṇa*)		
—	2.24.*śl.*83	2.24.194
1.2.265	2.22.*śl.*58	2.22.77
(quoting *Padyāvalī*)		
1.2.270	2.22.*śl.*67	2.22.88
1.2.272	2.22.*śl.*66	2.22.85
1.2.278	1.5.*śl.*5	1.5.30
1.2.280	1.5.*śl.*6	1.5.32
(quoting *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*)		
1.2.285-86	1.4.*śl.*25	1.4.139
—	2.8.*śl.*46	2.8.174
1.2.292	2.22.*śl.*68	2.22.88
1.2.294	2.22.*śl.*70	2.22.91
1.2.295	2.22.*śl.*69	2.22.90
1.2.308	2.22.*śl.*72	2.22.92
(quoting *Nārāyaṇavyūha-stava*)		
1.3.1	2.23.*śl.*2	2.23.3
1.3.23	2.24.*śl.*84	2.24.198
(quoting *Skānda Purāṇa*)		
1.3.25-26	2.23.*śl.*8-9	2.23.10
1.3.29	2.23.*śl.*11	2.23.12
(quoting *Haribhaktisudodhaya*)		
1.3.33	2.23.*śl.*13	2.23.14
(quoting *Padma Purāṇa*)		
1.3.35	2.23.*śl.*14	2.23.15
(quoting Sanātana Gosvāmin)		
1.3.38	2.23.*śl.*16	2.23.17
1.4.1	2.23.*śl.*3	2.23.4
1.4.2	2.23.*śl.*4	2.23.4
(quoting *Nārada Pañcarātra*)		
1.4.15-16	2.23.*śl.*5-6	2.23.9
1.4.17	2.23.*śl.*19	2.23.21
—	3.19.*śl.*7	3.19.98
2.1.7-10	2.23.*śl.*44-47	2.23.50
2.1.17	2.23.*śl.*22	2.23.45
2.1.23-30	2.23.*śl.*24-31	2.23.46
2.1.37-44	2.23.*śl.*32-38	2.23.46
2.1.62	2.18.*śl.*6	2.18.32
2.1.63	2.20.*śl.*63	2.20.314
2.1.103	3.3.*śl.*4	3.3.58
(quoting *Padma Purāṇa*)		
2.1.138	3.1.*śl.*12	3.1.96
2.1.173	2.14.*śl.*15	2.14.213

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Citation	CC *Śloka*	after CC verse
2.1.221-23	2.20.*śl.*64-66	2.20.332
2.1.230	2.8.*śl.*41	2.8.147
2.1.231	1.4.*śl.*16	1.4.102
—	2.8.*śl.*42	2.8.148
2.3.54	1.4.*śl.*33	1.4.171
2.4.142	2.20.*śl.*15	2.20.127
2.4.144	2.24.*śl.*65	2.24.118
2.5.38	1.4.*śl.*5	1.4.40
—	2.8.*śl.*19	2.8.65
2.5.93	1.17.*śl.*10	1.17.298
2.5.131	2.23.*śl.*48	2.23.51
3.1.20	2.24.*śl.*36	2.24.85
3.1.34	2.24.*śl.*39	2.24.90
3.1.44	2.10.*śl.*6	2.10.171
(quoting a *śloka* of Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala)		
—	2.24.*śl.*42	2.24.92
3.1.47	2.19.*śl.*36	2.19.173
3.2.25	2.22.*śl.*3	2.22.13
3.2.27	2.24.*śl.*38	2.24.88
(quoting *Haribhaktisudhodaya*)		
3.2.62	1.4.*śl.*32	1.4.171
4.3.44	2.22.*śl.*15	2.22.27
(quoting *Haribhaktisudhodaya*)		
—	2.24.*śl.*82	2.24.141
Bhāravi		
8.20	3.10.*śl.*2	3.10.19
Bhāvārthadīpikā of Śrīdhara Svāmin		
(Commentary on *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*)		
1.1.1	2.17.*śl.*4	2.17.76
1.1.2	1.1.*śl.*38	1.1.51
1.7.6	2.18.*śl.*8	2.18.106
—	3.5.*śl.*8	3.5.119
7.9.1	2.8.*śl.*2	2.8.4
10.1.1	1.2.*śl.*16	1.2.
—	2.20.*śl.*18	2.20.130
10.87.21	2.24.*śl.*33	2.24.80
—	2.24.*śl.*49	2.24.96
—	2.25.*śl.*44	2.25.112
11.2.45	2.24.*śl.*24	2.24.56
11.15.16	1.2.*śl.*10	1.2.43
Brahma Saṃhitā		
5.1	1.2.*śl.*17	1.2.89
—	2.8.*śl.*29	2.8.108
—	2.20.*śl.*19	2.20.132
—	2.21.*śl.*8	2.21.27
5.2	2.20.*śl.*32	2.20.223
5.29	1.5.*śl.*4	1.5.18
5.39	1.5.*śl.*21	1.5.133
5.40	1.2.*śl.*5	1.2.9
—	2.20.*śl.*22	2.20.135
5.43	2.21.*śl.*12	2.21.37
5.45	2.20.*śl.*43	2.20.264
5.46	2.20.*śl.*46	2.20.267
5.47	1.4.*śl.*12	1.4.61
—	2.8.*śl.*39	2.8.124
5.48	1.5.*śl.*8	1.5.62
—	2.20.*śl.*39	2.20.239
—	2.21.*śl.*10	2.21.31
5.49	2.20.*śl.*41	2.20.260
5.54	2.15.*śl.*3	2.15.169
5.56	2.14.*śl.*14	2.14.213
Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa		
no citation	1.5.*śl.*6	1.5.32
(quoted in *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*)		
no citation	2.9.*śl.*6	2.9.27
(quoted in *Haribhaktivilāsa*)		
Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa		
Kṛṣṇajanmakhaṇḍa		
185.180	1.17.*śl.*7	1.17.157
Bṛhadgautamīya Tantra		
no citation	1.4.*śl.*13	1.4.71
—	2.23.*śl.*23	2.23.45
Bṛhannāradīya Purāṇa		
38.126	1.7.*śl.*3	1.7.73
—	1.17.*śl.*3	1.17.18
—	2.6.*śl.*19	2.6.218
Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka of Kavikarṇapūra		
(Paramānanda Sena)		
5.13 [*śl.*10]	2.3.*śl.*3	2.3.25
6.67 [*śl.*37]	2.6.*śl.*8	2.6.133
6.74 [*śl.*44-45]	2.6.*śl.*20-21	2.6.229
(quoting Sārvabhauma)		
8.14 [*śl.*10]	2.10.*śl.*3	2.10.116
8.27 [*śl.*23]	2.11.*śl.*2	2.11.6
8.28 [*śl.*24]	2.11.*śl.*3	2.11.8
8.34 [*śl.*28]	2.11.*śl.*9	2.11.37
8.57 [*śl.*41]	2.11.*śl.*13	2.11.136
(quoting *Stotraratna* of Yāmunācārya)		
9.42-43 [*śl.*29-30]	2.19.*śl.*12-13	2.19.109
9.45-46 [*śl.*34-35]	2.24.*śl.*93-94	2.24.259
9.48 [*śl.*38]	2.19.*śl.*11	2.19.109
—	2.24.*śl.*95	2.24.259

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Citation	CC Śloka	after CC verse
10.9 [śl.3-4]	3.6.śl.4-5	3.6.259
Dānakelikaumudi of Rūpa Gosvāmin		
1	2.14.śl.6	2.14.174
(quoted in *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi*)		
2.1	1.4.śl.19	1.4.113
Gaurāṅgastavakalpataru of Raghunātha Dāsa		
4	3.14.śl.5	3.14.68
5	3.17.śl.5	3.17.67
6	3.19.śl.5	3.19.71
7	3.16.śl.8	3.16.80
8	3.14.śl.7	3.14.113
11	3.6.śl.8	3.6.319
Garuḍa Purāṇa		
no citation	2.25.śl.35-36	2.25.108
(quoted in *Haribhaktivilāsa*)		
Gautamīya Tantra		
no citation	1.3.śl.19	1.3.83
(quoted in *Haribhaktivilāsa*)		
Gītagovinda of Jayadeva		
1.46	1.4.śl.43	1.4.182
—	2.8.śl.32	2.8.112
2.2	3.15.śl.12	3.15.72
3.1	1.4.śl.42	1.4.178
—	2.8.śl.26	2.8.80
3.2	2.8.śl.27	2.8.80
Gopīpremāmṛta		
no citation	1.4.śl.38	1.4.174
Govindalīlāmṛta of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja		
1.2	2.19.śl.4	2.19.50
7.102	2.18.śl.3	2.18.9
8.3	3.15.śl.2	3.15.12
8.4	3.15.śl.8	3.15.55
8.5	3.17.śl.3	3.17.37
8.6	3.19.śl.6	3.19.85
8.7	3.15.śl.10	3.15.68
8.8	3.16.śl.10	3.16.110
8.77	1.4.śl.18	1.4.108
9.11	2.14.śl.9	2.14.180
9.14	2.14.śl.11	2.14.183
9.18	2.14.śl.7	2.14.174
10.16	2.8.śl.45	2.8.170
10.17	2.8.śl.44	2.8.166
11.122	2.8.śl.40	2.8.142
13.29	2.17.śl.12	2.17.199
13.30	2.17.śl.13	2.17.200
13.31	2.17.śl.14	2.17.201
13.32	2.17.śl.15	2.17.202
Haribhaktisudhodaya		
1.54	2.24.śl.38	2.24.88
(quoted in *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*)		
3.11	2.19.śl.7	2.19.68
3.12	2.19.śl.6	2.19.68
7.28	2.22.śl.15	2.22.27
(quoted in *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*)		
—	2.24.śl.82	2.24.141
12.37	2.23.śl.11	2.23.12
(quoted in *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*)		
13.2	2.20.śl.5	2.20.56
14.36	1.7.śl.5	1.7.93
—	2.24.śl.9	2.24.29
—	3.3.śl.13	3.3.184
Haribhaktivilāsa of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin		
1.73	2.18.śl.9	2.18.107
(quoting *Padmottara Purāṇa*)		
—	2.25.śl.13	2.25.67
7.1	1.15.śl.1	*na*
10.91	2.19.śl.2	2.19.48
—	2.20.śl.3	2.20.55
—	3.16.śl.2	3.16.24
10.224	2.22.śl.42	2.22.49
(quoting *Kātyāyana Saṃhitā*)		
10.283	2.25.śl.35-36	2.25.108
(quoting *Garuḍa Purāṇa*)		
11.110	1.3.śl.19	1.3.83
(quoting *Gautamīya Tantra*)		
11.258	2.9.śl.6	2.9.27
(quoting *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*)		
11.289	3.3.śl.3	3.3.57
(quoting *Padma Purāṇa*)		
11.397	2.22.śl.12	2.22.22
(quoting *Rāmāyaṇa*)		
11.417-18	2.22.śl.47-48	2.22.53
(quoting an unidentified Vaiṣṇava *tantra*)		
16.99	2.19.śl.39	2.19.188
(quoting *Padma Purāṇa*)		
20.1	1.14.śl.1	*na*
Jagannāthavallabha Nāṭaka of Rāmānanda Rāya		
3.9	2.2.śl.2	2.2.16
3.11	2.2.śl.4	2.2.32
Kaḍacā of Svarūpa Dāmodara		
(attributed by Rādhāgovinda Nātha)		
no citation	1.1.śl.5	*na*

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Citation	CC *Sloka*	after CC verse
—	1.4.*śl.*8	1.4.48
no citation	1.1.*śl.*6	*na*
—	1.4.*śl.*44	1.4.187
no citation	1.1.*śl.*7	*na*
—	1.5.*śl.*2	1.5.5
no citation	1.1.*śl.*8	*na*
—	1.5.*śl.*3	1.5.10
no citation	1.1.*śl.*9	*na*
—	1.5.*śl.*7	1.5.42
no citation	1.1.*śl.*10	*na*
—	1.5.*śl.*15	1.5.77
no citation	1.1.*śl.*11	*na*
—	1.5.*śl.*16	1.5.92
no citation	1.1.*śl.*12	*na*
—	1.6.*śl.*2	1.6.2
no citation	1.1.*śl.*13	*na*
—	1.6.*śl.*3	1.6.2
no citation	1.1.*śl.*14	*na*
—	1.7.*śl.*2	1.7.4
Kātyāyana Saṃhitā		
no citation	2.22.*śl.*42	2.22.49
(quoted in *Haribhaktivilāsa*)		
Kāvyaprakāśa of Mammaṭa		
no citation	1.2.*śl.*14	1.2.60
—	1.16.*śl.*4	1.16.54
Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta of Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala		
1.1	1.1.*śl.*27	1.1.28
1.32	2.2.*śl.*9	2.2.52
—	2.23.*śl.*15	2.23.16
1.40	2.2.*śl.*10	2.2.55
1.41	2.2.*śl.*8	2.2.50
1.42	3.17.*śl.*4	3.17.47
1.68	2.2.*śl.*11	2.2.63
1.92	2.21.*śl.*22	2.21.114
—	2.23.*śl.*17	2.23.18
Kūrma Purāṇa		
no citation	2.9.*śl.*16-17	2.9.195
5.342	3.5.*śl.*5	3.5.118
Laghubhāgavatāmṛta of Rūpa Gosvāmin		
pūrva khaṇḍa 1.15	1.1.*śl.*35	1.1.38
pūrva khaṇḍa 1.18	2.20.*śl.*60	2.20.310
pūrva khaṇḍa 1.21	1.1.*śl.*34	1.1.37
pūrva khaṇḍa 2.9	1.5.*śl.*10	1.5.66
(quoting *Sātvata Tantra*)		
—	2.20.*śl.*31	2.20.217
pūrva khaṇḍa 3.86	2.9.*śl.*15	2.9.141
(quoting *Nārada Pañcarātra*)		
pūrva khaṇḍa 5.37	1.3.*śl.*5	1.3.20
—	3.7.*śl.*3	3.7.12
pūrva khaṇḍa 5.175	2.20.*śl.*29	2.20.210
pūrva khaṇḍa 5.247	2.21.*śl.*13	2.21.37
(quoting *Padma Purāṇa*)		
pūrva khaṇḍa 5.248	2.21.*śl.*14	2.21.37
(quoting *Padma Purāṇa*)		
—	2.21.*śl.*17	2.21.71
pūrva khaṇḍa 5.286	2.21.*śl.*15	2.21.41
pūrva khaṇḍa 5.461	3.1.*śl.*6	3.1.61
(quoting *Yāmala Tantra*)		
uttara khaṇḍa 4	2.11.*śl.*7	2.11.23
(quoting *Padma Purāṇa*)		
uttara khaṇḍa 6	2.11.*śl.*4	2.11.23
(quoting *Ādi Purāṇa*)		
uttara khaṇḍa 39	1.4.*śl.*39	1.4.175
(quoting *Ādi Purāṇa*)		
uttara khaṇḍa 40	1.4.*śl.*30	1.4.155
(quoting *Ādi Purāṇa*)		
uttara khaṇḍa 45	1.4.*śl.*40	1.4.176
(quoting *Padma Purāṇa*)		
—	2.8.*śl.*24	2.8.75
—	2.18.*śl.*2	2.18.6
uttara khaṇḍa 46	1.4.*śl.*41	1.4.176
(quoting *Padma Purāṇa*)		
Lalitamādhava of Rūpa Gosvāmin		
1.1	3.1.*śl.*47	3.1.128
1.4	3.1.*śl.*48	3.1.129
1.20	3.1.*śl.*49	3.1.135
1.49	3.1.*śl.*52	3.1.136
1.50	3.1.*śl.*51	3.1.136
1.102	3.1.*śl.*43	3.1.125
1.106	3.1.*śl.*42	3.1.125
2.22	3.1.*śl.*54	3.1.137
2.23	3.1.*śl.*53	3.1.137
3.25	3.19.*śl.*2	3.19.33
4.19	2.20.*śl.*27	2.20.150
4.27	3.1.*śl.*41	3.1.125
5.6	2.19.*śl.*20	2.19.146
6.14	1.17.*śl.*8	1.17.273
—	2.9.*śl.*14	2.9.136
8.34	1.4.*śl.*20	1.4.127
—	2.8.*śl.*35	2.8.114
—	2.20.*śl.*28	2.20.151
9.9	1.4.*śl.*45	1.4.215

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Citation	CC Śloka	after CC verse
10.36	2.1.śl.9	2.1.75
Mahābhārata		
3.13.117	2.17.śl.11	2.17.175
—	2.25.śl.9	2.25.48
3.241.15	2.15.śl.7	2.15.264
5.71.4	2.9.śl.4	2.9.26
13.127.75	1.3.śl.8	1.3.39
—	2.6.śl.5	2.6.98
—	2.10.śl.5	2.10.164
Manu Saṃhitā		
2.215	3.2.śl.2	3.2.117
(quoted in *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*)		
Mukundamālā		
3	2.13.śl.3	2.13.75
Naiṣadhīya		
3.17	3.1.śl.10	3.1.82
Nāmakaumudī		
no citation	3.7.śl.13	3.7.70
Nārada Pañcarātra		
no citation	2.9.śl.15	2.9.141
(quoted in *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*)		
no citation	2.19.śl.21	2.19.149
(quoted in *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*)		
no citation	2.23.śl.4	2.23.4
(quoted in *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*)		
Nārāyaṇavyūha-stava		
no citation	2.22.śl.72	2.22.92
(quoted in *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*)		
Nāṭakacandrikā		
31	3.1.śl.17	3.1.118
Nāṭya Śāstra of Bharata		
no citation	1.16.śl.5	1.16.66
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no citation	3.3.śl.2	3.3.54
no citation	3.16.śl.5-6	3.16.48
Nyāya		
no citation	3.1.śl.9	3.1.82
no citation	3.8.śl.7	3.8.73
Padma Purāṇa		
no citation	1.3.śl.18	1.3.71
no citation	1.4.śl.40	1.4.176
(quoted in *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*)		
—	2.8.śl.24	2.8.75
—	2.18.śl.2	2.18.6
no citation	1.4.śl.41	1.4.176
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uttara khaṇḍa 25.7	2.6.śl.14	2.6.164
uttara khaṇḍa 62.31	2.6.śl.13	2.6.164
no citation	2.6.śl.16-17	2.6.204
rāmacandra satanāma		2.9.śl.3
2.9.26		
uttara khaṇḍa 72.335	2.9.śl.5	2.9.27
no citation	2.11.śl.7	2.11.23
(quoted in *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*)		
no citation	2.17.śl.5	2.17.128
(quoted in *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*)		
no citation	2.19.śl.39	2.19.188
(quoted in *Haribhaktivilāsa*)		
no citation	2.21.śl.13	2.21.37
(quoted in *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*)		
no citation	2.21.ś.14	2.21.37
(quoted in *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*)		
—	2.21.śl.17	2.21.71
no citation	2.23.śl.13	2.23.14
(quoted in *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*)		
no citation	3.3.śl.3	3.3.57
(quoted in *Haribhaktivilāsa*)		
no citation	3.3.śl.4	3.3.58
(quoted in *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*)		
Padmottara Purāṇa		
23.12	2.18.śl.9	2.18.107
(quoted in *Haribhaktivilāsa*)		
—	2.25.śl.13	2.25.67
72.100	2.22.śl.54	2.22.59
(quoted in *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*)		
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13-14	2.8.śl.10-11	2.8.59
(quoting Rāmānanda Rāya)		
16	3.3.śl.10	3.3.171
(quoting Lakṣmīdhara)		
22	3.20.śl.3	3.20.9
(quoting Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, *Śikṣāṣṭaka*)		
29	2.15.śl.2	2.15.110
(quoting Lakṣmīdhara)		
31	3.20.śl.4	3.20.12
(quoting Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, *Śikṣāṣṭaka*)		
32	1.17.śl.4	1.17.27
(quoting Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, *Śikṣāṣṭaka*)		
—	3.6.śl.3	3.6.236
—	3.20.śl.5	3.20.16
53	2.22.śl.58	2.22.77
(anonymous; quoted in *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*)		

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71	3.20.*śl.*7	3.20.25
(quoting Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, *Śikṣāṣṭaka*)		
74	2.13.*śl.*5	2.13.75
(anonymous)		
82	2.19.*śl.*10	2.19.96
(quoting Raghupati Upādhyāya)		
93	3.20.*śl.*8	3.20.28
(quoting Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, *Śikṣāṣṭaka*)		
94	3.20.*śl.*6	3.20.23
(quoting Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, *Śikṣāṣṭaka*)		
98	2.19.*śl.*9	2.19.89
(quoting Raghupati Upādhyāya)		
126	2.19.*śl.*8	2.19.88
(quoting Raghupati Upādhyāya)		
324	3.20.*śl.*9	3.20.30
(quoting Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, *Śikṣāṣṭaka*)		
330	2.4.*śl.*2	2.4.194
(quoting Mādhavendra Purī)		
—	3.8.*śl.*2	3.8.32
337	3.20.*śl.*10	3.20.37
(quoting Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, *Śikṣāṣṭaka*)		
382	2.1.*śl.*6	2.1.52
(anonymous)		
—	2.13.*śl.*6	2.13.115
—	3.1.*śl.*7	3.1.71
383	2.1.*śl.*7	2.1.69
(quoting Rūpa Gosvāmin)		
—	3.1.*śl.*8	3.1.71
—	3.1.*śl.*13	3.1.101
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citradīpa parakaraṇa 81		2.19.*śl.*16
2.19.126		
Raghuvaṃśa		
14.46	2.10.*śl.*4	2.10.141
Rāmāyaṇa		
no citation	2.22.*śl.*12	2.22.22
(quoted in *Haribhaktivilāsa*)		
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6.289	3.1.*śl.*50	3.1.136
Sāmudrika		
3	1.14.*śl.*3	1.14.12
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no citation	1.5.*śl.*10	1.5.66
(quoted in *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*)		
—	2.20.*śl.*31	2.20.217
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no citation	2.24.*śl.*50	2.24.102
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—	2.24.*śl.*85	2.24.216
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1	3.20.*śl.*3	3.20.9
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2	3.20.*śl.*4	3.20.12
(quoted in *Padyāvalī*)		
3	1.17.*śl.*4	1.17.27
(quoted in *Padyāvalī*)		
—	3.6.*śl.*3	3.6.236
—	3.20.*śl.*5	3.20.16
4	3.20.*śl.*6	3.20.23
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5	3.20.*śl.*7	3.20.25
(quoted in *Padyāvalī*)		
6	3.20.*śl.*8	3.20.28
(quoted in *Padyāvalī*)		
7	3.20.*śl.*9	3.20.30
(quoted in *Padyāvalī*)		
8	3.20.*śl.*10	3.20.37
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no citation	2.22.*śl.*65	2.22.83
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—	2.24.*śl.*83	2.24.194
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—	2.24.*śl.*42	2.24.92
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Sanātana Gosvāmin	2.23.*śl.*14	2.23.15
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anonymous	2.1.*śl.*13	2.1.197
anonymous	1.1.*śl.*39	1.1.63

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anonymous	2.14.*śl.*13	2.14.187
anonymous	2.21.*śl.*11	2.21.34
anonymous	2.22.*śl.*2	2.22.4
anonymous	2.22.*śl.*43	2.22.49
anonymous	2.24.*śl.*67	2.24.119
anonymous	2.25.*śl.*10	2.25.54
anonymous	2.25.*śl.*11	2.25.65
anonymous	3.6.*śl.*6	3.6.179
anonymous	3.10.*śl.*3	3.10.65
anonymous	3.14.*śl.*3	3.14.38
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Kṛṣṇa Caitanya?	2.2.*śl.*6	2.2.39
proverb	2.24.*śl.*90	2.24.227
proverb	3.1.*śl.*55	3.1.140
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original	1.1.*śl.*1	*na*
original	1.1.*śl.*2	*na*
—	1.1.*śl.*36	1.1.44
—	2.1.*śl.*2	*na*
original	1.1.*śl.*3	*na*
—	1.2.*śl.*3	1.2.2
original	1.1.*śl.*15	*na*
—	2.1.*śl.*3	*na*
—	3.1.*śl.*3	*na*
original	1.1.*śl.*16	*na*
—	2.1.*śl.*4	*na*
—	3.1.*śl.*4	*na*
original	1.1.*śl.*17	*na*
—	2.1.*śl.*5	*na*
—	3.1.*śl.*5	*na*
original	1.2.*śl.*1-2	*na*
original	1.3.*śl.*1	*na*
original	1.4.*śl.*1	*na*
original	1.4.*śl.*48	*na*
original	1.4.229	*na*
original	1.5.*śl.*1	*na*
original	1.6.*śl.*1	*na*
original	1.7.*śl.*1	*na*
—	2.21.*śl.*1	*na*
original	1.8.*śl.*1	*na*
original	1.9.*śl.*1	*na*
original	1.9.*śl.*2	1.9.4
original	1.10.*śl.*1	*na*
original	1.10.*śl.*2	1.10.5
original	1.11.*śl.*1	*na*
original	1.11.*śl.*2	1.11.1
original	1.12.*śl.*1	*na*
original	1.12.*śl.*2	1.12.1
original	1.13.*śl.*1	*na*
original	1.13.*śl.*2	1.13.17
original	1.14.*śl.*2	1.14.3
original	1.15.*śl.*2	1.15.2
original	1.16.*śl.*1	*na*
original	1.16.*śl.*2	1.16.1
original	1.17.*śl.*1	*na*
original	1.17.*śl.*2	1.17.2
original	2.1.*śl.*1	*na*
original	2.2.*śl.*1	*na*
original	2.3.*śl.*1	*na*
original	2.4.*śl.*1	*na*
original	2.5.*śl.*1	*na*
original	2.6.*śl.*1	*na*
original	2.7.*śl.*1	*na*
original	2.8.*śl.*1	*na*
original	2.9.*śl.*1	*na*
original	2.10.*śl.*1	*na*
original	2.11.*śl.*1	*na*
original	2.12.*śl.*1	*na*
original	2.13.*śl.*1	*na*
original	2.14.*śl.*1	*na*
original	2.15.*śl.*1	*na*
original	2.16.*śl.*1	*na*
original	2.17.*śl.*1	*na*
original	2.18.*śl.*1	*na*
original	2.18.*śl.*4	2.18.21
original	2.19.*śl.*1	*na*
original	2.20.*śl.*1	*na*
original	2.20.*śl.*6	2.20.91
original	2.22.*śl.*1	*na*
original	2.23.*śl.*1	*na*
original	2.24.*śl.*1	*na*
original	2.25.*śl.*1	*na*
original	2.25.*śl.*48	2.25.233
—	3.20.*upa. śl.*2	3.20.144
original	2.25.*śl.*49	2.25.233
original	3.1.*śl.*1-2	*na*
original	3.2.*śl.*1	*na*
—	3.3.*śl.*1	*na*
original	3.4.*śl.*1	*na*
original	3.5.*śl.*1	*na*

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Citation	CC *Śloka*	after CC verse
original	3.6.*śl.*1	*na*
original	3.7.*śl.*1	*na*
original	3.8.*śl.*1	*na*
original	3.9.*śl.*1	*na*
original	3.10.*śl.*1	*na*
original	3.11.*śl.*1	*na*
original	3.12.*śl.*1	*na*
original	3.13.*śl.*1	*na*
original	3.14.*śl.*1	*na*
original	3.15.*śl.*1	*na*
original	3.16.*śl.*1	*na*
original	3.17.*śl.*1	*na*
original	3.18.*śl.*1	*na*
original	3.19.*śl.*1	*na*
original	3.20.*śl.*1	*na*
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original	3.20.*upa. śl.*3-4	3.20.144
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Caitanyāṣṭaka 1.2	1.4.*śl.*6	1.4.45
Caitanyāṣṭaka 1.6	3.15.*śl.*13	3.15.84
Caitanyāṣṭaka 1.7	2.13.*śl.*9	2.13.198
Caitanyāṣṭaka 2.1	1.3.*śl.*11	1.3.45
Caitanyāṣṭaka 2.3	1.4.*śl.*7	1.4.45
—	1.4.*śl.*47	1.4.229
Caitanyāṣṭaka 2.8	1.3.*śl.*12	1.3.49
Keśavāṣṭaka 8	1.4.*śl.*31	1.4.166
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17	1.3.*śl.*16	1.3.69
18	1.3.*śl.*17	1.3.70
—	3.3.*śl.*8	3.3.84
26	2.11.*śl.*13	2.11.136
(quoted in *Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka*)		
48	2.1.*śl.*12	2.1.193
—	2.8.*śl.*13	2.8.60
52	2.1.*śl.*11	2.1.191
Udvāhatattva		
7	1.15.*śl.*3	1.15.24
Ujjvalanīlamaṇi of Rūpa Gosvāmin		
4.3	1.4.*śl.*11	1.4.60
—	2.8.*śl.*38	2.8.123
4.11-15	2.23.*śl.*39-43	2.23.47
5.7	1.17.*śl.*9	1.17.284
11.31	2.14.*śl.*8	2.14.179
11.44	2.14.*śl.*5	2.14.169
11.46	2.14.*śl.*6	2.14.174
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11.49	2.14.*śl.*12	2.14.185
11.56	2.14.*śl.*10	2.14.182
14.155	2.8.*śl.*43	2.8.156
14.190	3.14.*śl.*2	3.14.14
15.102	2.8.*śl.*28	2.8.83
—	2.14.*śl.*4	2.14.159
15.167	3.14.*śl.*4	3.14.49
Uttaracarita		
2.7	2.7.*śl.*2	2.7.71
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1.1	3.1.*śl.*15	3.1.113
1.2	1.1.*śl.*4	*na*
—	1.3.*śl.*2	1.3.2
—	3.1.*śl.*16	3.1.116
1.13	3.1.*śl.*20	3.1.119
1.15	3.1.*śl.*19	3.1.119
1.17	3.1.*śl.*18	3.1.118
1.33	3.1.*śl.*11	3.1.88
—	3.1.*śl.*14	3.1.106
1.136	3.1.*śl.*40	3.1.125
1.41-42	3.1.*śl.*33-34	3.1.125
1.44	3.1.*śl.*39	3.1.125
1.48	3.1.*śl.*35	3.1.125
1.60	3.1.*śl.*44	3.1.125
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2.19.	3.1.*śl.*21	3.1.121
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—	3.1.*śl.*26	3.1.122
2.48	3.1.*śl.*23	3.1.121
2.53	3.1.*śl.*31	3.1.123
2.59-60	3.1.*śl.*28-29	3.1.123
2.69	3.1.*śl.*30	3.1.123
2.70	3.1.*śl.*25	3.1.121
2.78	3.1.*śl.*46	3.1.125
3.2	3.1.*śl.*36	3.1.125
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—	2.8.*śl.*37	2.8.119
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1.22.54	2.20.*śl.*8	2.20.102
3.8.9	2.8.*śl.*4	2.8.54
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6.2.17	2.20.*śl.*56	2.20.287
6.7.61	1.7.*śl.*7	1.7.112
—	2.6.*śl.*10	2.6.143
—	2.8.*śl.*36	2.8.117

Citation	CC *Śloka*	after CC verse
—	2.20.*śl.*9	2.20.103
—	2.24.*śl.*88	2.24.224
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no citation	2.24.*śl.*3	2.24.9
no citation	2.24.*śl.*4-5	2.24.14
no citation	2.24.*śl.*7	2.24.18
no citation	2.24.*śl.*19	2.24.50
no citation	2.24.*śl.*20	2.24.51
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